



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

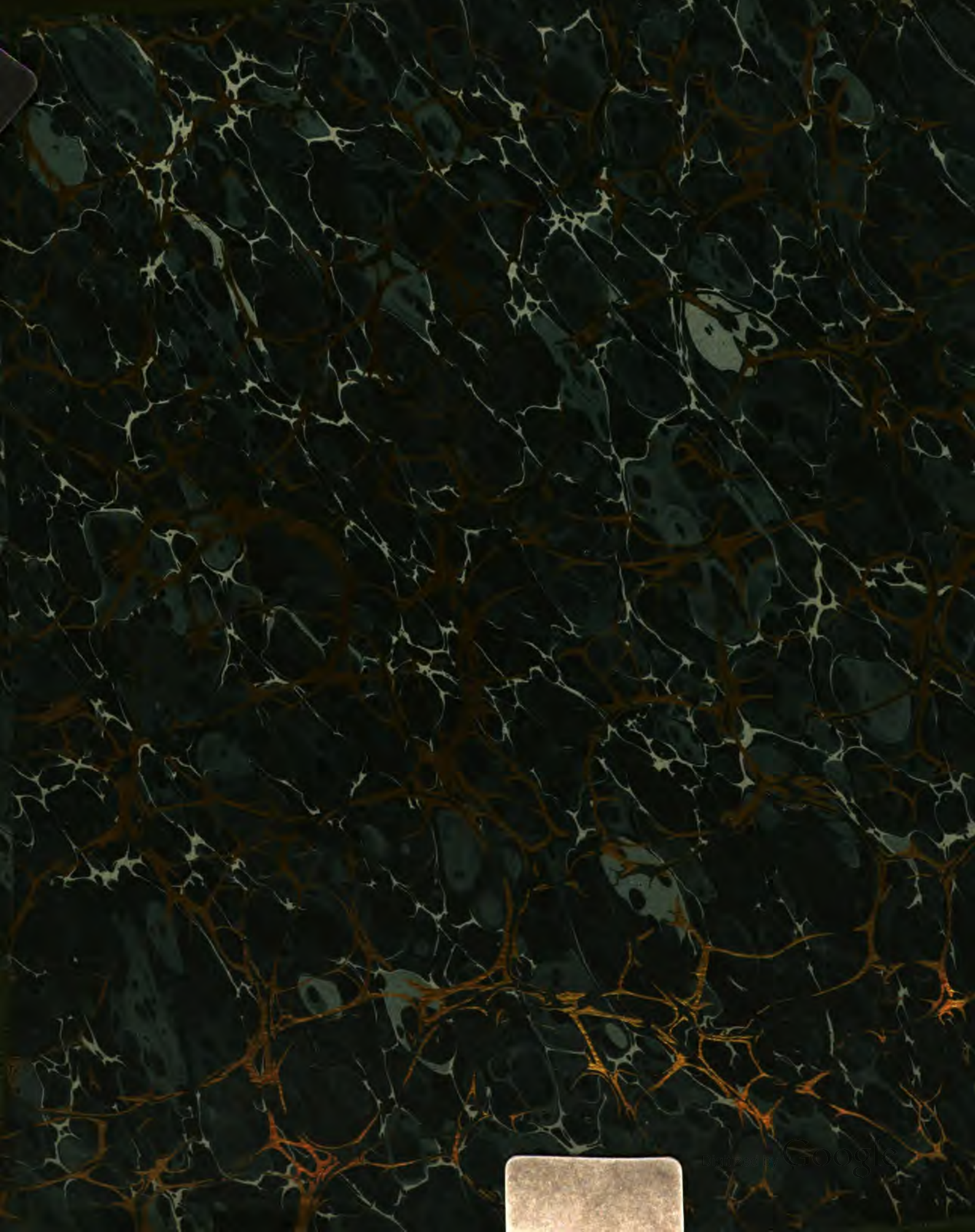
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





Bst from Halliday. Cat. 280/1292

f4

G.A. Yorks 4° 349



EAST VIEW OF CONTISERO CASTLE.

Engraved by J. Wainwright. Sheffield.

DISCUSSION

ON

THE

STRENGTH OF

CONCRETE

BEAMS

BY

W. J. BAKER

Dorchester.

AN

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

TO A KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT STATE OF THE

WAPENTAKE

OF

STRAFFORD AND TICKHILL;

WITH AMPLE ACCOUNTS OF

DONCASTER AND CONISBROUGH:

AND OF THE VILLAGES, HAMLETS, CHURCHES, ANTIQUITIES, AND OTHER MATTERS
CONNECTED THEREWITH.

BY JOHN WAINWRIGHT.

“ ———— HOC EST
VIVERE BIS, NITA POSSE PRIORE FRUI.”
MART.

SHEFFIELD:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN BLACKWELL, IRIS-OFFICE, 48, HIGH STREET:
SOLD ALSO BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN THE VICINITY OF THE DISTRICT;
AND BY LONGMAN, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, LONDON.

1829.

17th Oct
1961



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE mass of erudite Topographical information displayed in the following pages, was originally intended by the author as introductory to a more extended work. The departure, however, from this country, of the possessor of the voluminous materials---the fruits of a life of investigation---and out of which the ultimate history would have been composed, has left to the publisher the alternative of cancelling 414 Quarto Pages of interesting matter ; or, of offering the present work to the general reader, at a price which will place it within the reach of every person, wishing to obtain a knowledge of the great transactions which have for a succession of centuries, been operating such striking changes on the surface as well as in the history of the district to which it refers. Adopting the latter course, this volume is respectfully recommended to the attention of resident Yorkshire families, as well as to readers in general. To such persons, the large quantity of curious and elaborate information contained in

the following pages, including (according to the Author's design) the complete Historical and Topographical Introduction, and the entire Histories of Doncaster and Conisbrough, will be sufficient to secure it a place in the Family Library. It is a record of matters which must be highly interesting to every topographical enquirer in the Wapentake, especially to every intelligent inhabitant of Doncaster and the circumjacent neighbourhood.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE.
<i>STRAFFORTH and Tickhill</i> ...	i
<i>Sylva Caledonia</i> ...	v
<i>Origin of Parishes</i> ...	viii
<i>Face of the District</i> ...	xii
<i>Etymology of "Strafford"</i> ...	xiv
<i>Etymology of "Wapentake"</i> ...	xvi
<i>Etymology of "Tythings"</i> ...	xviii
<i>Origin of Towns</i> ...	xviii
<i>Courts Baron</i> ...	xxiv
<i>Manors</i> ...	xxv
<i>Roman Roads</i> ...	xxviii
<i>Iron Foundries</i> ...	xxxiv
<i>Ancient Camps</i> ...	xxxvi
<i>Earth Works at Wincobank</i> ...	xxxviii
<i>Earth Works at Bradfield</i> ...	xxxix
<i>Rivers of the District</i> ...	xliv
<i>Navigation of the Don</i> ...	xlvi
<i>Names of Minor Rivers</i> ...	liii
<i>Hatfield Chase</i> ...	liv
<i>Moss Water</i> ...	lxx
<i>Drainage of the Levels</i> ...	lxxii
<i>Disturbances in consequence thereof</i> ...	lxxxii
<i>Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and his participants in the drainage</i> ...	lxxxvi
<i>List of Drainers and others that came over from Holland, &c.</i> ...	xcii
<i>Hatfield Park</i> ...	xcvi
<i>Forests and Free Warren</i> ...	ci
<i>Battle of Conisbrough</i> ...	ciii
<i>Battle of Hatfield</i> ...	cv
<i>Campodunum</i> ...	cvi

	PAGE.
<i>Military Transactions</i> ...	cx
<i>Pilgrimage of Grace</i> ...	cxii
<i>Druidical Notices and Remains</i> ...	cxix
<i>Cromlech</i> ...	cxxviii
<i>Ecclesiastical Architecture</i> ...	cxxx
<i>Monastic Institutions</i> ...	cxxxvi
<i>Military Architecture</i> ...	cxxxviii
<i>Castellated Edifices</i> ...	cxlii
<i>Disquisition on the Ascetic System</i> ...	cxlvi
<i>Monastic Orders</i> ...	cliii
<i>Military Orders</i> ...	clxi
<i>Visitations of Monasteries</i> ...	clxxii
<i>Superstition and Enthusiasm</i> ...	clxxiv
<i>Dissolution of Religious Houses and disposal of their property</i> ...	clxxxiii

DONCASTER.

<i>Etymology of the Name</i> ...	1
<i>Ancient State</i> ...	3
<i>Manorial Notices</i> ...	5
<i>Fossard, William</i> ...	6
<i>Turnham, Robert de</i> ...	8
<i>Maulay, The Peters de, first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, & seventh</i> ...	10
<i>Salvoyn, George</i> ...	18
<i>Salvoyn, Sir John, Knight</i> ...	19
<i>Northumberland, Henry, third Earl of</i> ...	20
<i>Burgesses of Doncaster</i> ...	20
<i>Pedigree of the Lords of the Manor</i> ...	24
<i>Early History</i> ...	28
<i>Homines</i> ...	31
<i>The Town</i> ...	33

	PAGE.
<i>Roman Altar</i> ...	35
<i>Site of the Ancient Town</i> ...	38
<i>Hexthorpe</i> ...	41
<i>Leland's Account</i> ...	47
<i>Gates and Bars</i> ...	48
<i>Population</i> ...	49
<i>Corporation Charter</i> ...	51
<i>"Ninths and Fifteenths"</i> ...	52
<i>Civil Wars</i> ...	54
<i>Rainsborough, General, Death of</i> ...	56
<i>Royal Visits</i> ...	58
<i>Cross</i> ...	59
<i>Tilli, Oode</i> ...	62
<i>Mansion House</i> ...	65
<i>Hospital of St. Thomas</i> ...	65
<i>Grammar School</i> ...	67
<i>Castle</i> ...	67
<i>Fairs and Market</i> ...	68
<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> ...	69
<i>Edwin's Conversion</i> ...	70
<i>Church of St. Mary</i> ...	72
<i>Chantries</i> ... 78 and	97
<i>Stained Glass</i> ...	81
<i>Font</i> ...	83
<i>Monuments</i> ...	84
<i>Patronage of the Church</i> ...	100
<i>Rectors, Catalogue of</i> ...	102
<i>Carmelite Friary</i> ...	103
<i>Sepulchre's Chapel</i> ...	105
<i>Grey Friars</i> ...	106
<i>Black Friars</i> ...	108
<i>Hospitals</i> ...	109
<i>Chapel of St. Mary</i> ...	110
<i>Nether Hall</i> ...	112
<i>Copley Pedigree</i> ...	113
<i>Car House</i> ...	114
<i>Potterie Car</i> ...	114
<i>Wheatley</i> ...	115
<i>Cooke, Family of</i> ...	120
<i>Cookes (of Wheatley) Pedigree of</i> ...	124
<i>Sandall</i> ...	127
<i>Hexthorp</i> ...	127
<i>Ballby</i> ...	128
<i>Lovershall</i> ...	129

	PAGE.
<i>Wyrralls of Lovershall</i> ...	131
<i>Church of Lovershall</i> ...	133
<i>Monumental Remains at Lovershall</i>	133
<i>Rossington</i> ...	135
<i>Charitable Donations at Rossington</i>	138
<i>Church of Rossington</i> ...	138
<i>Rectors of Rossington</i> ...	138
<i>Awkley</i> ...	142
<i>Frobishers of Awkley</i> ...	144
<i>Charitable Bequests at Awkley</i> ...	146
<i>Austerfield</i> ...	147
<i>Church of Austerfield</i> ...	150

CONISBROUGH.

<i>Etymology of the Name</i>	...	152
<i>Warren, William de, the first Earl</i>		154
<i>Warren, William de, the second Earl</i>		158
<i>Warren, William de, the third Earl</i>		161
<i>Warren, John de, the sixth Earl</i>		165
<i>Warren, John de, the seventh Earl</i>		170
<i>Warren, John de, the eighth Earl</i>		176
<i>William de Blois</i>	...	162
<i>- Hameline Plantagenet</i>	...	163
<i>Edmund Plantagenet</i>	...	184
<i>Edward Plantagenet</i>	...	185
<i>Carey, Sir Henry</i>	...	187
<i>Carey, Sir George</i>	...	188
<i>Carey, John Henry</i>	...	189
<i>Carey, John</i>	...	190
<i>Cooke or Coke, of Conisbrough</i>	...	190
<i>Pedigree of the Lords of Conisbrough</i>		195
<i>Conisbrough Rent Roll</i>	...	198
<i>Names of the payers of the Castle</i>		
<i>Guard-Rent</i>	...	199
<i>The Town of Conisbrough</i>	...	201
<i>Feast at Conisbrough</i>	...	203
<i>Charitable Donations at Conisbrough</i>		205
<i>Conisbrough Castle</i>	...	205
<i>Firsby</i>	...	214
<i>Woodlathes</i>	...	216
<i>Clifton, Church, Monuments, and Font</i>		216
<i>Catalogues of the Vicars of Conis-</i>		
<i>brough</i>	...	226

ADVERTISEMENT.

ON the completion of the first Volume of the History of the WAPENTAKE, the author thereof would take this opportunity of thanking his numerous friends and correspondents for the many favours which they have conferred on him. This he would beg to do generally, leaving to a subsequent occasion the pleasing task of a more circumstantial detail.

To carry fully into effect any topographical inquiry, much must depend on the resident gentry of the district. Patience, perseverance, and industry, together with a sedulous research among the documentary matter, yet existing in the public archives of the country, is calculated to bring before the public a vast mass of useful and interesting information, wholly new. To most of these, the author is glad to say, that he has had the freest access afforded him; but it remains with the chief landed proprietors, the clergy in general, the representatives of old families, &c., to add a finishing hand, to give accuracy and a stamp of authority to the whole. Of this highly interesting class of residents in the WAPENTAKE and neighbourhood, the author would therefore crave to ask assistance, assuring them, that no improper use will be made of such intelligence as they may feel disposed to communicate.

Hitherto, whenever the author has found it requisite to apply to gentlemen for information, he has not often been disappointed; but there are cases in which it has been studiously withheld. To pry into the secrets of family history, or record domestic feuds, was never the object pursued by the author. These, with the causes that gave them birth, cannot be too soon forgotten. His is a more honourable task, and adapted, he hopes, to promote the interest of letters; the restoration of decayed

intelligence, and the *amor patriæ*, so magnificently displayed in the lives and actions of our early ancestors. These are the ends at which he aims, and which cannot fail to interest the general reader, and call into action the reminiscence of the scholar and the veneration of the sage.

On the publication of the first Part, the author promised, that, with the second, would be given the remainder of the soke of Doncaster; the history of Conisbrough, with its Saxon dependencies; and so much of the Builli fee, as the pages assigned to each part would admit. In these particulars he has not been able to redeem his pledge. Not willing to suppress useful information, the author has been induced to dwell longer on important subjects than at first he felt inclined to do. Eventually, however, by slightly touching the history of the hamlets, he hopes to be enabled to comprise all that is worth knowing in the two succeeding parts; the first of which is now in progress of printing.

INTRODUCTION.

ON laying before the public the following memorials relating to the ancient state of the Wapentake of STRAFFORD and TICKHILL, it may probably not be deemed amiss, if we introduce a particular by a general description of its former condition, together with its topographical aspect in the British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman ages; its boundaries and extent; its navigable and other streams; with a brief account of the rise, progress, orders, and dissolution of monastic and other religious institutions, whose houses, possessions, and privileges, constitute so prominent a feature in the annals of early times; with a survey of several other matters, of a general and local nature, worthy of the observation of all such as admire relics, institutes, and observances, long since ingulfed by the rapacious jaws of all-destroying time.

To attempt to dive into the original cause, or to name the precise era, of the division and subdivision of nations, empires, and kingdoms, into a multiplicity of portions, as diversified as they are numerous, would be an herculean task. The universality of the system shows the necessity, and its general adoption the importance of the scheme; we shall, therefore, wholly confine ourselves to the theatre of our present exertions, and leave to abler hands, such things as exceed our grasp, and defy our feeble power.

On the south, this wapentake is bounded by the county of Derby, on the north and north-west by the wapentake of Osgoldcross, on the west by those of Staincross and Agbridge, while its eastern and north-eastern limits are circumscribed by the counties of Lincoln and Nottingham.

At a more early period, its internal part was subdivided into a number of smaller portions, which the lapse of time, and the revolution of ages, have now hurled into the abyss of oblivion. Amongst these, we may reckon the liberties of the castles of Sheffield, Tickhill, and Conisbrough; the shire of Hallam, the soke of Doncaster, &c.,

with others of minor note and more limited importance. The shire of Hallam, and the soke of Doncaster, it is true, have yet functions peculiarly local; but the age in which their judicial power, lordly consequence, and feudal tyranny, shone forth in a pre-eminent manner, disappeared, principally, on the event of the Restoration.

The wapentake is now, and most probably ever has been, since the age in which Tickhill became a component part, divided into two portions, the lower and higher, or south and north. The line of demarcation commences at the village of Wentworth, whence it runs, in an imaginary line, to the town of Rotherham; following the Don to Conisbrough, it crosses the present turnpike road, at or near Butterbusk, and after coming nearly into contact with the boundary line of the soke of Doncaster, between Rossington and Wadworth, it proceeds to the county edge, near Stancel, and there terminates.

Respecting its ecclesiastical situation, we may briefly observe, that it is wholly comprised within the deanery of Doncaster, and the arch-deaconry of the county of York, save Finningley, Rossington, Bawtry, and Wallenwells, which are in the arch-deaconry of Nottingham. Laughton-en-le-morthen, Wadworth, and Mexbrough, are peculiars, and were therefore exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary.

As a portion of the county of York, it is situated in that part of the north of England, nationally denominated by our British ancestors, the "*Brigantes*," whose province or state comprised the modern divisions, or counties of York, Cumberland, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham.* Subsequently to the advent of the Romans, and during the early part of their ascendancy in this island, the same portion of the country was known by the name of "*Maxima Cæsariensis*," but in the latter period thereof, it bore the appellation of Valentia, in compliment to Valentinian, who at that time swayed the Roman sceptre.†

On the coming in of the Saxons, and the eventual reduction of the province, it again changed its name, without suffering any prominent alteration in its boundaries, and was by them called Deira, and speedily afterwards, North-Humber-land, or Northumbria; which, according to the testimony of a number of writers, was divided into two parts; the most southwardly whereof was, as we have just remarked, named Deira; while the northwardly bore the appellation of Bernicia, which extended to

* Vid. the Map of Ptolemy, as rectified by the learned Horsley. Also, Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 80. Bishop Gibson's edition.

† Vid. the Map of Horsley, *ut supra*, and Macpherson's *Antiquities of Scotland*, p. 62; the latter of whom seems to agree with Richard of Cirencester, in giving to Valentia a higher latitude. See Richard's map, in Stukeley's and Hatchett's ed. of "*Ricardi Corinensis de Situ Britanniae*."

the fifth of Edinburgh.* In this state it continued to exist until the time of our immortal Alfred, who, for the more effectual administration of justice, again altered its divisions; which regulations have descended down to our time, and are in all probability destined to run coeval in duration with the name of England itself.† After the last named regulations by that consummate prince, our wapentake forms one of the largest portions into which the West Riding is split, being one of the thirty-one subdivisions that *Eureviscire*, or, as softened down by a more rapid and refined mode of expression, that Yorkshire contains.

The precise line of boundary, which determined its extent southwards, cannot in a satisfactory manner be now ascertained; but it is probable, that the present line of demarcation, which bounds the present county, may in most cases be esteemed its ancient limits. This position, however, has been controverted by the learned and ingenious historian of Manchester, who, on the powerful and respectable authority of Pegge and Stukeley, assigns to the Don this important function. But their arguments, notwithstanding their acuteness, are by no means satisfactory. Unacquainted with the lower portion of this district, they affirm, that the small part of the county of York, south of the Don, ought to be referred to the Coritani; and adduce as evidence thereof, the testimony of the monk of Westminster, whose authority, on this occasion, they suppose to be conclusive; but on an inspection of that useful and highly interesting document, no such proof, either positive or circumstantial, as is calculated to settle the point at issue, and place beyond a doubt the line in question, can, we presume, be found.

The *Ad Fines* of Richard is by Stukeley placed at the village of Greasbrooke, with whom Mr. Whitaker agrees; but it is scarcely necessary to observe, that this place is situated from one to two miles of the river Don, and cannot, therefore, be consistently adduced in support of their hypothesis; neither has it, as will be shewn under its proper head, any thing Roman about it, which is adapted to strengthen, even the wildest and most unmeasured conjectures. Bishop Gibson judiciously asserts, "that most of the barbarous nations seem, according to their strength at different times, to have had dominions larger and narrower, especially in Britain, where were so many kings; we cannot imagine but that they frequently made encroachments on each other;" and, consequently, as frequently changed the boundary line of their several provinces; but these remarks, however acute they may be considered, will not apply in all their bearings to our present case.

* Camden's Brit. ut supra.

† Whitaker has, in a very unsatisfactory manner, attempted to take from Alfred this honour. Vid. his Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii, p. 113.

In the British era, and prior to the destruction of the Coritanian wood, a river of more than ordinary consequence undoubtedly pervaded the central part of this vast level. The waters issuing from the springs in the neighbourhood of Wadworth, Edlington, Malpas-hill, &c. &c., meandering from their sources, would unite their streams in the lowermost portion of the champaign, and form a conjunction with the Idle, Ydle, or Eoidle, below the village of Wroot, Worth, or With; thus augmented in magnitude, and gently winding down the valley, they would join the old Don, a little north-east of Sandtoft, and, on one and the same bed, mingle their waters with those of the Trent and its tributary streams, a little previously to the junction of that river with the Ouse, at Trent-fall. On the annihilation of the forest by the Romans, a woful and disastrous change would ensue. The outlets, which had hitherto preserved the country tolerably dry, would fail in that capacity, and in lapse of time, a countless herd of smaller streams would of course be created, which, together with the overflowing of the larger rivers, effected by the craft of Roman policy, would render their vicinity an impassable morass, and of course contract the original extent of the borders of each province, in the same proportion, as the cause operated to a greater or less degree. Under these considerations, therefore, we must esteem the river Trent, or at all events, the old river Don, to be the line of demarcation between the Brigantian and Coritanian kingdoms, in this part of our district; for we cannot, we conceive, consistently suppose, that either the Britons or Romans passed barriers so strikingly natural and determinate; and that, if at any time, or on any occasion, this grand and extensive portion of Great Britain found a limit in this vicinity, a more appropriate part than the centre of this level could not present itself. Admitting, however, that local circumstances induced the aborigines to cross the Trent, near its conjunction with the Ouse, which, it is probable, was the case, a more inviting opportunity for that purpose does not occur.* The number of rills, created and fed by sources so ample, would flow on, until their courses effected an union with some neighbouring stream or streams, which, when united, would form a river sufficiently large, together with the swampy nature of the ground, to arrest their further progress northward, and compel them to regard that current and its adjacent streamlets, as the partition line which formed the boundary of the two kingdoms.

After the Don discontinued to circumscribe the Brigantian province, either the river Torne or the Idle then assumed that function. If the latter one had that charge, it most probably relinquished it near Misson; if the former, near Akeholm; when,

* Ex altera parte ad Aufonam incolebant Comabiis Brigantibus, et oceano vicini, Coritanni in tractu sylvis obsito, qui, ut aliæ Brittonum sylvæ Caledonia fuit appellata. De hac autem iii. mentionem facit historicus ille Florus. Civitas primaria Coritannorum erat Ragæ; et præter hanc Romanorum colonia Lindum, in extrema ad orientem provincie ora. Totam vero regionem bifariam secut fluvius Trivona. *Ricardi Corin.* lib. i. cap. vi. sec. xxx.

after visiting the village of Finningley, the appellative of which name in the British tongue denotes a limit or boundary, the confines of that large forest, so clearly depicted on the map of Richard, served as a terminal in the vicinity of Bawtry, &c., when it afterwards seems to have traversed that mountainous tract of country, which gave birth to the Mersey and the Don. In the Roman and Saxon periods, the old line of partition would vanish with the destruction of the forest, and the inundation of its site; when the confines of each province, as we have before observed, would for a series of years be determined only by the margin of that extensive lake, which this part of the wapentake, ever after that event, would of necessity present. From the annihilation of this portion of the *Sylva Caledonia* of the monk, by the Emperor Sept. Severus, to the age of Alfred the Great, a period of more than seven hundred years elapsed; in the interim whereof, we may suppose, without incurring the imputation of inconsistency, that the confusion caused by the fall of wood, &c. would in some measure have subsided. The waters, which on every flood escaped through the confines of the larger rivers, would, after flowing at random for some time, create themselves channels, which, it is likely, would be nearly on the site of the British beds; as, in both cases, the lowermost part of the level would be found. In dry seasons, the waters would be quickly lessened by evaporation, and such as were left would be gathered together, and the old Don, being the nearest and most important channel, would serve as an estuary, into which most of the inferior rills would empty themselves,* and thus re-establish the old limits, which even now constitute the partition line that separates the counties of Lincoln and York. The opinions of Stukeley and Pegge, relative to this question, who are followed by Whitaker and others, seem to be founded on a plan of too general a nature. They appear to have been totally ignorant of the local and peculiar condition of this portion of the country, and to have overlooked the early state of the Don, Torne, Idle, &c. On the arrival of the upper Don at Thorne, a part of its waters took a course directly west, and communicated with the united streams of Idle and Torne, west of Bradholm,† while the present branch thereof mingled its waters with those of the Aire; all of which eventually rendezvoused in the *Abus* of Ptolemy, or Humber; that great and spacious estuary for all the waters issuing out of the western side of the British Appenines.

In addition to the topographical evidences that have been adduced to prove that the present river Don was never the Brigantian boundary, other circumstances of an historical nature come in aid of the same position. That Doncaster, the royal village of King Edwin, was situated within the limits of the Brigantian province, has never

* That this was the case, is rendered manifest by the map of this district, which is given in Cole's ed. of Dugdale's History of Embsanking.

† Bradholm may, it is probable, have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon, Bnab, or Bnabe, *latus*, broad, wide, or ample; and Holme, a river island; hence we conceive, that Broad-island would be a literal translation of the term, Bradholm.

been questioned ; yet it was always placed on the southern bank of the Don, and was made the rallying point of King Egbert's scattered army, after his disastrous defeat in the north by the roving Danes ; and we also learn, as will be hereafter noted, that the village of Conisbrough, was occasionally, as its name imports, a royal residence of the Northumbrian monarchs. That Hatfield was a Northumbrian town, is deducible from the circumstance of the synod being held there in A. D. 681, when the presidency thereof was conferred upon a Northumbrian prince, by that august assembly ; which we can scarcely suppose would have been the case, had that town been within the jurisdiction of the Mercian monarch ; neither can we consistently suppose, that the virtuous and brave Edwin would have become the assailant, by an invasion of the territories of his powerful and vindictive neighbour, Penda, in encamping or meeting the combined army on the plains of Hatfield, in A. D. 633.

The Ad Fines of Richard's eighteenth iter would also, we presume, have been more accurately placed, if Stukeley, Pegge, &c. had advanced southwards to Templebrough, an undoubted Roman station, on the Rykneld street, and on the southern bank of the Don ; instead of stopping at the village of Greasbrooke, or, as erroneously spelt by Stukeley, Greaseborough. The distance of Legiolium from Ad Fines, in a line nearly direct, accords well with the distance laid down by the monk ; and as the way, so far as its course has yet been discovered, proceeded in a tolerably straight line, Templebrough appears to have a stronger claim on our attention, and better entitled to that ancient appellation, than the village before named. On a hasty and superficial view, however, some derangement in the numbers of the next station may seem to militate against this opinion ; but on a more mature consideration, it will be seen, that the bending line of the road, between the next unnamed station, near Chesterfield, and that on the Don, is calculated to lengthen the distance, and thereby rectify the apparent disagreement.

The etymology of the term, Ad Fines, may not be inaptly made out by Dr. Stukeley. It occurs three times in the iters of Richard, and is always placed near to the boundary line of some province ; hence he imagines it to imply, a station between or near the line of demarcation of the Brigantes and Coritani. "Ad Fines Maxima inter et Flavia." "Ad Fines Trinobantes inter et Cenomanos ;" and, "Ad Fines Brigantes inter et Coritanos." But it is observable, that with the exception of "Ad Fines," in the above three cases, the remainder of the citation is made by the pen of Dr. Stukeley, and is merely adopted as a distinguishing feature ; in the same manner, and for the same purpose, as we distinguish the various Woodhouses, &c. viz. Hatfield-woodhouse, Handsworth-woodhouse, &c. Adwick-sup'-Dearn, and Adwick-le-street.* The string of castles which formerly fenced the banks of the Don, together with the frequent occurrence of the Saxon Burg, Buruh, or

* Vide Stukeley's Com. on Richard, pp. 49, 61, & 62.

Borough, was one and the principal reason that led Stukeley, and after him Whitaker, to assign to this river the charge of separating the two provinces or states; but it should be borne in mind, that during the British dynasty, no such structures had existence; and after the invasion of the Romans, and the subsequent reduction of the Brigantes, none were necessary; it is, therefore, to the Saxons only that such edifices would be of any service whatever, as bulwarks of defence; and even then, with the probable exception of the upper part of the river, they would be of but little use, having already natural barriers of greater magnitude, and of more efficacious import, than any which could be devised by human ingenuity, or formed by the inventive malignity of finite capacities, even when urged on and sharpened by those powerful levers, ambition and revenge. None of the castellated edifices are now in existence, save the one at Conisbrough; and whether the present remain is assignable to a Saxon original, is a dubious question. It is evident, however, or highly probable, that a strong hold of no ordinary character, had being here, long ere the advent of the Normans.*

Higden, although comparatively a modern writer, is of opinion, that the line of partition ran nearly on the verge of the present limits of the county of York. His words are, "Ab austro flumen Humbræ descendendi versus occidentem, per fines comitatum Nottinghamiæ et Derbiæ, usque ad flumen de Mersæ." And Mr. Hunter, the able historian of Hallamshire, has come to the same conclusion; while the map delineated under the superintendence of the learned Mr. Leman, presents the same confines. Before we give to the Don this charge, it might be well to estimate the advantages that would accrue to the Mercians, by holding this contracted shred of land south of the Don. Separated from the rest of their possessions by a range of mountains, and a miry district, which in some places, even in our day, pre-

* Some after the wyntere, when the somar bigan,
The Kyng and his meyne went to *burgh-Konan*.
It was on Witsontyde day, in tyme of slepyng,
Kom messengers of the Northe an teld Egbrith the Kyng
Throh Frithbald, a Lorde of the Northende
And sade, ' Sir Egbriht, our ohefs Kinge to till lende,
Suffer not Sir Frithbalde, long to lede this pgne
His folke besyde Tuede eslayne and kast ther ine,
He is now in poynte his regne for to Tyne,
Through them of Denmark, this lands wille thei wyne,
And yf thei Sir Frithbalde haf now ouer comen,
The to ther remenant of the Northe son salle thei nomen.
Sir for thys hie feste, and for the Trinitie
Suffer us nought to lefe, for defaulte of the.'

The burgh-Konan here recorded by the chronicler, has reference, we should presume, to the modern Conisbrough; a post of sufficient importance to demand the attention of the Northumbrian monarchs, and an inferencial proof, that Doncaster, at that period, was not in a tenable condition, and that it was destroyed, as will be hereafter attempted to be proved, by the pagans, in A. D. 633. The contest between Egbert and the Danes took place about two hundred years afterwards.

sent a barrier sufficient to deter or defy the active hand of avarice from rendering it useful for any purpose whatever, it could not at that remote age, we should presume, be of any utility, either in a civil, agricultural, or commercial point of view, to our Mercian neighbours.

The division of this wapentake, as well as of the nation in general, into parishes, next to counties, forms one of the most important measures, and is more sensibly and universally felt at the present day, than any other subdivision whatever. Manorial rights and baronial privileges are divisions interesting only to a small portion of mankind; while the rights and duties, incumbent upon every parishioner, concern men of every order, from the peer to the peasant. The origin of this partition is generally ascribed to Honorius, the sixth archbishop of Canterbury; but we esteem it extremely questionable, whether a date so early as A. D. 634 ought in justice to be assigned to that event.* The learned Selden, it is true, attempts, with much ingenuity, to give to their institution a much earlier date; and Dr. Tillesby, his reverend animadverter, has been unsuccessful in his endeavours to confute him.† But the authorities which they adduce do not appear to refer to such districts as those at present so denominated. Whatever might be the situation of Roman Britain, relative to the existence of such portions, it is extremely probable, that if established on a limited scale, they again disappeared on the recurrence of the idolatrous worship introduced by the Saxons, who were complete strangers to the doctrine of Jehovah, and who demolished, with wanton hands, every edifice that was inscribed to the Christian Deity.

The parishes, into which England was divided by Honorius, evidently appear to have been dioceses, over which their bishops, as at present, held a subordinate jurisdiction. In A. D. 680, "*Merciorum provincia in quinque parochias est divisa*;"‡ which proves, in a clear and satisfactory manner, in what sense the term, "*parochiæ*," was then received; as that province, as it is there called, comprised the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Bedford, Nottingham, Chester, and part of Hertford; forming one of the largest portions into which the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was divided, and at this day containeth far above one thousand parishes. Kenwalch, also, the second Christian king of the West-Saxons, "*in duas parochias provinciam divisa*."§ William of Malmsbury likewise observes, that Kenulph, the Mercian

* Somner's *Canterbury*, p. 230.

† Vid. Selden's *Hist. of Tithes*, cap. vi. & ix; and Dr. R. Tillesby, p. 194, where the matter is largely entered into by these learned authors.

‡ *Florence of Worces.* sub anno 680; also, Selden, cap. ix; Dugd. *Mon. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 217; and Lelandi *Coll.* vol. iii. p. 319; where several notices to the same effect may be seen.

§ *Bede Hist. Eccles.* lib. iii. cap. iv. "*Parochiæ*" is also rendered by his translator, "*diocese*." See also Stow's *Annals*, p. 78. Lelandi *Coll.* vol. ii. p. 316.

king, wrote to Leo, the third bishop of Rome, to the following purport: "Quod contra Canones a patre Gregorio constitutas, auctoritas Dorobernensis Metropolitani in duas scinditur parochias, cujus ditioni duodecim subjacere debent episcopi;" to which the bishop replied, that, "In sacro scrinio nostro reperimus, sanctum Gregorium predecessorem nostrum in integro ipsam parochiam numero duodecim beato Augustino archiepiscopo tradidisse episcopos consecrandos;"* "and the truth is," says Selden, "that it may properly be said, that Honorius was the first under whom his province was divided into 'parochiæ,' or bishopriques, i. e. no other bishopriques (except Canterbury, London, and Rochester,) were in his province, until his time; those three being almost of one antiquity.†"

From what we have here advanced, and the authorities to which we refer, it will, we presume, be rendered obvious, that the parishes so often spoken of by our more early writers were no other than dioceses, or large and extensive portions, under the immediate and special authority of bishops, to whom all or the major part of tithes, oblations, &c. were paid, as to a common treasury, and by him distributed according to the tenour of the existing ecclesiastical law;‡ for it seems an established fact, that "so long as these parochial functions were so personal, that they were not, as now, so annexed to foundations and endowments, but rather exercised as by messengers sent from the bishop," to preach the word of God; hence it is observed by our justly venerated Bede, "that wheresoever any monk or clergyman happened to go, he was received by all ranks of people with the greatest demonstrations of joy and respect, as God's servant; and each one bowing his head, eagerly sought to obtain their blessing, either by hand or mouth, even when they were travelling on the high road. They also paid great attention to their exhortations on these occasions. But on Sundays in particular, immense crowds used to flock to the churches and monasteries; not to feed their bodies, but to hear the word of God; and if any priest perchanced to come into the village, the inhabitants of it immediately assembled about him, and earnestly entreated him to favour them with some few words of instruction and spiritual advice; for in those days clergymen or priests never went into villages on any other account, but to preach, baptize, or visit the sick, or, to say all in one word, to procure the salvation of souls; and they were so free from avarice, that none of them ever received possessions of lands for building monasteries

* Will. Malms. de Gestis Reg. lib. i. cap. iv. as cited by Weever.

† Selden, lib. ix. Stow's Ann. p. 76.

‡ "All that was received wherever in the bishoprique, was, as a common treasure, to be so dispensed. One part was allowed to the maintenance of the ministerie (out of which parochial minister had his salary, according to the monthly pay spoken of in the first eccle years). Another to the relieve of the poore, sick and strangers, a third to the reparation of churches, and a fourth to the bishop." Selden, lib. ix. "The livings annexed to appropriations were first given for the maintenance of the church and her family, i. e. ministers and poor people. In the primitive church, the bishops disposed of them accordingly; but the burthen growing in time too great for them, the parsons were themselves trusted to do it, every one in his own parish." Spelman on Tithes, cap. xxix. p. 151.

or churches, unless they were compelled in some measure by the pressing solicitations of their benefactors, which custom was in all points observed for a long time by the clergy of Northumberland.*

The author of the history of the Council of Trent is of opinion, that the partition of England into parishes, such as we now see them, took place as the gospel of Christ became prevalent, and not at the command of any particular person, or at any precise period; but was made by the people, "when a certain number of inhabitants, having received the true faith, built a temple for the exercise of their religion, hired a priest, and did constitute a church, which by the neighbours was called a parish; and when the number was increased, if one church and priest was not sufficient, those that were most remote, did build another;" hence the origin of several townships or chapelries in one parish. "In progress of time, for good order and concord, a custom began, to have the bishop's consent also;" and thus parishes, he supposes, originally arose; rather out of necessity, than out of any preconceived plan, or premeditated scheme, but mutually, "the priests for the souls of the people, and the people for the maintenance of their priests."† Of this opinion also appears to have been the Rev. Abraham de la Pryme, who has judiciously remarked, that on the first of all, when the country became by degrees converted to the Christian faith, and the people became devout, and wanted places to meet in, a great many towns contributed towards the erection of a church, and when finished, they came to hear divine service therein, from all the neighbouring country, to the extent of a great many miles; and from as far as these people came, and continually resorted to the church; so far was reckoned within the precincts of the church, and under the tuition of the minister. These precincts, in after times, came to be named parishes; not from the barbarous Latin word, 'parochiæ,' as the learned Skinner very well observes, but from the Greek, *παροικία*, 'accolatus, seu sacra Vicinia quot scilicet sub muris curioris seu sacerdotis intel. in rebus sacris constituti sunt;' and as churches were at first but few, and at a great distance from each other; so they had also huge precincts, (afterwards called parishes,) so large, that what from the badness of the roads, or weather, or other hindrances, many of the inhabitants of the most remote towns and villages, belonging to the church, could not come thereto; so that, when they were grown rich, they begged leave of the mother church, its patron, and the bishop, to build themselves a chapel in their own town; which done, they got it made parochial, and then divided it from the mother church."‡

* Bede's Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 26. This is corroborative of what Selden has observed relative to the clergy being itinerant preachers. Vid. also Wharton, and Dr. Inett, vol. i. p. 261.

† Hist. Coun. Trent, lib. iv. p. 498.

‡ Pryme's MS. Hist. Hatfield, Lands. Lib. Harl. MSS. No. 897.

The process of church building, and the multiplication of parochial districts, is here very naturally accounted for; but we cannot concede to his opinion concerning the first original of mother churches. Most, if not all the first ecclesiastical structures were raised by the great manorial land owners, whose seigniory was very wide, and who, subsequently to the age of Theodore, were empowered to build and endow churches, and to enjoy the patronage thereof for ever; hence it is that we generally find the right of presentation, &c. in early times, vested in the manorial proprietor; which would not have been so usual, had they been originally erected by the community. Anterior to the general spread of the gospel, and its reception by our Saxon ancestors, the number of churches was but small, compared with what a subsequent era exhibited; and it is hardly reasonable to suppose, that parishes, in their present form, had existence ere that event. On the survey, the wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill did not contain more than eleven churches; but the number of parochial establishments now in being exceeds thirty; most of which were reared immediately after the conquest. The parishes, therefore, in being in the age of the Confessor, must have been much more extensive than at present, or a very considerable portion of property was extra-parochial; a supposition, it must be acknowledged, scarcely admissible. That parishes, however, were in existence ere the conquest, as we have before intimated, is more than probable; but the first mention of such a division, we conceive, occurs in the laws of King Edgar, which were promulgated about A. D. 970. The clause in the code of Ina, so exultingly cited by some writers, does not, we presume, in any way affect the argument; as it is manifest, that it refers only to the regular payment of tithes, &c., without apportioning them to any particular establishments. Selden and Whitaker, two very erudite writers, attempt to give them an existence some time ere the Saxon dynasty; but they rather prove the prevalence of some private oratories having a certain jurisdiction, than parochial institutions. In short, when we take into consideration the letter of our venerable Bede, sent to Egbert, bishop of York, relative to a want of clergymen in the towns and villages of that province, and of their non-appearance, save when they were called thither to discharge the functions of their sacred offices; we are constrained to receive the opinion of Mr. Whitaker with much caution, and to conclude, that whatever might be the situation of the southern part of Britain, the more northwardly portion thereof had no regularly settled parochial establishments; but that the clergy of the diocese were dispatched by the ordinary, to do duty in the towns and villages, as occasion might require, or convenience serve.

That the commissioners, who were appointed to make the survey of England, by our first William, did not recognize their existence, is a fact; but it is also as true, that a recognition of manorial rights and privileges was attended with much less trouble and more accuracy; and it is likewise a presumptive proof, that such divisions were not in much esteem, or generally prevalent at that era. In the laws of William,

the Conqueror, however, which are little else than a transcript, somewhat amended, from the laws of our Saxon ancestors, and nearly a verbal copy from those of the Confessor, it is observed, "*Pax Sanctæ Ecclesiæ cujuscunque Forisfacturæ quilibet reus sit hoc tempore, et venire potest ad Sanctam Ecclesiam; Pacem habeat vitæ et membri. Et si quis injecerit manum in eum qui matrem Ecclesiam quæserit, sive sit Abbatia, sive Ecclesia Religionis, reddat eum quem abstulerit, et centum solidos nomine Forisfacturæ: et matri Ecclesiæ parochiali xx solidos: et Capellæ x solidos: et qui fregerit pacem Regis in Merchenelega centum solidos amendet, similiter de compensatione homicidii, et de insidiis præcogitatis.*" Here the learned reader will not fail to remark, that a direct allusion is made to parochial edifices and chapels. Other proofs than these already advanced might be brought forwards in support of their Saxon original; we presume, however, that their adduction is totally unnecessary. But on this subject enough has been said.

In order to preserve entire our brief discourse on the principal divisions, subdivisions, &c. of the country, we have forborne to touch upon the general face of the wapentake, and the origin of the name it has assumed. In the British era, and for some centuries afterwards, the whole of this wapentake, it is probable, like the greater part of most uncultivated countries, was a complete wood, waving with "a sea of trees." According to the map affixed to the Itinerary of the monk of Westminster, the "*Sylva Caledonia*" of that invaluable document covered the whole of the Coritanian, or, as sometimes spelt in the same work, Coitanian district. Uncontrolled in its progressive advances, the subterranean forest which partly lies within the range of this survey, proves that it extended itself into the province of the Brigantes, and contributed, it is likely, towards the formation of the parks belonging to the Talbots, the Wentworths, the Warrens, the Mowbrays, and the Fossards of "olden days," proud specimens of which existed in this neighbourhood at a comparatively recent date.

In point of aspect, a district so limited in its extent can scarcely be found, where a greater variety of grand and interesting scenery meets the eye. In the lower division, a flat and unvaried uniformity prevails, sufficiently extensive to weary the vision of the most patient and indifferent observer; while the upper portion thereof arrests our attention by the boldness of its features, and the dignity of its outline. From the line which separates the northern from the southern part, the latter gradually departs from a tiresome and monotonical, to a mountainous character, terminating in the truly rich and sublime. West and north-west of Sheffield, the scenery is delightfully interesting. Slow and majestic in their hollow and flexuous channels, the Don, the Sheaf, and the Rivelin, together with a number of smaller but not less pleasing streams, roll their waters to the south, in murmuring accents; when anon, swollen by the "rain of heaven," impetuosity and grandeur, desolation and waste mark their turbid courses. Inclosed by gigantic

hills, bold and precipitous—sometimes presenting a grey and craggy front, fringed by the purple heath, or clothed in deepened green, and at others, a pleasing variety of sylvan gaiety, enriched by the inimitable tints of nature, of health and disease—the senses of the astonished observer are ever ravished by a change of prospect, and on every movement, a new creation as it were, amazes the mind, and lifts it up to heaven. In some parts of this highly favoured district, cataracts and falls rapidly succeed each other, and foaming amidst the rugged rocks, which a convulsion in nature has “toppl’d down headlong” into the valleys, a continual murmur is heard, and the “limpid stream,” after being frequently buffeted by the noisy wheel, circuitously winds its way to its destination. The lineaments of nature, in the neighbourhood of Wharnciff, are probably of as rich and sublime a character, as any in the British empire. Torn from their original positions, by the omnipotent hand of the God of nature, a field of desolation appears; rocks piled on rocks, and hills on hills, in all forms, and of all dimensions; and, like the “cloud-capp’d towers” of our immortal bard, they hang in fearful frowns over the vast and dismal chasm below; threatening with instant death the affrighted visitant. This havoc never meets our eyes, but the theory of Whiston holds our minds in thralldom by a conviction of its truth; for by it only, in our estimation, can this mass of grand confusion be satisfactorily accounted for. If we place ourselves on the brink of some of the boldly featured precipices with which this neighbourhood abounds, we behold, expanded at our feet, a vast curved valley, clothed with a profusion of wood; raising our eyes aloft, the horizon of our vision becomes circumscribed by the sombre sides of a series of boldly fashioned mountains, whose very apices wound the clouds of heaven. In the centre of this charming vale, a swift and zigzag river, sometimes meandering in a narrow, shallow, and noisy course, and at others, sweeping as with a torrent of destruction, every thing opposing its mighty weight and width, hurries its devious progress, and dashing its waters against the bounding rocks, tunefully enlivens this sequestered dell; which, together with the sweet and inimitable warbling of the feathered tribe, and the muttering music of the “Hart’s bell,” render it a place delightfully serene and pleasingly recluse. But the beauties of the picturesque, the sublime, and the lofty in nature, are not exclusively confined to the vale of the Don; the rich districts through which flow the less ostentatious streams of the Rivelin, the Sheaf, &c. exhibit in succession a profusion of scenes, to which the pencil of a Lorrain could not do justice.

“Et veniunt hederæ sponte sua melius,
Surgit et in solis formosior arbutus antris,
Et volucres nulla dulcius arte crunt,”

PROPERT.

When or on what occasion this district assumed its present appellation, is now, probably, beyond the reach of inquiry. In the book called Doomsday-book, to which we shall hereafter often refer, it is denominated “Straffordes;” and in the

records called "Inquisitiones Nonarum," it is thus noticed, "de Wappentag. de Straforde et lib'tat. de Tykhul;" and in several other instruments of nearly a corresponding date, the like designation appears;* hence it would seem, that the liberty of Tickhill was a portion of the wapentake, in some measure, and on some occasions, totally independent of the wapentake of Strafford, but never, we shall conceive, wholly distinct and separate; because, several places which are in the fee, or liberty of Tickhill, are, in the rolls of Winchester, said to be in the wapentake or hundred of Strafford. On what occasion the former lost its franchises, or whether they are only dormant, and wait revival, we are not prepared to say. In the earlier ages of refinement, when the mandate of the few gave action to the many, and the great baronial chieftains, armed with omnipotent power, swayed the sword of justice or oppression, the confines of their jurisdiction and theatre of power were generally limited by their possessions, either nominal or real; hence the many subdivisions formerly prevalent in our district; such as the soke of Doncaster, the liberty of the castle of Conisbrough, the shire of Hallam, &c., the important functions of which have, in some cases wholly, and in others nearly fallen into entire neglect; and it is extremely probable that the widely extended liberty of Tickhill was of this order and original. The jurisdiction of the liberty of the barony of Tickhill was not confined to the limits of the wapentake, or to the southern extreme of the county of York. Several places and portions of property in the county of Nottingham, &c. were held of the Builles, and paid suit and service to the castle of Tickhill, as will be shewn in a future page. The annexation of the term Tickhill to that of Strafford, in the designation of the Wapentake, appears to have been imposed soon after it became appendant to the crown. The high importance of its first Norman owner, in the scale of society, was most certainly calculated to impart to his baronial residence a more than ordinary consequence; but the short period of time which the Builles and their successors held it, and its unsettled condition during the reigns of Richard, John, and Henry, three successive kings of England, prevented it from acquiring that state of stability, which ere that event promised to attend it; and it was soon after this time, we conceive, that it was more fully attached to the hundred, from which it was never totally separated.

The term, "Strafford," may possibly owe its origin to the Anglo-Saxon, *straete*, *platea*, a broad way, or great street; and *Forn*, *amnis*, a river, stream, or flood; but it may appear more consistent to derive it from *staf*, *baculus*, a staff, stick, baton, or sceptre; and *Forn*, making the compound Stafford, instead of Streetford. The latter mode of derivation may probably seem the more reasonable, because it may be supposed to have reference to the occasionally assembling here of the mem-

* In the Harl. MSS. No. 217, is a number of collections from Dodsworth, supposed to have been made by one Hilliard, in which it is written, "Straffords Hundr. cum lib. de Tickell," and "Tickell fee." These collections relate principally to the city of York. In the Hundred Rolls it is likewise distinctly noticed.

bers of the district; and especially so, as it is not known that any way of eminence ever crossed the Don, at or near to this place; a circumstance that renders the former etymon less satisfactory. The first manner, however, of accounting for the term, has been adopted by the editors of the old *Magna Britannia*; who attempt to strengthen its propriety, by supposing, that a Roman road formerly ran this way, from Castleton to Chesterfield, *per via* of Templebrough; but it is obvious that they are under a mistake; for the rampart alluded to undoubtedly crossed the Don near to the latter place. If at any former period, a way of that description approached the village of Conisbrough, or its immediate neighbourhood, and connected the Danum of that people with the Morbium of the Notitia, it would be likelier to be found on the southern side of the Don, being free from the obstacles which the northern bank presents.

Difficult, however, as it may be found satisfactorily to account for the origin of the term, *Straffordes*, its precise site is not less difficult to identify; for we are not conscious that there is now, or ever was a place so denominated, except an old ford near Mexbrough, usually called *Strafforth-sands*, which is by no means sufficiently central to be entitled to that distinction, unless we again suppose, that the head officer of the wapentake held judicial authority over the liberty of Tickhill, in the same manner as he did over those of Doncaster, Conisbrough, &c. Allowing this supposition to be correctly formed, the ford just mentioned has certainly strong claims to be considered the identical place. It is in no case ineligible. The rapidity with which the waters of the Don often descend from their sources, afford but few opportunities for a pass of that character; and the one we have mentioned is the fittest of any between Rotherham and Doncaster. It is also sufficiently central for a place of rendezvous, when any emergency required the assembling of its members; as the principal strength of the district, in the Saxon era, would be situated more immediately in this neighbourhood than in modern times. The whole wapentake, as is probable from its extent, was but thinly peopled during the Saxon dynasty, or when the division was first made; and whether we regard it as having comprised a hundred families or individuals, they were but sparingly spread. South and south-west of Sheffield, with all that portion north and north-west of Thorne, did not contain more than ten or twelve integral parts of the whole hundred; while Hatfield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Laughton-en-le-morthen, Rotherham, Wath, &c. with their immediate neighbourhoods, would furnish the remaining number required to keep the peace. Under these considerations, the adaptation of *Strafforth-sands* for a post of that nature, seems not only to stand on a tolerably firm basis; but has rendered more than probable the opinion, that this ford gave birth to the early designation of this portion of the country; and that it was here where our Saxon ancestors assembled to swear fealty to their new governor, and confirm by their presence obedience to his mandates.

The etymology of the term, wapentake, has been variously derived; but the generally received opinion is in favour of its Saxon original, *Wæpen, telum vel armatura*, a weapon to fight with, a sword, the training or exercising of soldiers; and *tac*, a touch, or *taccare*, to confirm; hence *Wæpuntac*, or a touching of weapons, as a pledge of fidelity.* Of this opinion was also the learned Mr. Lambard, with whom Fleta agreeeth. "Et non sine causa: Cum quis enim accipiebat præfecturam Wapentakii, die statuto in loco, ubi consueverant congregari, omnes majores contra eum conveniebant, et decedente de equo suo, omnes assurgebant ei. Ipse vero, erecta lancea sua, ab omnibus secundum morem fœdus accipiebat. Omnes, enim quotquot venissent, cum lanceis suis ipsius hastam tangebant, et ita confirmabant per contractum armorum, pace palam concessa. Anglice enim arma vocantur (Wæpun) et taccare, confirmare: quasi armorum confirmatio. Vel ut magis expresse secundum linguam Anglicanam dicamus, wapentak armorum tactus est; (Wæpun) enim arma sonant, (tac) tactus est. Quomobrem poterit cognosci, quod hac de causa, totus ille conventus dicitur (Wæpuntac,) eo quod per tactum armorum suorum ad invicem confœderati sunt."† Sir Thomas Smith observes, "Wapentak, I suppose, came of the Danes, or peradventure of the Saxons. For that so many towns came by their order then into one place, where was taken a muster of their armour and weapons; in which place, from them that could not find sufficient pledges for their good abearing, their weapons were taken away."‡ We are not aware that *tac* was ever rendered "take." The northern wapentake is synonymous in import with the southern hundred; and the chief magistrate of each was invested with the same power, and clothed with the same mantle of authority. He was named the hundredary.

The formation of these divisions, like counties, &c. is generally ascribed to King Alfred, deservedly named the Great;§ but it is questionable, whether that prince of immortal fame, was the founder or the renovator. Mr. Whitaker, the Manchester annalist, contends, that they are of an earlier origin; but Turner, an historian entitled to almost universal credit, supports the popular creed. That such divisions, however, were in being ere the Saxon era, is exceedingly problematical; and though Tacitus informs us, that the Germans chose rulers to administer justice in towns and villages, which have an hundred chosen out of the people to accompany them; he seems rather to refer to an itinerant jury, being their "councell and authoritie," than to a civil jurisdiction, like the ancient hundred or wapentake. Whether this portion

* *Tacn* also signifies *signum*, a standard, an ensign, a banner, a streamlet, or flag. Vid. also Wheloc's ed. of the *Laws of Edward the Confessor*.

† Lambard's *Explication of Saxon Words*.

‡ Cowel's *Interpreter*, verb. "Wapentakii," and *Hoveden*, cited by Leland and Graves.

§ *Hist. Manch.* vol. ii. p. 113 et seq.

consisted of a hundred villages, a hundred families, or a hundred individuals, is not a settled point. Each has its advocates; but the second is the most probable. Brompton has it "centum villas;" but Mr. Lambarde says, "a numero centum hominum." A hundred villages are scarcely to be found in many hundreds, &c. at the present day. That it was of German extraction, seems, however, extremely probable; but after the arrival of the Saxons here, it was some time ere a regular system of government could be established; and it is not unlikely, but that these divisions, in some instances, were formed at a period both anterior and subsequent to the age of Alfred; as it is scarcely probable, that the regulation would be generally adopted, until the government of the kingdom became vested in the hands of one potentate. The same remark, we conceive, will apply to other partitions of a general character.

The hundredary, or chief officer of the wapentake, was generally of the rank of a Thane,* and was chosen out of the members of the district over which he was called to preside. Every hundred or wapentake was divided into ten tythings, over each of which a "*Decurio*, a civil dean, or tythingman," had care, and was answerable to the hundredary, as the latter was to the king, for the conduct of the ten families within his jurisdiction; unless he could prove, by satisfactory evidence, that the delinquency of the offender were of a character wholly beyond the range of his power to control. The members of each tything, or taping, were under the necessity of attending the court of the hundredary, about once in every month; in default whereof, severe fines were levied, and rigidly enforced. On the appointment of every new officer for the regulation of the affairs of the wapentake, the members of each tything assembled *en masse*, at their usual place of rendezvous, armed, and in their military apparel, fully equipped, as on the "morn of battle." On the arrival of the newly appointed governor, he dismounted, and reared erect his halbert or spear; when each member of the tythings of which the hundred was composed, as a pledge of his allegiance, approached, and with his own spear touched that of his chief; hence, as we have already remarked, originated the term, wapentake, or a touching of weapons.†

The office of a hundredary appears to have been one of great importance and much responsibility; and though it was usually conferred on one whose rank and influence in society were very considerable, its functions were often grossly abused. Like every other institution, whether of human or of divine formation, when left to the agency of finite and fallible man, it soon became tinctured with his foibles, and

* Thanes, amongst the Saxons, were men of very considerable importance; they attended the king's court, and held immediately of the crown all their possessions.

† Wilkins' Sax. Leg. and Lambarde.

deformed by his passions; hence it was found necessary for superior officers occasionally to interfere; and causes, partially determined, or unjustly decided, were removed, as at present, to courts of a higher nature;* an achievement, which, in the infancy of national polity, and the cool indifference of some of the successors of Alfred, was a task of no ordinary accomplishment; and in their way to the seat of impartial justice, they too often sunk beneath the feet of neglect, or the more powerful and fatal grasp of avarice and ambition.

The origin and extent of tythings are of necessity as far involved in the abyss of uncertainty, as are those of hundreds, &c. The term is of Saxon derivation. Teoða, *decimus*, Teoðan-ŕceat, *decima*, Teoðian, *decimare*; importing, first, the tenth, secondly, a tenth or tithe, and thirdly, to tithe, to take the tenth part, to punish every tenth man, &c. Thoresby, who was an excellent Saxon scholar, is of the same opinion, as to the original of the term. "A Teoðing," says he, "consisted of ten families;" and Mr. Whitaker, whose ingenuity on several of these occasions is admirably acute, supposeth, that each family was no other than a manorial proprietor, with the borders, villanes, &c. under his immediate jurisdiction; hence he would infer, that ten manors, lordships, or families constituted a tything, and ten tythings a hundred or wapentake. Whatever number of manors, &c. the Saxon hundred contained originally, it is certain, that on the survey made by the authority of the Confessor, the hundred of Strafford consisted of a number greatly exceeding one hundred. To dispense, however, as we are obliged to do, with a satisfactory explanation of the term and extent of this ancient division, we cannot but admire the means by which a peace, concord, and discipline was established, unparalleled in the annals of ancient nations; as we are told, however true, that at the period adverted to, a man might leave by the side of the highway, a purse of gold, and although frequently seen by successive travellers, it would not be removed from its place but by the owner.†

On the origin of towns, &c. we shall not be prolix. That man was not made wholly for himself, but for society, is an axiom, too evident to need illustration, and a position too well established by facts to require proof; although, probably, not deduceable from arguments founded *a priori*, but *a posteriori*. New from the hand of his Creator, and perfect in body and mind, it might be reasonable to infer, that he was destined to be the sun of his own sphere—a free and independent member, unawed by the elements, unchanged by surrounding objects, and unaltered by the

* Du Cange and Spelman.

† Against the opinion of Whitaker, relative to the constitution of our wapentakes, tythings, &c. several very important facts might be adduced, and none more strong, than that our hundred of Strafford and Tickhill exceeds, in a tenfold degree, some of the same divisions in the south, where population was always much greater; Kent and Sussex each contain more than sixty hundreds; while Yorkshire, a county of much greater extent, contains only thirty-one or two. These are important considerations, and militate fatally against the conjecture of the above gentleman.

revolution of ages. But the all-wise and self-existent Being soon saw that it was "not good that he should be alone;" he therefore formed him a companion; and man for ever afterwards clung to his species, as to a centre of gravity, over which he had no control; and whether savage or civilized, he is ever found one of a community, cemented by interest, and bound by an obligation, at once mutual and immutable.

To this source it is that the origin of towns, &c. may be ascribed. The towns of the Britons were not so compact in their construction as are those of modern date; as is learnt from Cæsar, if his description of those in Gaul, and the south of Britain be a correctly delineated picture, and applicable to the rude cabins reared by the Celtæ. "The Britons," says he, "call a town, a thick wood, inclosed about with a ditch, and a rampire made for a place of retreat, when they stood in fear of incursions from the borderers."* "The forests of the Britons," says Strabo, "are their cities. For when they have enclosed a very large circuit with fallen trees, they build within it houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for a long duration."† But notwithstanding the speedy disappearance of their fragile tenements, their bulwarks, the foss and the vallum, have in many instances defied to this day the dilapidations of time. The description of a British town, as left by Cæsar, applies, however, wholly to *Verolam*, or the modern St. Albans, which, it should be observed, may not correctly describe a Celtic village. "As security was the primary object studied by the Britons in constructing a town, we may readily believe, that the nations which occupied the more mountainous districts of the island, chose the site of their places of retreat on the summits of elevations difficult of access, and commanding extensive views. Accordingly, we find in several parts of Wales, and in Cornwall, in Lancashire, Shropshire, Cambridgeshire, Herefordshire, and other counties of England, the remains of castrametations on tall, precipitate hill tops, which are confidently believed to have been the fastnesses, or towns of retreat, constructed by the ancient inhabitants of the island."‡ In a great number of instances, the enclosed towns or fastnesses of our British ancestors, comprised a very considerable area; this circumstance, however, depended in a great measure upon local and topographical eligibility; neither are their shape or conformation at all times regulated by mathematical accuracy; but their usual construction was on a circular plan, or as near to that figure as the nature of the ground would admit. The most perfect remain of a British fastness, in this district, is on the top of Wincobank-hill, near Grimesthorpe.§ There are also some

* Cæs. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 8. The Germans, according to Tacitus, would not suffer their houses to join each other; "but every man leaveth a space about his house, either as a remedy against the misfortunes of fire, or by unskilfulness in building." *Tac. Desc. Ger.* Sammes supposes, with several other writers, that the Britons came from the north of the German empire.

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Brewer's Introduction, p. 62.

§ This fortification or town will be noticed more at large in a subsequent page.

very extensive earth-works in the neighbourhood of Bradfield, &c. to be hereafter noticed. Their houses, being designed only for temporary habitations, were of a flimsy and loose texture, and but little calculated to shelter the inhabitants thereof from the "pelting of the pitiless storm;" being composed of the boughs of trees rudely dressed, were of a circular make and thatched with straw, having an aperture in the centre of the roof, which answered the two-fold purpose of an emission of smoke and an admission of light: air they obtained in abundance from the cracks and fissures of their clayey tenements.* "The old British houses," observes Rowland, "were little round cabins, *cronghwyd*, of small capacity, as the ruins of them still shew; yet they were generally in clusters, three or four of them together; which, it seems, served them for rooms and separate lodgings."† The description of the German houses, given by Tacitus, is supposed by some minutely to apply to our British edifices. "Parget and mortar they use not, nor tiles, and use to all buildings unsquared and unwrought timber, without any beauty or delight, but to daub some places very diligently with such a clear and shining earth, that it resembles a picture or draught of colours."‡ This portraiture may probably not apply in its full extent to the houses of the Celtic race; for it is doubtful whether the latter were on a par, in point of convenience or beauty, with those of their southern neighbours. Such structures, however, with the exception of their mud-made walls, still exist in the north of Scotland; evincing thereby the fidelity and truth of the accounts which have been handed to us by Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. On a more frequent and intimate communication with their Gallic neighbours, and the improvements effected by the Romans, civil architecture gradually advanced, and in addition to the unsquared beam, wattled wall, and pyramidal formation, beams of wood transversely laid, and a coat of clay beautified by a solution of lime, became the general system of building.§

A short time subsequently to the invasion of the Romans, and their subsequent reduction of the country, a new era in architecture soon appeared.|| Instead of the wretched and loathsome hovels everywhere prevalent, castles, temples, theatres, baths, porticos, and market-places, became the usual appendages to a British city.

Although, originally, no great difference might probably exist on the score of British computation; after the various scattered towns became thoroughly romanized, they appeared like the sun in the concave of heaven, shedding forth its glory, and obscuring by the lustre of its rays the feeble splendor of the other

* Macpherson's Antiq. cap. ix. and xviii. Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 8.

† Rowland's Mona Antiqua Restaurata, p. 258.

‡ Tacit. Descr. Germ. lib. ii.

§ Baxter, Vocæ Candida Casa.

|| Vit. Agric. cap. xxi.

heavenly bodies; so, likewise, such places as were visited by those enlightened warriors, soon eclipsed, in comfort and appearance, all that were not favoured by their presence; and Britain, ere the lapse of many ages, became remarkably fertile in the production of eminent architects, and in the sites of edifices, the few remains whereof have excited the admiration of modern artists.*

To the Roman period of elegant and useful refinement, an era succeeded, the ravages of which scattered desolation and ruin through the whole empire. The Saxons and Danes, strangers to the elevated views of Roman polity, despised the monuments of their grandeur, and with a gothic and savage resolution, unparalleled in the pages of barbarism, they laid in heaps and ashes the proud memorials of Roman art, which the revolution of ages will be unable to restore. Ruthful and barbarous, however, as were those vindictive destroyers, it is to the Saxon period that we must refer the foundation and origin of a great number of our towns and villages, as we shall shew in the progress of our investigation. After wasting and depopulating the country by fire and sword, for a series of years, the demon of havoc and war would at length become satiated; which, together with the prolific necessities of finite and dependent beings, would compel them to turn their attention to the cultivation of peace, in order to supply the wants of nature: for although

"Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long:"

where all are robbers, a dearth in plunderable property must ensue; when castles, fortifications, &c. would be founded, in order to maintain, as far as possible, such portions of the country, as their valour or duplicity had won. Round these, in time of peace, the lords of inferior rank and men of meaner birth would of course settle, and thus plant the germs that were destined to grow up into cities, boroughs, villages, &c.

On Christianity becoming the popular creed of the Saxons, and building of churches a master-passion in the minds of their chiefs, religious edifices and their appendants became accompaniments to the *aula*; and on the gradual increase of population, the dwellings of the lower and dependent part of society would naturally be built in their immediate vicinity; hence, also, the origin of many of our towns; especially such as have the appellative, *Hic*, *Ecc*, or *lc*, &c. for their component part, as is the case in two or three instances in this neighbourhood. Such towns as were of eminent note, bore the appellation of *Burgh*, *Borow*, *Borough*, *Brugh*, &c. "metaphorically signifying a town, having a wall or some kind of closure about it;

* The British architects were so eminent in their profession, that a body of them was sent over to Gaul, by Constantine, to rebuild the ruined city, *Augustodunum*, on a more grand and magnificent scale. *Eumenius*, p. 181.

also a castle. All places that in old times had, among our ancestors, the name of *borough*, were places one way or other fortified ;” “ places first so called, having been with walls of turf, or clods of earth, fenced about for men to lie shrouded in, as in forts or castles. And where the word *borough* or *burg* is the termination of the name of a city or town, as Canterbury, Salisbury, and the like, it metaphorically signifies a high or chief place.”* Such, according to the above acceptance of the term, were Conisbrough, Sprotbrough, Masborough, Mexbrough, &c. Formerly, *civitas* and *burgus* had the same meaning attached to them ; “ for they are indifferently termed.” “ And also that they have the selfsame privileges. That in writings they are confounded, appeareth by a charter of William the Conqueror ; for in his Latin grant is made ‘ civibus London.’ and the same in old English is called ‘ burghwaren.’ The city, called in Latin ‘ Dorobernia,’ in old English is ‘ Cantwarabyrig.’ Bede calleth towns ending in *burg*, cities, as those which end in *cester* or *chester*, as ‘ Talaburg.’†

“ That their privileges are one, appeareth from what follows :—

“ Murage may not be taken, but from boroughs and cities.

“ The custom of burgage extendeth to boroughs as well as to towns.

“ All highways leading to cities and boroughs are ‘ viæ Regiæ’ Hen. I. They who break the gates of cities or boroughs, are called *burgsores* ; so ‘ borrowbreach’ is interpreted ‘ civitas rupta.

“ Bede, lib. iii. cap. 19. expoundeth ‘ Cnobheresburg’ to be ‘ Urbs Cnobheri ;’ and lib. iii. cap. 6. & 16. in the one, ‘ Bebbā Urbs regia,’ in the other, ‘ Bebbanburgh.’ And so others derive the French word ‘ burgus’ from the Latin ‘ urbs.’

“ Bede, in the 11th chapter of his 5th book, expoundeth ‘ Viltaburg,’ to be ‘ Oppidum Viltorum.’ The reason that ‘ urbs, oppidum, burgus,’ and ‘ Borow vel Berry,’ are indifferently used by authors, is, for that they have the same signification in diverse languages. For as Varro termeth ‘ oppidum (ab ope dictum) quod opis causa munitur ;’ so was it also esteemed by the ancient Britons, &c.

“ Borough, Burgh, Burg, Byrig, and Burgus, have the same meaning in old English, viz. a place of safety.

* Verstegan’s Restitution of Decayed Intelligence.

† In ripa Tamensis amnis, Ythancestir, in sipa Pentæ.

"The laws of this realm put a difference between 'civitas, burgus,' and 'villa non clausa.' The two first in the statute of Winchester are comprehended under the names of 'graund vills que sunt closes;' and therefore the other, which is there called 'villa,' simply without addition, I call 'villa non clausa,' for distinction's sake from 'villa,' which being spoken of: a walled town is often used for a citye.

"A citye therefore with us is a town fortified and enclosed with trenches, gates, and walls, by license of the king, and so by him intituled.

"By the Statute of Winchester, all walled towns must keep their gates shut, from sun-setting to sun-rising, and at every gate they must set watchmen; if a citye, six at every gate, a borough, three at every gate; but towns not enclosed are to watch their streets with four or six men, according as the town is peopled."*

Originally, all towns were the demesnes either of the king or his grantees. Such as were in the possession of the former, were generally governed by a steward or stewards; hence it is, that some manors are denominated royalties, while the latter bear the appellation of baronies or lordships, which likewise were often committed to the care of a *custos* or delegate.† Towns of royal demesne were principally, in process of time, granted by the king on Frank-tenancy; not on a feudatory condition, but to the inhabitants at large, who were obliged, by the nature of their tenure, to render either personal or commuted services, at stated periods. On this principle it was, that the borough of Doncaster appears to have been originally held; not of any mesne lord, but of the king *in capite*; for which the burgesses, as they were afterwards denominated, were bound, by the conditions of their tenure, to perform certain duties. In time of peace, when the energies of the united arm of the empire were not in requisition, delegates, or certain mulcts from each borough, were deemed sufficient services; conformably whereto, a deputation from Doncaster, consisting of two burgesses, were called to council in the reign of Edward iii.‡

* Tanner's MSS. Bod. Bib. Note, this discourse was written by Mr. F. Tate, of the Middle Temple, London, and has been printed by Mr. Gutch, of Oxford.

"It is certain," says Camden, "that the termination *borough*, wherever it occurs, denotes something of antiquity, as a castle, a fort, or the like." *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 376. The renowned Oxford antiquary, Hearne, says that *Burgh* signifies a city. Vid. his Glossary affixed to *Gloster's Chron.* fol. 628.

Lingwood thus defines the term. "*Burgus dici potest villa quæcunq.; alia a civitate in qua est universitas approbata.*" Vid. his *Provincial. Paris.* 1500.

Some conjecture them to have been companies of ten families each, which were pledges for each other.

Littleton also avers, that *boroughs* are the most ancient towns in England; for in old times, cities were *boroughs*, and were so called. Vid. his *Hist. cap. x. sec. 164.*

Burze, says Somner, signifies "*urbs, castrum, curia, vel domus.*"

† Whitaker's *Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 186. Also Thoroton's pref. to his *Nott.*

‡ Wilkes's *Parliamentaria Hæstia*, pref. p. xxxi.

The government of a borough, or other large township, was generally conferred on one of its own members, whom therefore they called a borough-reeve, or, as abbreviated, a burreeve. This officer was chosen by the parishioners or burgesses, and has been variously denominated, viz. headborough, boroughhead, bursholder, thirdborough, borhoelder, &c. &c.; whose functions are now, in most cases, discharged by the modern constable; while those of more note have been transferred to the court-baron and petty sessions.

In the Saxon age, the court of a baron held jurisdiction in many cases over a large extent of territory. *Curia baronia*, is an inseparable concomitant of a manor; it must be held by prescription, for it cannot now be created.* This court is of Saxon introduction, and was of Germanic original. When the Saxons became firmly seated in the very core of the British empire, they partitioned out their lands to a number of eminent characters, who again cantoned them out amongst their principal adherents, reserving to themselves a number of rights and privileges, which, in their tongue, were denominated soc, sac, toll, theme, or theam, infrangthefe, &c.; remnants whereof have descended down to a period nearly approaching our own day.

This courtly privilege, at present, consists of two distinct characters; one whereof is deemed by the common law, the freeholders' court, "of which the freeholders, being suitors, are judges; and this cannot be a court-baron, without two suitors at least." The other is called the "customary court, and concerns the customary tenants and copy-holders, whereof the lord or his steward is judge. The court-baron may be of this double nature, or one may be without the other; but as there cannot be a court-baron, at common law, without freeholders; so there can be no customary court without copy-holders, or customary tenants. The freeholders' court, which hath jurisdiction for trying of actions of debt, trespasses, &c. under forty shillings, may be held every three weeks." The customary court-baron, on the contrary, could not, except on urgent and special occasions, be held more than twice in each year. The object of the last court was, by the "homage jury," to see that the lord of the manor did not lose the service of his retainers, his duties, customs, rents, thoroughfares, watercourses, channels, &c.; all of which they were to survey, and faithfully report to the lord of the soil, his steward, or bailiff.

The conjunction of court-baron and court-leet, or view of frank-pledge, armed the Saxon chief with a power little short of despotic. "He had the power of trying causes among his own dependents, and of condemning them (to death) for a theft, committed in his own manor. He had a right to the forfeitures incurred by the complainant or defendant in any cause that was submitted to the determination of

* Institutes, i. p. 48.

his court. He could search for stolen goods, within the extent of his signiory, and sequester to himself any that were apprehended on a man, if the challenger could neither ascertain his property, nor prove his accusation. And he had authority to exact tribute or toll from all persons that brought their wares to his fairs or markets.* Added to these manifold manorial rights and lordly privileges, we may also name those terrific engines, the gallows, the tombrell, &c. which were exercised in the liberty of Halifax, so recently as A. D. 1650; and the gallows appertaining to the manor of Doncaster was only removed, or rather destroyed, in 1614. Old, however, as the court-baron may appear to be, that of court-leet dives still further into the abyss of antiquity. Leets may be held either by charter or prescription; but the latter seems to be the usual tenure by which they are now held. The lord of the leet had, in addition to the gallows, a pillory and stocks, for the punishment of offenders within his jurisdiction; for the non-existence of which he was finable, or his liberty might be seized.† The prison belonging to a court-baron was originally attached to the Saxon *aula*, as well as were the court of justice and the engine of punishment; a plan adopted also by their successors, the Normans, as is observable by what remains of their baronial structures; hence the name of court, or manor house, is still attached to some considerable edifice, in almost every village in the kingdom.

The extent and boundaries of the various manors, &c. over which their respective lords exercise their jurisdiction, are now precisely ascertained; and although the ancient local marks have, in most cases, totally disappeared; tradition and constant usage, faithful to their charge, trace their limits with perfect accuracy.

The origin of manors, also, seems to be somewhat involved in the maze of obscurity. Some are of opinion, that they are traceable to a period no earlier than the conquest;‡ but Mr. Whitaker explodes this superficial theory, and with justice assigns the division thereof to the Saxon era.§ The anxiety and solicitude manifested by our progenitors, the Saxons, for the preservation of peace, exhibits at one view the propriety of dividing their domains into small portions; but that manors were the result of political contrivance, is extremely questionable. “The tything of our Saxon ancestors,” says the last cited gentleman, “was, in truth, nothing more than the manor of the present days. The ten families that were incorporated into the deanery, became the ten lordships of a manor, and the eleventh that was appointed to preside over the rest, was thereby made the capital of a manor.” Assiduously as the learned author labours to put the matter beyond a doubt, the judicious and reflecting reader will easily perceive, that much obscurity still envelopes the question;

* Whitaker's *Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 123. Also, the *Antiq. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 45; and *Bibl. Topog.* No. 1. p. 9.

† Dano. p. 289. ii.

‡ Horn's *Mirror of Justice*, lib. i. Doomsday-book refers to manors anterior to the conquest.

§ Vid. *Hist. Manch.* vol. ii. p. 116.

and that, instead of elucidating the subject, he has in fact loaded it with fresh difficulties ; an imposition which it was ill calculated to bear.*

The original of this division, and the first existence of defined liberties, seem to be coeval with the distribution of property, and the laws of union, which first appeared on a systematic plan amongst our Saxon ancestors. Some are of opinion, that portions equally small were in being, during the dynasty of our British chiefs ; but this, we presume, is extremely problematical, being founded principally on the vague and uncertain allusions of the Welsh bards. Certain it is, however, that on the ascendancy of the Saxons, a regular distribution of the conquered domains of Britain took place ; to the most eminent, extensive portions were assigned ; furnishing the liberties, over which the chief grantor held his judicial authority. These were again subdivided amongst such as followed his fortunes, according to their several deserts, and the extent of his acquisitions, or the portion of his assignment ; and might probably constitute the manors of the present days. The lords of the liberty of Tickhill, the sokes of Doncaster, Conisbrough, Laughton, &c. had jurisdiction over several manors of an inferior note, although these manors were in the occupation of other individuals. On the comparative maturation of Saxon polity, several of those smaller portions, lordships or manors, were classed together ; each of which, it is probable, became surety for the good behaviour of its neighbour. This is what we conceive to be the *familia* of Bede, and the component part of the Saxon tything.

Previously to the present mode of manners, the hall, or principal mansion of the lord, was generally placed in the midst of those of his dependents ; round which they found it necessary to erect their dwellings. The manor-house, which is now an humble and unobtrusive edifice, scarcely on a par with its more modern neighbours, shone forth ; near three hundred years ago, with resplendent glory. " The halls of the justices of peace," says an old writer, " were terrible to behold ; the screen was garnished with croslets and helmets, gaping with open mouths ; with coats of mail, lances, pikes, halberts, brown-bills, batterdastors, and buckles ;"† an aspect no doubt sufficiently terrific to awaken the guilty fears of all such unfortunate characters as came in contact with their awful and appalling visage. In the reign of Henry VIII., these structures, with the exception of castles, monasteries, &c., were the only edifices in which were glass windows. Their apartments were chiefly small and low, having only two rooms that modern taste would in any wise deem eligible, and these were the hall and the chapel. The fire, prior to the above reign, even in the proud mansion of the lord, was in the midst of the apartment, round which they sat in cheerful gaiety. In some of the meaner dwellings, this was the

* Compare Whitaker with Spelman, p. 80 ; and Wilkins' *Leg. Saxon.* p. 201.

† *Antiq. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 46.

case so late as the last century; and is partially so, at this period, in the highlands of Scotland. The rapid advancement in science and civilization, for this last hundred years, exceeds belief. The daily labourer, at the present period, is in possession of greater comfort, is better fed, and better clothed, than most lords of manors were at the era alluded to, and greater and more substantial improvement has taken place in every order of society, within that period, than the ten preceding centuries can boast.

In this state of simplicity and unassuming demeanour, hospitality formed one of the most distinguishing traits in the character of the wealthy. *Inn-houses* were of rare occurrence, and *poor-houses* unknown; but the hand of charity was actively alive to the wants of the truly necessitous. In the halls of the opulent, in the larger monasteries, and in the houses of the more eminent portion of society, both lay and ecclesiastical, the cloth was never drawn.* “In every parish there was a church house, to which belonged spits, pots, crooks, &c. for dressing provisions. Here the housekeepers met and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people came there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts, &c.,” while the mansion of the parish priest was not less inclined to admit to its hospitable table, the poor and the destitute.†

In a country so long subject to the Romans as was Britain, it is reasonable to suppose, that many of their vestigia would have defied the canker-worm of time; and there are but few places in England, of equal extent with this wapentake, that do not exhibit the print of Roman domination. Relicts of Roman origin in this district are, however, not very numerous; and such as have survived that potent enemy, the plough, are, like most others, greatly defaced, and frequently difficult to identify. In the lower division of our wapentake, as well as in the higher, fragments of military ways are occasionally met with; and notwithstanding that their remains are not eminently conspicuous in every part, where they do occur, they operate as a guide, which enables us to trace, with tolerable accuracy, the direction that they have taken.

The road which runs through a portion of the lower division, has, by some, been incautiously entitled Watling-street, and by others, Old-street.‡ But however

* This was particularly the case at Sprotbrough, during the ownership thereof by the Fitzwilliams.

† Antiq. Rep. vol. iii. p. 45.

‡ Vid. Mr. Bigland's History of Yorkshire, where he, on the authority of Leland, calls it Watling-street. Camden names it Old-street, and Boothroyd has followed Leland.

eligible and appropriate the latter designation may appear to be, the former is obviously erroneous, if the second Iter of Antoninus be allowed to form the basis of that celebrated rampart; and none other that we know of, save Leland and his followers, have ventured to remove it wholly from the direction described by that Iter. The nearest approach, therefore, which the Watling-street makes to this wapentake, is at Tadcaster, or its immediate neighbourhood, called in the Iter alluded to, Calcaria; where it meets the Roman way that passes through this part of our district, and connects as it were in an angle, the two grand *viæ militariæ*, the Watling and the Hermen-street; the latter whereof it leaves a little north of Lindum, and after pervading this part *per viâ* Danum, it forms a junction with the former at Calcaria, and rejoins the Hermen-street at Eboracum, vel Isurium.*

As to the particular direction that this road took, some difference in opinion may be entertained; but we are persuaded, that we shall not far err, when we assert, that after its departure from the Hermen-street, like the generality of Roman roads, it proceeds in a tolerably straight line, until it arrives at Agelocum, where it crosses the Trent, and in somewhat a curved direction, next visits Danum. In its progress to the last mentioned place, a remnant of it was discovered by the navigators at Drakeholes, whence it passes near unto Everton, in the county of Nottingham, and appears to have crossed the little river Idle at Bawtry. After it leaves that place, it skirts the edge of the valley near Martin, where some vestiges of it may yet be seen; and so onwards to Rossington common, where, on every fresh disturbance of the soil by the plough, &c. its site may be seen by the most superficial observer. It then bends its way over the river Tourné, near the present pass, and on the higher ground reaches Danum from the enclosures, south of the present highway, and fords the Don at the Mill-bridge. Shortly after its departure from this station, its course is no longer doubtful. On Scausby-leys, its present remains approach nearly to their original make, forming a ridge, grand and imposing. Between Barnsdale and Pontefract, it is alternately lost and found; just as its means of preservation have operated with greater or less success. After it leaves the latter place, it is again met with at Legeolium; whence it proceeds to Aberford, and crosses Bramham moors, near Haslehurst, the ancient seat of the Vavasours, and may be unerringly

* As to the true direction of the Watling-street, or rather its extent, some difference in opinion exists. Horsley supposes it to extend beyond the wall in Scotland; but others will have it to terminate in Wales. "Watteling streate, tendens per transversum prioris viæ, videlicet, ab Euro-Austro in Zephyrum Septentrionalem, incipit a Dovaria, transiens per medium Cantiae, ultra Tamisiam, juxta London, ad occidentem Westmonasterii, indeque procedit ad S. Albanum, ad occidentem per Dunstahulam, per Lilburne, per Atherston, usque ad montem Gilberti, qui modo Wreken dicitur. Deinde transcendit Sabrinam, juxta Wrekecester, tenditque ad Stretton, et inde per medium Wallie usque ad Caerdigan, et in mare Hibernico terminatur." Vid. Lelandi Coll. vol. iii. p. 370.

followed to its absorption in the Watling-street at Calcaria, as we have before observed.*

Between Doncaster and Bawtry, and near to the highway, this road passed an ancient encampment, some remains of which are visible on Austerfield common. Mr. Peck, on the authority of Abraham de la Pryme, supposes that this camp was formed by the army under the command of Ostorius, a Roman general; who, according to the most reputed writers, was in these parts, in or about the year 51 or 2 of Christ. However, in the ascription to Ostorius the formation of these earth-works, Mr. Pryme may have probably erred; and we should, we presume, be more correct in extending the era of their throwing up to the age of Septimus Severus, as we shall hereafter attempt to prove. That the entrenchments are of Roman make, is undoubted. Their approximation to the Roman way; their quadrangular shape, and the great number of relicts which have been found, that can only be attributed to that people, such as coins, spear-heads, and other iron implements of war; are strong corroborating circumstances, and render their reference to a legion of Romans more than probable. According to the present appearance of the vallum, fosse, &c. the encampment seems to have been from seventy to eighty yards square, defended by a ditch six yards broad and proportionably deep.

* For the satisfaction of those of our readers who have not an opportunity of consulting the Itinerary of Antoninus, we will transcribe his eighth Iter, as found in Burton, p. 226.

"ITER AB EBORACO LONDINIUM. M. P. CCXXVII. SIC.

Antonine by Suritana.		Sites of the Stations.	Richard, by Hatcher.
Legiolio, vel Lagecium	M. P. XXI.	Castleford	Legolio, vel Legiolio.
Danum	M. P. XVI.	Doncaster	Dano.
Agelocum, vel Segelocum	M. P. XXI.	Littlebrough Ferry	Argolico.
Lindum	M. P. XIV.	Lincoln	Lindo & Lundum.
Crococalanum	M. P. XVI.	Brough	Crococolanum.
Margidunum	M. P. XVI.	Near East Bridgeford	Margiduno.
Vernemetum	N. P. XII.	Near Willoughby	Venromento.
Ratis	M. P. XII.	Leicester	Ratis corion.
Vennonim	M. P. XII.	Cleycester	Vennonis.
Bannavantum	M. P. XVIII.	Near Daventry	Isanta Varia.
Magiovinum	M. P. XXVIII.	Fenny Stratford	Magio Vinio.
Durocobrivum	M. P. XII.	Dunstable	Foro Diansæ.
Verolamum	M. P. XII.	St. Albans	Verolamis
Londinium	M. P. XXI.	London	Londinium Augustam.*



Although the learned are not perfectly agreed relative to the sites of all the places mentioned in this Iter; none are disposed to dispute the claim that Doncaster has to be considered the Danum of the Romans. And as it is the only place on this line, which is situated within the confines of the wapentake, we shall abstain from controverting the positions laid down by some of the commentators on Antonine, concerning the disputed ones. Talbot, however, has unhappily conjectured, that the *δουρεν καλαπ* of Ptolemy referred to the water which runs under the bridge at this place; for, says he, "the numbers of him of longitude and latitude, added to this and to York, are nearly the same." It is now generally believed, that the above citation refers to the river Humber. Horsley has translated it the "Bay of Dunum." Vid. Ptolemy, lib. ii. cap. 3. tab. i.

Near to Martin, or Morton, also in this vicinity, are the vestiges of a Roman pottery still cognizable. Its appearance would impress an idea of its great consequence, were it in the more immediate neighbourhood of a station. Several pieces of demolished pots, &c. have been found; but all that we have seen betray an infancy in the art of pot-making, not much in unison with our ideas of domestic comfort, or modern convenience.

The Roman rampart that traverses the upper division, cannot be so easily and correctly identified; although it is manifest, that one of no ordinary consequence pervades that portion of our district.

In the eighteenth Iter of Richard of Cirencester, a way is laid down, which passes through the centre of the island. It commences at Eboracum, and terminates at Clausentum, or Bittern, near Southampton, according to Hatcher, or at Southampton city, according to Dr. Stukeley.*

* Vid. Hatcher's ed. of Richard, p. 164, and Dr. Stukeley's p. 62. Vid. also Gale's Essay on the four great Military Ways, published by Hearne in his edition of Leland's Itinerary, vol. vi. p. 140. The following is the Iter alluded to, which we have transcribed from Stukeley and Hatcher.

Iter the XVIIIth. From Hatcher's edition.

"Ab Eboraco per medium insulae Clausentum usque, sic.			Corrected Numbers.	Sites of the Stations
Legeolio	. . . . .	M. P. XXI.	XXI.	Castleford.
Ad Fines	. . . . .	M. P. XVIII.	XXIII.	Templebrough on the Don.
. . . . .	. . . . .	M. P. XVI.	XVI.	Tapton Hill, near Chesterfield.
. . . . .	. . . . .	M. P. XVI.	XII.	Camp near Penkridge.
Derventione	. . . . .	M. P. XVI.	XII.	Little Chester.
Ad Trivonam	. . . . .	M. P. XII.	XII.	Berry Farm, Branston.
Etoceto	. . . . .	M. P. XII.	XII.	Wall near Leicester.
Manduesuedo	. . . . .	M. P. XVI.	XVI.	Manchester.
Benonnis	. . . . .	M. P. XII.	XII.	High Cross.
Tripontio	. . . . .	M. P. XI.	XI.	Near Dove Bridge.
Isannavaria	. . . . .	M. P. XII.	X.	Burnt Walls.
Binavis	. . . . .	M. P. XII.	XII.	Black Ground, near Ch. Norton.
Ælia Castra	. . . . .	M. P. XVI.	XVI.	Alcester, near Bicester.
Dorocina	. . . . .	M. P. XV.	XVI.	Dorchester.
Tamesi	. . . . .	M. P. VI.	VI.	On the Thames.
Vindomi Calleva	. . . . .	M. P. XV.	XX.	Silchester.
Clausento	. . . . .	M. P. XXXXVI.	XXXXV.	Bittern, near Southampton."

Iter the XVIIIth. From Stukeley's Edition.

"From EBORACUM, York, through the middle of the Island to CLAUSENTUM, Southampton.

Eboracum	XXI.	York.
Legeolium, Legiolium	XVII.	Castleford sup. Calder.
Ad Fines	X.	Greasbrough, near Rotherham.
.	X.	Chesterfield.
.	XVI.	Alfreton.
Derventione	XII.	Little Chester, near Derby.

By the monk of Cirencester, this way is called Rykneld-street ; and Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, thus notices it :

“ And Rickneld, forth that raught from Cambria’s farther shore,
Where South-Wales now shoots forth St. David’s promontore,
And on his mid-way neere, did me in England meet ;
Then in his oblique course, the lusty straggling street
Soon overtook the Fosse, and toward the fall of Tine,
Into the Germane Sea, desolv’d at his decline.”*

At what particular place it first connects itself with our district, we have not yet been able satisfactorily to ascertain ; and whether it were in the immediate vicinity of Great Houghton, or more east, we must leave undecided. From Legeolium to Ad Fines, the distance marked in the Itinerary is xviii. M. P. ; hence we should conceive, that the line, which that way described, must have been tolerably straight. The corrected number is by Hatcher made xxiii. M. P. ; but even that amount would scarcely reach Templebrough, unless its course were nearly direct. After its departure from Ad Fines, it most probably forded the Don, and is lost in the soft tract of land in the vicinity of Masbrough. Leaving Kimberworth to the left, and passing a little north-west of Greasbrooke, it traversed a portion of the park belonging to our venerable neighbour, the Earl Fitzwilliam. At Wood-nook, its remains are yet visible ; where, leaving the bank which connects the encampment at Wincobank with Conisbrough and Doncaster, it probably approached the village of Wath, and there crossed the Dearne, reaching speedily afterwards the confines of our district, between Great Houghton and Hickleton.

On the map accompanying Hatcher’s edition of Richard, we have another Roman way depicted, which describes a course somewhat westwardly of the one we have just noticed. This way, it would seem, takes its rise at Ad Fines, and runs parallel with this portion of the Rykneld-street ; but instead of connecting itself with the Watling-street, by way of Legeolium, it crosses it near Leeds, and joins it at Isurium.

Ad Trivonam	xii.	Egginton, near Burton.
Etocetum	xvi.	Walls by Litchfield.
Mansuedum, vel Manduessedum	xii.	Atherston, Warwickshire.
Benonis	xi.	Cleycester.
Tripontium	xii.	Showell, near Lutterworth.
Isannaria	xii.	Towcester.
Brinavis	xvi.	Banbury, Oxfordshire.
Ælia Castra	xv.	Aldcester.
Durocina	vi.	Dorchester.
Tamese	xv.	Stretley on Thames.
Vindonum Stipendiaria . .	xlvi.	Southampton.”

* Drayton’s *Polyolbion*, p. 248, Selden’s ed.

This road, it is probable, left the Rykneld at Wood-nook, and passing the small village of Le Street, above Wentworth, where some few remains yet exist, left the wapentake west of Great Houghton, and after visiting Sandal, Wakefield, &c., it skirted the town of Leeds, near Berwick-in-Elmet, where its crest was observed by Thoresby, on which he travelled three hundred paces, but was prevented from following it further by the obstructions he met with in the wood.

The grand and imposing ridge which takes its rise at Wincobank, is not, we conceive, of Roman origin; although, in some of its features, it greatly resembles the ways of that renowned people. British track-ways were generally of a winding character. Towering hills or basin-like valleys were never crossed by them, if avoidable; unless it were to approach some fastness. After leaving Wincobank, it passes Meadow-hall and Kimberworth; and after serving as a basis for the Rykneld, for the distance of three or four miles, it veers eastward, and visits Abdy, Swinton, and Mexbrough. Here again, however, it is lost, having sunk, it is probable, below the surface of that marshy piece of ground, called Mexbrough Ings. Whether it here forded the Don at Strafford-sands, and visited Conisbrough, a famous British place, or passed to Doncaster, equally renowned in British annals, by way of Cadeby and Sprotbrough, we know not. Several of its vestiges are said to have been found in the vicinity of the latter place; and the former has in the composition of the appellative portion of its name something extremely ominous. In a recent survey, however, we were totally unable to identify anything wearing that aspect, in the neighbourhood of either of the above places. The spirit of improvement lately manifested by the agriculturists has been fatally destructive to antiquated earth-works; and the recent alterations in the vicinity of Sprotbrough, effected by Sir Joseph Copley, are of a kind the least calculated to preserve the remains of our enterprising ancestors.*

After departing from the vicinity of Greasbrooke, where Dr. Stukeley fixes the Ad Fines of Richard's eighteenth Iter, but which, as we have already remarked, he might with more propriety have carried forwards to Templebrough, on the southern bank of the Don, and near to the confluence of the Rother with the former stream, it reaches Templebrough, where its course seems to be nearly obliterated. Prior to the enclosure, some portion of it was cognizable on Brinsworth common and Birley moor, where it passed some entrenchments now almost destroyed. It is traditionally reported to have had its direction through Tinsley park; this, however, we have not been able satisfactorily to learn; but on the contrary, from a minute

* We would here beg to acknowledge the kind assistance we have derived from the intelligent communications of J. Payne, Esq., of Newhill-grange; and the surveys of the late Mr. Fairbank, obligingly laid open by his worthy sons and grandson.

and attentive inspection of that woody district, we have reason to believe, that it never came in contact with its present limits, but kept, as is usual with the ways of that people, the higher ground, and left the wapentake between Handsworth and Treeton; when, after passing through an enclosure called Street-field, in the parish of Beighton, it reached, speedily afterwards, —, or Tapton-hill, near Chesterfield, in the county of Derby.

The editors of the old *Magna Britannia* seem to have been rather wide of the fact, when they bring this way over the Don at Strafford-sands; and were most evidently totally unacquainted with the local topography of the neighbourhood. A course so zigzag does not occur in Britain. These gentlemen allow that its remains are met with on Hoover-common; and admit also that it visited Templebrough; and yet they would carry it across the Don at the village of Conisbrough; a supposition so fraught with improbabilities, that any attempt to refute it would be a waste of time, and an insult to the understanding of the most indifferent observer. Ralph Higden says, "*Rekenildstreate tendens ab Aphrico in boream Vulturnalem, et incipit a Menevia prædicta, tenditque per Wigorniam, per Wicombe, per Birmingham, Lichefeld, Darbe, Chesterfeld, Eboracum, usque ad ostium Tinæ flu.*"*

From the Rykneld-street, it is reasonable to suppose that a number of branch-ways would diverge. The rich district north of that road would not fail to demand the attention of the Romans; and their avarice and necessities would prompt them to delve into the bowels of the earth, in search of the minerals with which the whole neighbourhood abounded. Iron, one of the most useful productions of the mineralogical kingdom, met the eye in almost every direction; and bloomeries, unquestionably Roman, are dispersed far and wide, covering a vast space of this mountainous country. In the neighbourhood of Sheffield, as well as in other parts of this vast county, cinder-hills, or the refuse of the process of smelting, are seen in every direction. In the Park of Sheffield, for ages the noble residence of the Shrewsburys; in Tinsley-park; on the banks of the Don, in the vicinity of Brightside; in the Ponds, and in various other places, vast mounds and extended plains, thickly covered by a rich and fertile soil, wherein the roots of the sturdy oak have luxuriated for ages, prove, not only that the process of smelting must have been the principal occupation of our ancient "Sheffielders," but that the bloomeries themselves were formed at an era long ere the conquest by our first William. Mr. Lhwyd, when explaining the inscription of Jupiter Dolychenus, denominates those in Monmouthshire, Roman iron mines, and says, that the remains were in his time resmelted by the artificers of Birmingham, for the purpose of making the plates of fine locks. Yarrington also, in his production intituled "*England's Improvement by Sea and*"

* Vid. Lelandi Coll. tom. ii. p. 370.

Land," published in 1677, calls those heaps of scoria, Roman cinders.* In a discourse on some antiquities found in Yorkshire, published by Hearne, it likewise appears, that on the removal of a heap of cinders near Bradford, in the west-riding of this county, a quantity of Roman coins were found underneath.† They were those of Constantine, Constantius, Diocletian, and of the usurper Carausius.

That iron was an article not in general use among the ancient Britons, is a fact proved by the most unexceptionable evidence. Cæsar observes, that in the mediterranean parts, there is found great quantity of tin, and in the maritime parts, iron; but of that they have but little. Their brass is brought in by other nations.‡ In the same book, he further remarks, that they use brass for money, and iron rings of a certain weight. The same is remarked of the Germans by Tacitus,§ and of the Britons by Herodian; and Mr. Whitaker supposes, that iron foundries were not in being long ere the Roman domination.|| No doubt, however, can possibly exist, but that iron, in a small degree, was used for a variety of purposes, long anterior to the Roman invasion. This fact is rendered manifest by the contents of barrows, undoubtedly British, the scythes of their chariots, &c.; but whether extracted from the ore here, or imported from Gaul, where iron foundries abounded, is not easily determinable. In Strabo's days it had become more plentiful, as he names it amongst the articles of exportation.

The first direct mention of iron foundries, in our district, is to be found, we presume, in the charter of Richard de Builli, in which he "*dimisisse monachis de Kirksted unum managium in territorio de Kymberworth ad domos suas et ortum et quatuor forgiar faciendas; duas scilicet ad quoquendum ferrum et duas ad fabricandam, quandocunque voluerint; et mineram ad fodiendum per totum territorium ejusdem villæ, quantum sufficit duabus ignibus, et mortuum nemus de Kymberwyth quantum sufficit illis quatuor ignibus, et pasturam ad decem animalia, et quatuor equos, in communibus pascuis camporum eorum.*"¶ This charter was made and executed in the 8th Hen. II., A. D. 1161, and is of considerable importance in the staple history of this neighbourhood. If the inference which we deduce from those facts be correctly drawn, the cinder-hills, &c. in this vicinity, were the productions of the Romans; hence we must conclude, that the occasional discovery of their relics here, is a circumstance in union with a rational expectation.

* Letters from the Bodleian Lib. vol. i. p. 186.

† Leland's Itinerary, vol. ii. p. 144.

‡ Cæsar's Com. Bel. Gal. lib. v. cap. 12. "*Sed ejus exigua est copia.*"

§ Tacitus' Germany.

|| Hist. Manch. vol. i. p. 269. Vid. also Thoresby's Ducatus Liord. p. 566, where its scarcity is further urged.

¶ Dugdale's Mon. Ang. tom. i. p. 811.

That the footsteps of those people should be strongly imprinted in this neighbourhood, is, however, a matter scarcely probable. Here, there was no regular station. Bloomeries, it is true, as we have already noted, were spread over the whole parish and neighbourhood of Sheffield, and some few Roman relics have been found; but all that have hitherto been met with are of a portable character, and therefore insufficient of themselves to denote a long and regular residence. From the focus of every station, detachments of the legionaries were occasionally sent out into the vicinity of the camp, for various purposes; and it is probable, that such as were employed in the iron trade in this neighbourhood, belonged to the station at Templebrough, to which they must of necessity return by various routes. Such, however, as had occasion to visit the works here, or in the vicinage, might not at all times feel disposed to retrace their steps; but, instead of so doing, journeyed southward to the next station on the Rykueild-street, near Chesterfield. If, therefore, any Roman roads ever existed in the parish of Sheffield, the line of country between it and Tapton-grove would be the likeliest to exhibit its vestiges. In a district where the labours of the husbandman and the sons of Vulcan have been exerted for centuries, it would be useless to attempt a discovery of that nature. In the immediate vicinity of Sheffield, however, and east of the dais which supply the town with water, is a ridge, much resembling the proud eminences generally ascribed to that warlike race of men; but whether it be attributable to the Romans, or the result of clearing the earth and rendering it fit for agricultural purposes, or on some other occasion, it may be difficult to say. Its direction is most certainly in the line where we should expect to meet with it; but it is probably too near the town, and too much in the heart of their foundries for a concentrated path. Near it, in 1823, were found several Roman copper coins, much corroded, and scarcely decipherable. They were the occasion of a well written paper, which was read before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, in the above year, by the Rev. James Everett.

At what period of time the two principal ways, Watling and Hernen streets, were first constructed, or rather extended through the province of the Brigantes, may now be difficult to determine with precision; but it is not unlikely that the materials of the former were thrown together, either by Ostorius Scapula, in A. D. 51 or 2; or by the renowned Julius Agricola, from twenty to twenty-five years subsequently; and the latter by the proprætor, Petilius Cerealis, in A. D. 71. An anterior date cannot consistently be assigned to them, unless we, with the Rev. James Leman, suppose that they repose upon British track-ways; which is by no means a probable conjecture. That the Romans were the formers of the ways in question, is pretty evident. The Britons, according to the speech of the gallant Galgacus, complained heavily of the hardships they were obliged to endure on this occasion. "Our bodies and hands," says he, "they waste and consume in paving

(or fortifying) of bogs and woods, with many stripes and indignities.* And the itinerary of Antoninus, together with what remain of their ways in Gaul, Italy, &c. prove incontestably, that the whole owe their origin to the invincible arms of imperial Rome. The vicinal ways that run through our district, were, we should conceive, established some time after the two principal ones with which they communicate; and were constructed for the purpose of reducing and keeping in awe the dauntless and refractory spirits of their British opponents, for which purpose, principally, both the camp in Finningley-park, or Atterfield-common, and that at Templebrough, were first framed; the latter of which, as we have before noticed, is by Richard of Cirencester called *Ad Fines*, and by the *Notitia Imperii*, *Morbium*.

Although these two stations, or rather camp and station, are not of the first importance in point of magnitude; their extent and local situation betoken tolerable consequence. The one was established to check the predatory excursions of the oppressed Britons in the north-east; and the other was subservient to a similar purpose in the south-west portion of the wapentake. Both were thrown up on the necessity of the occasion; but the latter only appears to have been retained as a station, while the former, conformably to Roman custom, was carried northward to the banks of the Don.

The Itinerary of Antoninus makes no mention whatever, of either the Rykneld-street, or several of the stations which lie on its crest. But Templebrough is recorded in the *Notitia*, under the name of *Morbium*; and the invaluable Itinerary of Richard enables us to identify most of the military posts that repose on it. At it was stationed a prefect of the cuirassiers, who, like the one at *Danum*, was under the command of the *Dux Britanniarum*. Mr. Camden, as well as Mr. Baxter, supposes, that the *Morbium* of the imperial *notitia* was at *Moresby*; but Mr. Horsley has judiciously brought it hither, and thinks that it agrees much better with the romanized state of the district, and its local connection with the preceding and succeeding stations.†

* Vid. Galgacus' speech, in Tacitus' *Life of Agricola*, cap. xxxi. "*Corpora ipsa ac manus, sylvis ac paludibus latuendiis, inter verbera ac contumelias conterunt.*"

† "Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum,
 Præfectus legionis sextæ.
 Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum Præsidio.
 Præfectus equitum Crispianorum Dano.
 Præfectus equitum Cataphractorum Morbio.
 Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Trigisensium Arbeia.
 Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium Dicti.
 Præfectus numeri Vigilum Concangio.
 Præfectus numeri exploratorum Lavatris, &c."

Vid. Pancroli' ed. sec. lxiii. The above transcript from that curiously valuable work is as far as refers to this part of the country. It would be foreign to our purpose to cite the whole of this interesting section.

The dimensions of the earth-works, or rather the area within the compass of the ditch, is about one hundred and forty by one hundred and twenty paces; round which is a trench, that in Camden's time was "thirty-seven paces deep from the middle of the rampire to the bottom. On the outside of it, another large bench, upon which are huge trees; and upon the side of the bench of the highway, there grew a chestnut tree, that had scarcely any bark upon it, except only some upon the top branches, which bore leaves. It was not tall, but the trunk could scarce be fathomed by three men."* He further observes, "that the north-east corner is worn away" by the current of the river; but in this remark he has committed an error; for on a bare inspection of the site, it will be seen, that the Don did not, on any occasion, come in contact with it by several yards.

At what period of time these earth-works were first constructed, is now, perhaps, without the circle of solution; but they are manifestly of very early original. On the retreat of the native Brigantes before the conquering arms of the Romans, stations and military establishments were formed, as occasion might require, or convenience suit; not only for the purpose of giving facility and dispatch to transition, and to ensure a regular communication; but to operate as a constant check upon the daring and intrepid spirit of our British ancestors, who disputed with gallant and becoming, but fruitless bravery, the hostile march of their inveterate foe. The vicinity of that vast wild, north and north-west of this station, exhibits in its present aspect some grand remains of an important fastness, and perfectly accords with the habits and propensities of our British aborigines. Numerous vestiges are in being, and many have undoubtedly become victims to time, to folly, and to the progressive pursuits of the husbandman. Under these considerations, we would infer, that the station of Ad Fines on the Don might first be formed, and afterwards maintained, for the purpose of covering the march and remarch of the Roman troops, as well as to secure the tranquility of such portions of the country as they had subdued by the valour of their invincible legions; while those at Doncaster and Austerfield were constructed for a similar purpose; the latter of which would become useless, and consequently deserted, on the annihilation of the Coritavian wood, that skirted the confines of the Brigantian province.

That these suggestions, relative to the entrenchments are more than probable, is deducible from the existence of a British encampment on the north of the Don, at the distance of about two miles from the former place. This retreat of the aborigines is seated upon one of the most elevated hills in the neighbourhood. The

* Camden, vol. ii. p. 82. who, it will be observed, gives to the area an extent nearly correct; and as it is yet tolerably entire, we are naturally led to infer, that the gentleman who communicated with the learned Horsley, on this point never saw it. It is singular that he should accuse the judicious author of the *Britannia* of the same neglect. Vid. Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*

remain is tolerably perfect, and in strict conformity with British policy ; but it cannot be considered in any other light than as an inferior post, calculated to defend a detachment from the main body, which would of necessity be concentrated in the fastnesses in the vicinity of Bradfield, Broomhead-hall, &c. where a number of stupendous earth-works still remain. The camp at Wincobank is pre-eminently calculated for a post of observation. The apex, on which it is situated, is formed by a bold but gradual swell of the earth ; reaching an altitude that overtops the circumjacent country, and commanding a prospect at once grand and extensive. Here they might exercise their religious rites, become expert in arms by a regular system of discipline, and watch the manœuvres of their enemies, without fear of surprise ; while their comrades, the Britons, reposed in quiet amidst the rocks and caves of the woody country more west. The etymology of the first part of the name is unquestionably British ; so also may be the second ; *bank* is of modern imposition. *Ven, Win, Pen, Ben*, &c. in all their meanings, import in British a hill ; and *Coed, Cote, Cat*, &c. a wood ; hence *Win-coed* designates a woody hill. This mode of derivation, however, may appear to some antiquaries rather fanciful than real ; inasmuch as it is devoid of a distinguishing character, and might with equal propriety apply to hills covered with wood generally. The language of the Britons, like that of most savage nations, was greatly wanting in that copiousness which is a distinguishing mark in the progress of refinement and civilization ; hence it is, that we so frequently find many of their words totally void of a discriminating feature. This defect was partly remedied by the Romans and Saxons, who, to a British appellative, added a terminal descriptive of its locality, or some other prominently distinguishing feature ; in this case, we conceive that the middle syllable of the word is as likely to be derived from the Saxon, as from the British tongue. *Comb*, or *Comp*, in the former language, implies, *Castrum, Certamen* ; hence *Wincomb* or *Wincomp* would import, the battle hill, or camp on the hill, or hill fortress ; which, by an easy and natural change, would be pronounced *Wincobank*. Here we have a discriminating character. The British *Caer* has the same import.

The works at Wincobank are, as we have before remarked, entitled only to be considered of a secondary nature. We here discover none of the relics which usually characterize the long residence of the natives. There are here no remains of massy stones, no transoms or piers, no huge and enormous cromlechs, nor any other vestige denoting a place of vital importance to the occupiers.

On their dislodgment from this fastness, the aborigines would naturally retreat upon their main strength, situate in the bosom of the moors ; and would harass, by every means in their power, the legions of imperial Rome. They would attack their foraging parties, and other detached bodies, and avail themselves of every opportunity to check their devastating progress.

The various earth-works in the neighbourhood of Bradfield, Broomhead, &c. are sufficiently extensive to be esteemed of the first importance to the natives of the island, and to have formed one of their principal places of rendezvous. The immense uncultivated track, west and north-west of Sheffield, afforded at all times an ample cover to the distressed Brigantes; and doubtless, long posterior to the subjugation of the less mountainous and wildly featured districts, those scenes of desolation and havoc—of grandeur and sublimity—of the mighty effects of sin and folly, secured to the unhappy and oppressed Celtic race, a safe asylum and a haven of refuge, during the conflicting passion for domination on the one part, and life and liberty on the other. On the whole length of that vast region of rock and barren land, indelible marks of a rude and savage people everywhere present themselves. The highest summit of the most towering mountain, whose apex hides its head in the clouds of heaven, and the more fertile bosom of the begirted valley, exhibit numerous vestiges of primeval occupation, deeply engraven. Sanctuaries temples, forums, tumuli, and military earth-works abound in almost every direction; while the winding track-ways, which climb the dreary height, manifest a thorough acquaintance with the local state of the country, attainable only by those, whose long residence on the “mountain’s top” rendered them familiar with its almost impassable heights.

At Bradfield, are two bulwarks of defence, truly gigantic. The one, locally denominated Bailey-hill, is a singularly curious piece of art, and highly interests the inquisitive antiquary. It also excites the attention of the most indifferent observer. Castle-hill is more the work of nature than of art, but equally well adapted for a defensive post. Whatever artificial measures were adopted by its formers have now, with the exception of the fosse, wholly disappeared; and even that, ere the lapse of many years, will, it is probable, be difficult to identify. The whole area of Bailey-hill, which, we should suppose, was the principal out-post, comprises something more than an acre of ground. Its form is an irregular elliptic, and its only entrance was from the valley. At the opposite point, is raised a very elevated and regularly formed mount, which reaches a height of twenty-seven yards. Its base is one hundred and seventy-four yards. The internal area, next the church, was defended by an artificial agger, measuring about one hundred and ten yards, which gradually decreased in strength as it approached the entrance. At its junction with the mount, its height was eighteen yards from the bottom of the ditch; but at this point, a total separation has been effected, and an entrance into the interior obtained. The opposite side was defended by a natural bank, and the whole of the fortification strengthened by a moat ten yards wide, and from six to seven deep.* The object, in

* When we visited Bradfield and its neighbourhood, we were prevented by the approach of night from measuring this fortress; we have therefore been obliged to depend upon the Rev. Mr. Watson.

the formation of this mound, is not so obvious as to be clear of difficulties. The height to which it attains gives to it the character of an observatory; and when we take into the account, that its summit commands a full view, not only of the valley in its immediate vicinity, but the vale of Agden, and the earth-works in its neighbourhood, we are constrained to admit, that its claim to a character exclusively defensive is very questionable. On the eminence, circumscribed by the vales of Agden and Ewden or Yewden, a number of remains yet exist. In short, it is an extensive station, well fortified. Previously to the present mode of warfare, when military tactics were in the dawn of existence, Broomhead-moor, fenced by the two natural defiles, through which flow the above rivers, aided by the fortresses at Bradfield, must have constituted an exceedingly strong post. In addition to the naturally defensive position of this moor, a vast rampire of earth is thrown up, which runs across its southern neck, and unites that vast line of natural defence for which this part of our district is remarkable. The whole of the country north of Bardike, flanked by the valley of Agden, is under the immediate inspection of the works at Bradfield, with which a constant communication could be maintained by way of signal, and might be conveyed to every part of the station and neighbourhood, nearly instantaneously. The opposite valley of Yewden is also strengthened by an artificial fosse and rampire, running with it in a parallel line, and growing less important as it was less necessary. The only means of offensive warfare left to an enemy, ere the improvement in the art of war and the destruction of the wood which covered all this part, was either along the valley through which the Loxley flows, or that which conveys the waters of the Yewden into the channel of the Don; and both these we find strongly guarded. But the fosse and the rampire are not the only relics which distinguish this martial line; Mr. Watson, the able Halifax historian, saw a number of the vestiges of an ancient race of men; and Mr. Wilson, the Broomhead-hall antiquary, bears witness to the same fact. But of these, more hereafter.

The military entrenchments at Bradfield, and those in the more inaccessible parts of the wilds, are unquestionably the remains of the same people; but whether British, Saxon, or Danish, may not be easy to determine. That they belonged to a race attached to the soil, may be rationally inferred from their magnitude. Rovers like the Danes had neither leisure nor opportunity to construct works of such immense importance; and the Saxons had not interest. To both these people, however, they have been attributed; to the latter by the historian of Hallamshire, and to the former by Mr. Watson. Their claim to a Danish original, it must be seen, stands on a very slender foundation. Unaccustomed to labour, and nurtured in deeds of blood and rapine, they were not in the habit of continuing longer in one place, than while booty was attainable; and what could they calculate upon obtaining among the interminable wilds of this desolate waste, which, even long posterior to the

conquest, had scarcely felt the hand of the husbandman, excepting the immediate vicinage of Bradfield? and even that centre of population is not mentioned in the pages of Domesday; unless it were one of the sixteen *berewitæ* of the manor of Hallam, which is extremely probable.

In the Saxon era, the focus of the "busy hum of men" was considerably south of Bradfield; and we are not aware that the peaceable possession of its owner was disturbed, ere the dire malignity of the Conqueror let loose its wrath against the ambitious Waltheof. The havoc and desolation dealt out by the Norman chief to his person and property, on that occasion, is borne down by tradition to the present day; but how far it is substantiated by facts, is beyond our reach to say. The citation from Dodsworth's papers, made by Mr. Hunter, most certainly comes in aid of the traditionary account; but the progress which he makes the infuriate William take, we conceive, is wholly fanciful. "If we would ascertain the misery he brought upon the northern parts of our island a little more in detail," says he, "we must look in the pages of Domesday. We may there track the destroyer in his progress. As to this particular neighbourhood, he seems to have entered the county of York at *Wales*, and he laid that little obscure manor entirely waste. Advancing northward, the line of his march seems to have been through Ulley, Brampton, Wickersley, Brinsford, Swinton, and Wentworth. All the neighbouring manors show in the depreciation of their value, that they suffered more or less. But on these places, the weight of the storm seems to have rested; for though rich and flourishing in the days of the Confessor, they were returned by the Domesday surveyors as being wholly wasted, and therefore of no annual value."* But why, we would ask, is the Conqueror made to rest the whole of his vengeance on the villages here enumerated? Do they alone exhibit the marks of his vindictive wrath—if wrathful marks they can be deemed? Were the owners of these places also in array against his usurpation; or was his choler so inveterate, that nothing but extermination could appease his irascibility?

We would willingly concede to the opinion of our reverend friend on this point, because it would assist us in climbing a height we are fearful to grapple with; but we are obliged to dissent from so respectable an authority, and to ascribe the defalcation in the value of manorial property to a different and more probable cause.

To a general effect, a general cause ought to be assigned; and as a general decrease took place in most parts of England, we must ascribe it to a cause of no partial or confined character. The manor of Wath, in the Confessor's time, was of the value of £40.; but in that of the Conqueror, £10. Hoyland, at the same period, was £20., but subsequently waste.

* Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 29.

	Confes. s.	Conq. s.
Cateby . . .	40	20.
Houghton . . .	20	waste.
Bolton . . .	40	20.
Mar . . .	40	20.
Bramwith . . .	50	11.
Wharram . . .	100	waste.
Helmsley . . .	32	10.
Larkenby . . .	13 4	waste.
Eston . . .	40	waste.

Aldwark was a manor consisting of eight carucates; but in the Conqueror's age, it was also waste. This decrease, it will be seen by the following pages, extended throughout the whole of the wapentake. Every other county of England likewise experienced a similar reduction. In this inference, therefore, we conceive that the defalcation or waste in the manors, instanced by Mr. Hunter, is no proof that they were visited by the especial vengeance of the Northmen, or that the manor of Halam was destroyed and wasted by the Conqueror. This admitted, we see no reason to suppose that the earth-works at Bradfield were thrown up as a refuge for the Saxons. Waltheof was beheaded in the ninth year of the conquest; but the survey was not begun for a period of five years subsequently, and the depreciation in the value of the manor did not exceed that of many others recorded in the book of Domesday. After the death of Waltheof, it was given to that great favourite, Roger de Builli, with whom and the Conqueror, terms of the warmest friendship always subsisted.

To whom, then, it will be asked, would we attribute these formidable bulwarks? We answer, unhesitatingly, to the Britons; who, we know, fled from the Romans, and took shelter in the wilds and natural fastnesses of their country, and there so far defended themselves as to bid defiance to the imperial eagles. No men, however savage and uncivilized, would, we think, dwell by choice in the interior of this vast wilderness; but driven by the imperious hand of necessity, no fitter place for refuge could be found. The yoke of bondage is rarely hopeless. After retiring to the caves, the rocks, and the mountains in their rear, they would naturally render themselves as secure as possible, by fortifying the front of their position, and there, prompted by the antidote of all human ills, wait the event of time and chance. The Romans, ever anxious after dominion, would, it is probable, keep up a border warfare, and eventually dislodge their opponents; hence the name of Roman-slack is yet borne by a portion of the moors in the district we allude to. The occasional discovery of Roman and British remains, such as coins, implements of war, sacrifice, &c. are of themselves no proof that the places where they are found were settlements belonging to the owners or fabricators of such relics; but the celt found by Mr. Wilson, in one of the tumuli on the moor of Broomhead, proves beyond contradiction the identity

of the barrow. But if discovered on the surface of the earth, or slightly embedded therein, no inference, calculated to establish a rational theory, can be reasonably drawn therefrom.

The name of Bradfield, we also presume, may be more consistently derived from the British, than from the Saxon language. *Brad*, in the former, implies treason, or some foul act committed on bodies of men or individuals; an etymon somewhat ominous, it must be confessed; but *Bræde*, in the latter, signifies broad, ample, expansive, or spacious. How far the former may apply, we are at a loss to tell; but the latter is obviously exceedingly inapplicable. The terminal is unquestionably Saxon.

For the true etymology of Bailey-hill, we know not where to look; but we are not aware that any portion of it is Saxon, except its termination, which, like that of *Felt*, is frequently added to a British or Roman appellation. Whitaker says, that it is an old name for a fortification: in this assertion he is supported in a number of instances.

Touching Castle-hill, we are willing to subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Watson, and think with him, that it was an advanced post, formed for the purpose of flanking Bailey-hill, with which it immediately communicated. From it, also, a different and in some instances a more extended view of the country was commanded; hence it became an important outwork to the principal fastness, by rendering it less liable to surprisal.

At the eastern end of Bardike, is a vast range of irregularly shaped hills, supposed by Mr. Watson to be tumuli, and which might probably, he thinks, be the graves of those who fell in the attack of the Saxons by the Danes, at this end of the artificial dike. But on a closer inspection, we are well assured, that this singular group of hills is rather an eccentricity in nature, than an artificial assemblage—the sport or fury of deity, than an act of man. They are denominated Kenhere or Kenyer hills, which, the learned gentleman above noticed presumes, might be derived from the Saxon *Cyne*, royal, and *Here*, an army.

In other parts of this vast station—for so we have elsewhere called it—vestigies, wearing the aspect of great antiquity were observed by Mr. Watson; particularly a large mass of stone, called the Apronful-of-stones; a piece of rock, which bore the appellation of the Hurkling-stone; a druidical circle on “the side;” and a range of tumuli. Whatever might be the state of these remains in the age of our reverend surveyor, their present appearance would require a large draught of antiquarian credulity, ere the hand of art could be deemed the author of their formation.

The small hills denominated *tumuli*, are most certainly artificial eminences; but that they were all thrown up for the purpose of sepulture, is very questionable. In the two which we, in company with James Rimington, Esq. and Mr. S. Mitchell, jun., opened, no remains whatever, confirmatory of that opinion, were found. On their original much uncertainty hangs. In some of them, however, the relics of humanity have been discovered, together with a celt, which is now in the museum of Mr. W. Wilson, of Sheffield.

The rivers that traverse this extensive district are, as might be reasonably expected, tolerably numerous; the most important whereof is the Don or Danus. Mr. Camden derives its orthography from the British, *Dan*, a word which implies a deep and low channel.* Mr. Whitaker is of a different opinion, and refers its original to the D'Avon of the same people.† But it ought to be remembered, that D'Avon simply implies "the water," and is therefore totally devoid of a locally discriminating character; hence, the judicious reader will not fail to perceive, that the same term might with equal propriety be applied to any other, or to every other stream. On the former etymon, it is probable, Milton had his eye, when he designated it the "gulphie Dun;" but Harrison is clearly wrong, when he describes it as the "swift Done;" for after its departure from the mountains of the Peak, it slowly winds its way, in a remarkably flexuous manner, until it arrives at the point, where the Flemings turned its course, for the purpose of aiding their designs, in draining the vast adjacent level. The various hills, which thwart and intercept its course, augment in a great measure the inconvenience that arises from the mass of water which is often poured into its channel by its tributary streams, and prevent it, by the sinuosity of its bed, from making its way to its destination in a very rapid manner; hence the numerous and destructive floods, which have often marked its devastating course.

The course of this river is poetically traced by the muse of Drayton; while the memorable actions and places which have occurred and are situated upon it, or in its vicinity, are elegantly poetized by the Latin hexameters of Dr. Dering, Dean of Ripon. Dodsworth, the eminent Yorkshire collector, observes, that "the river Dune riseth in the upper part of Pennystone, thence to Bolsterstone by Midhop." "Leaving Wharnccliffe chase (stored with roebucks, which are decayed since the great frost) on the north, belonging to Sir Francis Wortley, where he hath great iron works. The said Wharnccliffe affordeth two hundred dozen of coals for ever to his said works. In the chase he had red and fallow deer and roes; and leaveth Bethuns, a chase and tower of the earl of Salop, on the south side. By Wortley to Wadsley, where in times past, Everingham of Stainbro' had a park, now disparked.

* *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 61.

† *Hist. of Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 61.

Thence to Sheffield and washeth the castle walls, keepeth it current to Attercliffe, where is an iron forge of the earl of Salop; from thence to Wincobank, Kynghamworth and Eccles, where it entertaineth the Rother, coming presently to Rotherham, then to Aldwark-hall, the Fitzwilliams' ancient possessions; then to Thriberg park, the seat of Reresbys, knights; then to Mexbrough, where hath been a castle, thence to Conisbrough parke and castle of the earl of Warrens, where there is a place called Horse's tombe. From thence to Sprothbrough, the ancient seat of the famous family of the Fitzwilliams, who have flourished ever since the conquest. Thence by Newton unto Doncaster, Wheatley and Kirk-Sandal, to Barnby-Dunn, by Bramwith and Stainforth to Fishlake, thence to Tumbidge, a porte town, serving indifferently for all the west parts, where he pays his tribute to the Aise.* From the time of the general drainage, however, the waters of the Don have forsaken the lower part of their bed, and now pour themselves into the Ouse near Gool. Previously to this event, the Don, on its arrival at Thorne, divided itself into two channels; one of which communicated with the Aise, as is observed above, while the other emptied itself into the Trent, a little prior to its junction with the Ouse. This branch of the Don constituted the boundary line of the county of York, and the southern extreme of the Brigantian kingdom.

Most of the waters composing the smaller rills, which have their progress through our district, such as the Dove, Dearn, Rother, Blackburn-bec, Holbrook, Sheaf, Porter, Loxley, Yewden, &c., serve to augment the current of the Don, and with it eventually rendezvous in the *Δούρις καλῆς* of Ptolomy, or the Humber; that great and magnificent receptacle of all the rivers issuing out of the southern side of the British Appenines, as Dodsworth significantly calls the range of mountains that pass north-west of Sheffield, and extend to and hold communion with those of Scotland.

So early as the reign of Edward II., the navigability of the Don became an object of inquiry with the justices of sewers;† when John de Doncaster, Roger de Cloherne, and Robert de Amecotes, were appointed commissioners to inquire into the nature of, and to remove the obstructions. In the twelfth year of the same king's reign, three other commissioners were chosen to view the banks of the Don in Marshland, and to repair them in such places and in such manner as they might deem requisite. In the 17th Edward III., "Sir Thomas Ughtred, Sir Gerard de Usefleet, and Sir

* Dodsworth's Coll. in the Bodl. Lib. The direction of the Don, as here described by Dodsworth, is tolerably correct, excepting the upper part thereof. That it rises in the bosom of the moors, beyond Pennington, is, we believe satisfactorily ascertained; but the stream which passeth Midhope, and rises in the vicinity of Ladies-cross, in the wapentake of Staincross, bears a different name.

† Dugdale's Hist. of Draining, &c. p. 115.

William de Redness, Knights; John de Beckingham, and John de Langeton, were assigned to view the banks betwixt Turnbridge near Rowcliff, and the ancient course of the river Don, in the parts upon Marshland; as also those upon the rivers of Aire, Ouse, and Don, thereabouts, which were then broken by the floods of fresh waters, and to take order for the repairs of them.

“In the same year, upon a petition exhibited to the King in parliament, by the inhabitants of Marshland in this county (Yorkshire), and they of Axeholm in Lincolnshire, shewing, that whereas, King Edward II., at the suit of them the said inhabitants; suggesting, that the river of Done, which is the division betwixt the said counties, where the course of the waters had wont to be, as well for the passage of ships from the town of Doncaster unto the river of Trent, as for the drainage of the adjacent lands, was obstructed by the sea tides; and thereupon gave commission to John de Doncaster, and others, to clear the same, and reduce it to its ancient course. Which commissioners did accordingly cause a trench of sixteen feet and one grain of barley in breadth to be digged at the charge of the men of these parts, from a certain place called Crulleflete-hill unto Denmyn; and did thereby reduce that stream into its ancient course. And that since the trench so digged, there were bridges, flood-gates, and divers other obstructions, made anew in the said stream, so that it had not sufficient breadth, but that the passage of ships was hindered, and the adjacent grounds overflowed; he therefore constituted Roger de Newmarsh, Thomas de Levelannor, John de Ludington, and John de Rednesse, his commissioners, to remove these obstructions.” In the twenty-third year of the same reign, Sir Thomas Ughtred, Sir Gerard Ousflet, Knights; Robert de Midelham, Robert de Haldenby, Thomas Proctour of Rednesse, and William Gatorest, were assigned to view and repair the banks upon the rivers of Ouse, Don, and Aire, in the parts of Marshland. The next year following, William de Percy, Brian de Thornehull, Ralph de Lassel, William de Ayrmyrn, William de Notton, William de Henchden, Illard de Useflet, and Thomas de Egmonton, had the like assignation for those upon the rivers of Humber, Ouse, Derwent, Aire, Skelfleet, Longdyke, Fulne, and Don, in the parts of Spalding-mere, Howdenshire, Draxsoken and Marshland, and in the wapentakes of Barston and Herthill, betwixt Ouse and Derwent. So also Thomas de Ughtred, Robert de Pickering, Robert de Middleham, William de Gatonesse, and Thomas Proctour of Rednesse, for those upon the streams of Ouse, Aire, and Don, in the parts of Marshland and Osgodcross. In the 33d Edward III., John de Mowbray, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William de Aldeburgh, Sir Ralph de Lassels, Knights, and others, were appointed commissioners to view and repair the banks of the Ouse, Derwent, Aire, Skelfleet, Langdyke, Fulne, and Don. In the 36th of the same reign, John de Mowbray, Thomas de Ingleby, William de Fyncheden, and others, were assigned to the same end. In this year also there were “divers presentments” made against several persons who had neglected to repair the banks,

&c. of the Ouse, Aire, &c. "Upon the pleadings whereunto the town of Rowcliff could not deny, but that it ought to repair the watercourse at Langholme-gote, and therefore were fined for their default."

In the 39th Edward III., William de Skipwith, Richard de Ravensere, provost of Beverley, Godfrey de Foljambe and others, were empowered to view the banks, &c. of the Aire, Ouse and Don. In the following year, Thomas de Roos, of Hamlake, Thomas de Ingleby, William de Aton and others, were constituted commissioners for the surveying of the banks of the Humber, Ouse, Derwent, Aire, Skelfleet, Landyke, Fulne, and Don; and in the 41st of the same reign, Thomas de Ingleby, William de Fyncheden, William de Galby, parson of Epworth, and others, for the banks of the Don in the parts of Marshland and Balne.

In the reign of Richard II., the great seal of England was put to a number of instruments, authorizing commissioners to view and repair the banks of the Don, &c. and in the 3d Henry IV., Edmund, duke of York, Sir Gerard Sothill, knight, Robert Tirwhyte, John Rome, clerk, John Gaytesford, Thomas Burnham, William Ludyngton, Edmund Fitzwilliam, Thomas Sheffield and Thomas Egmonton, were assigned to survey and repair the banks, &c. "in the isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire and betwixt the water of Bykersdike, on each side, in the county of Nottingham; and the river of Done, on each side, as well in this county (Yorkshire), as in Lincolnshire, and the confines of them from the town of Doncaster to the river of Trent, and to do all things therein according to the law and custom of this realm." "In the 11th year of the same reign, Thomas Knight, of Arksey, was attached by John Fastolf, who alledged, that he, the said Thomas, ought to repair certain banks upon the river of Done, in respect of his lands in Bentley, whereunto the said Thomas pleaded that he ought not."*

To what we have here brought forwards from the pages of Dugdale, a number of other, but similar, commissions might be added, all of which tend to shew the early importance of this useful current, as well as to exhibit in a luminous point of view, the difficulties and dangers our ancestors had to grapple with in maintaining the neighbouring country in a habitable condition. In the age of Henry VI. when commerce and enterprise began in a more active manner to influence the minds of men, efficient measures were adopted to render it amply useful for commercial purposes. In this reign, a petition was presented to parliament by the inhabitants of the counties of York, Lincoln, Derby and Nottingham, complaining of the obstructions and annoyances which the watermen met with, by stones, &c. that everywhere impeded the navigation, and rendered the passage thereof both dangerous and dilatory,

* Dugdale's Hist. of Draining, p. 126, et ant.

which, together with the ineligible construction of a wooden bridge, called Turnbridge, the arches whereof were so low and narrow, that accidents were daily happening, to the great injury of individuals navigating the river, and to the king's revenue. The petitioners therefore prayed the parliament to beseech the king, to grant, with the approbation of the lords spiritual and temporal, a license to any person or persons, of the said counties, to take down the said bridge, and to build or construct another with a moveable leaf in the centre, for the passage of vessels, and to prohibit persons from stopping its course by stones or piles, or any "other dicyte," and to authorize and confirm to such as navigate the same, the privilege of having a towing path, to expedite their passage along the said river, as they were wont to enjoy of "old tyme;" which prayer was complied with in all its parts.* At this time, however, it would appear, that vessels only of very light burden could reach the town of Doncaster, and none of a character likely to be useful to commerce ever passed that town. Stainforth and Turnbridge, for ages, constituted the "ne plus ultra" of mercantile navigation up the Don, and limited the extent of naval enterprise to the influence of the tides.

In 1721, proposals were published for making the Don navigable as high as the borough of Doncaster, for vessels of thirty tons burden, and as high as Sheffield, for craft of twenty tons. The corporation of Doncaster was to furnish sufficient means towards effecting the first part of the project, while the latter was to be done by the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire. Pregnant with utility as the scheme appeared to be, the narrow-sighted policy of a few mercenary individuals, through whose property the river ran, induced them to oppose it with all their power; and it was not until the year 1726, that the proposals were laid before the house, in order to receive the badge of authority.

During its progress through the house, a violent and formidable opposition was made by the Lord F. Howard, and other landed proprietors, aided by the merchants of Gainsbrough and Bawtry, which, it is to be lamented, was partially effective; and notwithstanding that the bill eventually received the royal assent, its original features and intent were much altered; for instead of being made navigable to the town of Sheffield, its extent was confined to the village of Tinsley, as will be seen by the following outline of the bill.

The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire, empowered to make the river navigable, making satisfaction for damages. Commissioners appointed to determine differences between the undertakers and others. Undertakers to meddle with no land, &c. till payment be offered. Commissioners may fine persons summoned on juries, or to

* Rolls of Parliament, 1442. Vol. v. p. 44.

give evidences. None to sit as a commissioner, unless he is seized in an estate of £100. per annum. Jurymen not to be interested. Damages by default of the undertakers, to be settled by a jury. Not to erect a new dam, &c. near Holmstile, or above Doncaster, &c. To make but one cut between Aldwark and Thribergh mill-dams. Not to take the water out of the Don, by a cut nearer to Kilnhurst-forge, than out of Thribergh-dam, &c. Wears for forges, &c. let out of repair, undertakers may erect others, &c. Undertakers to make a good road at Tinsley, and to take for every ton of goods carried through Tinsley upon the river, above the lock duties, 1*d*. Inhabitants still to perform their day's work. Rates and duties of tonnage shall be such as the Company of Cutlers shall think fit, not exceeding 2*s*. 6*d*. for every fodder of lead or lead ore, or 3*s*. for every customary ton of iron, steel, horns, hoofs, bones, or box-wood; or 3*s*. 6*d*. for every ton of deals, boards, or timber of foreign growth, cheese, salt, corn, cutlery-wares, iron-wares, groceries, or other merchandise; or 6*d*. for every ton of lime or limestone, brought to Tinsley; or 3*d*. for every ton of lime or limestone carried up or down, or down the river to Doncaster-wash, or any other place between Aldwark-wash and Doncaster; or for every ton of coals, stone, iron-sough metal, wood, and timber, which shall be carried from the head of the navigation, or any part of the lordship of Tinsley, down to Holmstile or Doncaster, or from Doncaster or Holmstile up to Tinsley, (except wood and timber of English growth, for which only 1*s*. 6*d*. per ton is to be paid, and from Rotherham to Holmstile, no more than 1*s*. per ton,) not exceeding 2*s*. 6*d*., and from Rotherham, not exceeding 2*s*.; or on any part between Rotherham and Kilnhurst-works, and thence to Denaby, Mexbrough, and Conisbrough, not exceeding 1*s*. 6*d*.; or on any part between Conisbrough and Holmstile, not exceeding 1*s*. Managers of boats to give just account of their goods. On death or refusal to act, commissioners to elect new ones. Undertakers may set up winches, or other engines to tow up vessels, to maintain gates, &c. in the towing paths, and bridges over the new cuts. All meetings of the commissioners to be within six miles of the matter in question. Masters of boats answerable for their boatmen. Owner's name to be set on the outside of every vessel. Owners of Thribergh forge, &c. may appoint one to prevent leaving open locks, to be paid by the undertakers. A free navigation from Holmstile to Tinsley westward, paying the duties. Owners of land may use pleasure boats on the river. River Don, not under the survey of the commissioners of sewers. Locks to be opened on demand for free passage. Undertakers not to borrow money on the duties. Lords of manors, or owners of ground, may build warehouses, &c. on their own ground. Not to make any cut out of Doncaster corn-mill dam, between that and Holmstile.

The act obtained by the corporation of Doncaster, in the 13th George I., for rendering more effectual the navigation of the Don, between and from Holmstile to Wilsick-House, in the parish of Barnby-sup'-Don, is in substance to the following

1.

h

purport. The corporation of Doncaster appointed undertakers to make the river navigable. Commissioners appointed for adjusting differences between the undertakers and owners of wares, &c. Have power to mediate between undertakers and others. May settle satisfaction for damages. If the party dislike the determination, commissioners may cause a jury to be impannelled, to assess damages. Their verdict conclusive. The verdict to be kept by the town-clerk of Doncaster, among the records. On payment of the money assessed, undertakers may proceed to work. Commissioners to have £100. per annum. Undertakers to make a cut, to convey the waters running down Bentley-mill-goit into the far waters, &c. They are to fill up the hollows next to Arnold goit, on Thorp-marsh-side, level the grounds on the other side. Banks of the river to be widened at Long-Sandal and Redcliffe. Sir George Cooke, &c. to have a way over Wheatley-ford, as formerly. Undertakers not to set hauling-paths on the south side, betwixt Long-Sandal and Redcliffe, nor to make wharfs on Sir George Cooke's lands, &c. Duties of tonnage for all such lead, iron, steel, horns, hoofs, bones, box-wood, timber, broken and unbroken deals, boards, cheese, salt, cutler's-ware, iron-wares, groceries, coals, stone, lime-stone and lime, and all other merchandise (except corn and malt) as shall be carried upon the river, between Holmstile in Doncaster, and so far as the bottom of the cut on Barnby-sup'-Don side, such duties as the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses shall think fit; not exceeding 10*d.* for every fodder of lead, or customary ton of iron, steel, horns, hoofs, bones, box-wood, timber of foreign growth, broken or unbroken deals and boards; nor above 10*d.* for every ton of cheese, salt, cutler's-ware, iron-wares, groceries, and other merchandise (except corn and malt) and not exceeding 1*d.* for every ton of mill or marble stone, or coals; 10*d.* for every ton of lime, and for every ton of lime-stone and other stones, 8*d.*; and for every ton of plank and timber of English growth, 8*d.*; a penny per quarter for grain. Boats carrying dung, &c. to be duty-free. The three bridges over the new river, &c. to be vested in the mayor, &c. of Doncaster. Duties for passage through the three bridges, when the drawn bridges are open, 6*d.* per ten ton. Participants now liable to repair the three bridges, &c.; to pay to the mayor, &c. of Doncaster, £20. per — in lieu of repairs. The mayor, &c. may dig sods in the participants' lands. The participants shall stand, with respect to the county, liable to the repairs, if the mayor, &c. make default. In default of the corporation of Doncaster, the participants to repair the bridges, &c. and receive the duties, &c. till they are repaid, or the participants may bring their action at law against the corporation. The new river, as well as the river Don, from Wilsick downwards, subject to the commissioners of the sewers. Not to prejudice the rights of the mayor, &c. of York, nor to hinder the owners of land, lying on the river, from erecting warehouses, &c. on their own lands. Undertakers not to erect warehouses, &c. in the town of Barnby-sup'-Don. They are to make a bridge at Barnby. Commissioners may nominate new commissioners in the place of persons dying, or refusing to act. Undertakers may make towing-paths, and set up winches;

they are to set up gates, bridges, and stiles in the towing-paths, and make bridges over the new cuts, for the use of the landowners. No meeting of commissioners above six miles from the matter in question. Masters of boats responsible for the damage done by their boats or crew. If any boatman, passing any lock, shall not shut it, &c., he shall forfeit 10s. Owner's name to be set on the outside of the vessel. Opening the locks, forfeits 10s. to the poor. All persons to have free passage on the river, paying the duties. Owners of land, &c. may use pleasure-boats on the river. Saving all liberties of fishing and fowling. River Don, between Holmstile and Wilsick-house, not under the jurisdiction of the commissioners of sewers; but they shall have the same power, down from Wilsick to the river Ouse, as before. Not to charge the tenants of the crown, or residents of Hatfield, in com. Ebor. with any duties but the lock dues. The locks shall be opened for boats which have paid the duties, &c. Commissioners may appoint persons to measure the boats. Persons receiving damage by the undertakers, commissioners to assess the damage by a jury. If the undertakers do not pay the assessments, commissioners may constitute a person to receive the duties, to the use of the sufferers. Corporation may engage the profits for money to be borrowed. The water-engine, for supplying Doncaster with water, not to be prejudiced, till proprietors be satisfied.

After narrating the provisions, &c. contained in the two foregoing enactments, those of a third, which was obtained in the 6th George II., shall be as briefly noticed. The object of this act was principally to effect an union of the two companies, the concentration of their profits and privileges, and a division of the whole into one hundred and fifty shares. After June 24th, 1733, the undertakers of each navigation are made one body corporate, and may purchase lands, &c. as a joint stock. The books of accounts to be kept at Sheffield and Doncaster. A general court may alter former rules, or make new ones. The navigation to be confined to Tinsley, and capable of vessels of twenty tons burthen. On defect of such continuation by the proprietors, the Cutlers' Company to carry it on and receive the duties. If the corporation of Doncaster neglect to repair the three bridges on the new river, landowners there may repair them. This act not to lessen powers given by former acts.

The preamble of the act of the 13th George II. sets forth, that the company, before and after it became united and thrown open to public patronage, "laid out and expended the sum of £20,000. and upwards, whereby they have made and perfected a good navigation; from the town of Rotherham upon the said river, to Wilsick-house in the parish of Barnby-sup'-Don, is already navigable and passable for boats, lighters, and other vessels, from Wilsick-house aforesaid, to Fishlake-ferry, in the county of York, part of the year, but in time of neap-tides and dry seasons, boats cannot sail on that part of the said river, to the great hindrance and prejudice of trade; and whereas the improving of the navigation of the said river, and

making the same navigable at all times and seasons, will be very beneficial to trade, and advantageous to the poor, and a great encouragement to the manufacturers of iron, and convenient for the carriage of lead, coals, lime, stone, timber, and other heavy goods, wares, and merchandise, to and from the towns and parts adjacent or near to the said river, and also to and from Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and other distant counties, and to and from London, and several other parts of this kingdom, and will very much tend to the employment and the increase of watermen and seamen, and be a means to preserve the highways, and promote the public good of this kingdom. Wherefore may it please your Majesty, &c. that it may be enacted, &c." The bill then provides, *inter alia*, that, The proprietors make the river Don navigable from Wilsick-house to Fishlake-ferry, in com. Ebor.; by cleaning drains, cutting trees, &c. To satisfy all demands. Commissioners to determine differences between undertakers and proprietors of mills, &c. If the undertakers, &c. are dissatisfied with the commissioners' determination, sheriff or coroners to impanel a jury of freeholders, on penalty of £50., whose verdict shall be final, &c. Dam above Bramwith upper ford to be raised twenty inches from low-water-mark. Bank to defend low grounds from damage, to be raised at the expence of the undertakers. Undertakers shall make a clough under the cut, of such dimensions as Robert Portington, &c. shall direct; and build a bridge across the cut for carts and carriages, and make a wall, against the orchards, &c. belonging to William Simpson. Undertakers to build a wooden bridge across Stainforth ford, and maintain the same, &c. &c.*

The original proprietors, after the undertaking was thrown open to the public, were as follows.

	Shares		Shares
The Corporation of Doncaster - - -	10	Samuel Shore, jun. - - -	2
Town Trustees of Sheffield - - -	10	John Battie - - -	2
Cutlers' Company - - -	6	John Gell - - -	2
Henry Broomhead - - -	8	Thomas Middleton - - -	2
William Steer - - -	6	Trustees of Hollis's Hospital - - -	2
Samuel Staniforth - - -	5	Richard Goodwin - - -	2
Richard Ellison - - -	5	Christopher Robinson - - -	2
John Dossie - - -	4	Benjamin Greaves - - -	2
George Bradshaw - - -	4	Joseph Steers - - -	2
William Parkin - - -	4	Thomas Buck - - -	2
John Arthur - - -	3	Nicholas Broadbent - - -	2
Thomas Raney - - -	3	Thomas Wilson - - -	2
John Balguy - - -	3	John Roebuck - - -	2
John Fell - - -	3	William Dickinson - - -	2
John Brown - - -	3	Thomas Hardcastle - - -	2
Samuel Shore, sen. - - -	2	John Newsome - - -	2
Thomas Heaton - - -	2	Francis Sitwell - - -	1
John Smith - - -	2	William Brooks - - -	1

* Vid. Statutes at large, by Roughhead.

	Shares.		Shares.
Benjamin Roberts, jun.	1	Matthew Charlton	1
John Allen	1	John Ellison	1
Joseph Turner	1	John Drake	1
James Cawthorne, sen.	1	Joshua Matthewman	1
Lydia Shore	1	Thomas Cawton	1
William Sitwell	1	John Cowley	1
John Dickenson	1	John Smith	1
Jonathan Moore	1	William Mawhood	1
John Morton	1	Charles Wright	1
Richard Fayram	1	Samuel Crawshaw, jun.	1
Ann Heaton	1	John Beal	1
William Wildman	1	Thomas Cooper	1
Ann Parkin	1	George Steer	1
Elizabeth Drake	1	Elizabeth Wordsworth	1
Richard Whitaker	1	Thomas Short	1
John Nodder	1	William Lyon	1
Charles Arthur	1		

The whole or major part of the brooks that rise south-west of Sheffield, have their courses frequently changed or impeded by the wheels, &c. erected on their banks, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of Sheffield. The Porter-dike, as it is locally called, has its rise amidst that range of rocks, generally and very appropriately denominated Stanage or Stony-edge, when, after running to Fulwood, it visits Sharrow-moor, and joins the Sheaf, a little prior to its junction with the Don at the site of the old castle.

The Sheaf also has its origin from the same source, but somewhat in a more westwardly direction. It forms the boundary line that separates the counties of Derby and York, and after having traversed in a tortuous manner a long and stony course, it arrives at Sheffield *per via* of Heeley. This stream, as we have just remarked, fenced the castle walls, and by the impetuosity of its floods, it changed the current of the Don from a S. S. E. to a E. N. E. direction.

The Rivelin rises still more west, but out of the same line of steep and majestic rocks. The banks of this rapid current are rendered locally memorable, in consequence of being the real or fancied focus, where were concentrated the rights, privileges, immunities, and population of the shire or barony of Hallam, in the Saxon era; but which were probably deserted on the advent of the Northmen, and fixed on those of the Don and the Sheaf.

The Loxley acknowledges the same parent; and could it, like some of the others, recount the deeds of our heroic Brigantian ancestors, which have been tragically acted on its bold and long range of barriers, it would a "tale unfold." In its long

and extended course, it receives the waters of several minor streams, and uniting itself with the Rivelin, becomes tributary to the Don at the village of Owlerton.

The Rother is a long and zigzag river, flowing through a rich and fertile tract of land. Its first communication with this wapentake is a little south of Waleswood. Passing by the village of Beighton, it runs to Treeton and Canklow, and joins the Don at Rotherham, to which place it has given name.

The river Dearn, rising in the moorland above Hooton, flows through the lake in Bretton-park, the ancient possessions of the Wentworths; by Barnsley, Darfield, and Wath, and enters the Don near Conisbrough. This wreathing and flexuous river traverses a portion of the wapentake highly interesting, both in a natural, commercial, and agricultural point of view; but the dire effects of the impetuosity of its current, its narrow and circumscribed channel, together with its serpentine bed, mark the progress of its course by the havoc which it has made in several parts of its direction. But whilst it destroys, it also fertilizes its vicinity.

The Dove, a small and feeble rill, has its rise above Wentworth-castle, in the vicinity of Silkstone, and runs near Dodsworth; augmenting the current of the Dearn, below Darfield village. There is also a small rivulet that pours its waters into the Don, nearly opposite Kirk-Sandal. It rises in the neighbourhood of Moor-top and Hemsworth, and passes South-Elmsall, Hampole, Adwick-le-street, and Stockbridge. These streams, together with those of the Torne, Idle, Ouse, Derwent, Trent, &c. disembogue their waters into the jaws of the Humber, which, in one united current, augments the concentrated waters of the world at Spurn-point.

To the curious observer of the works of nature, this magnificent assemblage of rivers presents an interesting fact, viz., that within the short distance of twenty miles, no less than eight or ten distinct streams may be crossed; all of which have an origin widely distant from each other, and which drain widely distant countries; a circumstance, we believe, exclusively singular, and unparalleled in this our terraqueous globe.

The immense level through which these rivers flow, part of which is called Hatfield-chase, presents a curious, and we might say an inexplicable question to the naturalist, and has hitherto baffled the researches of the most profound geologists. The whole area of this chase, much of which is within our district, comprises nearly 200,000 acres, and although it be known by different names, in different parts, it is one great whole, extending from the village of Grindley, in the county of Nottingham, to the lower part of the river Aire, and thence to the walls of York. Extensive, however, as this moss may appear to the minds of some, it is far short in magnitude

to many others in various parts of the old world. The Bog of Allan, in Ireland, contains 300,000 acres. The great marsh of Moutoire, near the mouth of the Loire, is in circumference more than fifty leagues; and the morass of Bremerford, near Bremen, is upwards of sixty miles long by twelve or fifteen broad; which, on a moderate estimate, would comprise 600,000 acres. In Holland, Germany, Poland, France, Prussia, Sweden, &c. are some of treble the extent of these here enumerated.

At what time the immense lake in this neighbourhood was first formed, is a question of difficult solution; but judging from the matter that has accumulated, it must have been at a very early period, and the original cause in a continual and energetic operation for a number of years, ere it could assume its present aspect.

According to the testimony of Matthew of Paris, the Isle of Axholme was inaccessible to an army, so early as 1174; for in the 20th Henry II., Roger de Mowbray unsheathed his sword in young Harry's cause; who, on being worsted, retired with his partizans to the isle, and rendered tenable an old castle, then in decay (which had, from its erection on the arrival of the Normans, belonged to that noble and princely family); for the reduction whereof, the King's party was obliged first to transport themselves across this vast lake in boats; and in the 10th Henry III., after the disastrous battle of Eversham, the defeated barons fled to this isle, as to a place of refuge. Other direct and circumstantial evidence proves, beyond a doubt, that the present level was a complete lake, immediately after the ingress of the Conqueror; but they fail in informing us, at what epoch the influx of waters from the neighbouring rivers first took place.

That the plot was not originally in that drowned condition, is sufficiently manifest from the large quantity of wood which everywhere lies buried under the surface of this fenny tract, and which has been deemed a strongly corroborating proof of an universal deluge; while the celebrated Dugdale supposes the fall to have arisen through the humidity of the soil. That this was not the case with these levels, is, however, plainly evident to the most superficial observer; for the trees did not decay by parts, as would have been the case, had they fallen by a gradually operating cause; but fell in the full vigour of vegetable life, as would appear from the circumstance of acorns, nuts, fir-cones, &c. being frequently found attached to the parent tree. Marks of the axe are also borne on the face of some, while others manifest their fall to have been through the agency of fire.

In a letter which we had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Bigland on this subject, are the following observations: "One of the most difficult questions that arises in investigating these matters is this, 'How could such forests, with trees of

so large a size, exist in a tract of land, which, from present appearances, seems to have been formerly almost always inundated, as the ground in most places is lower than the rivers?" "But in our opinion, the above question is less abstruse than the one we will here state; "How, and by what means, could a portion of land of such vast extent become at once a deep and broad lake, so as to subvert and lay in ruins a tract of country, and a noble forest, which, previously to that calamitous event, appears to have been partially cultivated?"

That the district in question was partially cultivated, before it became overflowed with water, is unquestionably true. Numberless proofs might be adduced in support of this hypothesis, but it is too obvious to require, and too palpably manifest to need illustration. "It is very observable," says Pryme, "and manifestly evident, that many of those trees, of all sorts, have been burnt, but especially the firs; some quite through, and some all on one side; some have been found chopped and squared; some bored through; others half riven, with great wooden wedges and stones in them, and broken axe-heads, something like sacrificing axes; and all these in such places, and at such depths, as could never be opened from the destruction of the forest, to the time of the drainage. Near a great root, in the parish of Hatfield, were found eight or nine coins of the Roman emperors, but exceedingly defaced by time." "In cutting a drain, were found old trees squared and cut, rails, stoups, bars, old links of chains, horse-heads, an old axe, somewhat like a battle-axe, two or three coins of the emperor Vespasian, one of which I have seen, with the emperor's head on one side, and a spread eagle on the other; but that which is most observable is, that the very ground at the bottom of the river was found in some places to lie in ridge and furrow, manifesting thereby, that it had been ploughed and tilled in former days." In addition to what Mr. Pryme here advances, we might also mention the occasional discovery of hedgerows and bound bundles of underwood, or faggots, with other evidences of the early engagements of our British ancestors. Mr. Bigland also remarks, in the letter to which we have before adverted, that the same or similar vestiges have been found in other parts of the country, and that in the great Bedford level, ruins of houses have been found buried beneath that vast morass. In the marsh of Mazarion, in Cornwall, a thousand coins of the emperor Victorinus were found; and instances without number might be adduced, where relics indicative of habitation have been found in great abundance.

That this district, also, contrary to the opinion of some, was a well wooded valley, is not less manifest, than that it was partially cultivated. Every part of this wide champaign was thickly studded with the roots of trees, multitudes of which yet remain; and the map prefixed to the itinerary of Richard the Monk, proves the same indubitable fact.

That the influx of waters from the adjacent rivers could not occur from natural or supernatural causes, may be fairly and successfully argued on the ground of improbability. That one, two, or even three or more neighbouring streams might, through the effects of natural agency, overflow their banks, and partially inundate their vicinity, is within the range of probability, and which we too often see verified on a very destructive scale; but that all the rivers which travel the various fenny tracts, should at one particular time overflow their respective banks, and that too for a series of years, is, we conceive, a position scarcely admissible in the creed of the veriest theorist. Dugdale, fully aware of the difficulties he had to grapple with, in the ascription of the deluge to the operation of natural causes, at once quashes the question, by assigning it to the effects of a supernatural power, and thus waives all argument and investigation by the introduction of an earthquake, the violent concussion of which stopped up the mouths of the rivers, and compelled them to spread their waters over the adjoining country, and thereby rendered it a complete swamp. This theory admitted, every difficulty vanishes; for it would have been totally impossible for this or any other forest, however fortified by the strength and magnitude of its respective members, to flourish, or even survive under a continually augmenting weight of water.

In order to account for the inundation of the level, after the destruction of the forest, Mr. Pryme supposes, that a number of smaller streams formerly ran through these levels, and that on the fall of the trees, their courses became impeded by the boughs, &c. of the prostrate wood; and by the "girations and working of the waters, the precipitation of terrestrial matter from them; the consumption and putrefaction of decayed boughs and branches, and the vast increase of thick watery moss, which wonderfully flourishes and grows upon such rotten ground," did so effectually stop up the ancient courses of the old channels, as to compel them to throw their contents over the neighbouring country, and drown to a vast depth the whole of this extensive level.

How plausible soever the reasoning of this sagacious observer may appear to some, with us it is far from being conclusive. That a number of rivers, or rather rills, flowed through this extensive plain, we are willing to allow; but we are also conscious, that they must of necessity have found a receptacle in either some of the larger streams, or a capacious basin in the immediate vicinity of that grand and spacious estuary, the Humber; and notwithstanding the diversion of their currents by the aforementioned cause, they must eventually, on an elevated bed, have again rendezvoused in their former or other recipients, as none of them would have attained banks greatly raised above the general level of the surrounding champaign. Rivers in every part of the world, but especially the Mississippi in America, and its tributary streams, present to our view a case very analogous to this part of our sub-

ject. That noble and majestic body of water has, according to the testimony of several travellers, frequently changed its course; and though its banks must have been considerably heightened by the silt, &c. with which its turbid waters must of necessity be charged; and notwithstanding the havoc and desolation which were for a season the consequence of the obstructions, it always created for itself a new channel, and made its way to its ultimate destination; and such, we are persuaded, would have been the case with the numerous becks or rills in this level, had not some more effectual means been taken to render the flooding of the district more wide and permanent, than a simple and accidental obstruction of the minor currents.

“All considerable rivers,” observes Mr. Bigland, in the letter before alluded to, “almost always take their rise in elevated districts, whence their waters rushing down upon the valleys or plains, and seeking for themselves a passage, follow the lowest parts of the land, till they form for themselves channels, which increase in depth and breadth for some time. Those rivers which flow in a soft soil, carry away the finest particles, and their waters become turbid and muddy. This mud being constantly deposited, and the greater part subsiding near the stream, at length forms natural banks. From this circumstance it arises, that we in general see the lands near large rivers, higher than it is at some distance, as is remarkably the case throughout the whole length of Egypt.” The whole of what my learned friend here states, is perfectly consonant with the law of nature; but with the exception of the powerful streams of the Ouse, Aire, Trent, and Don, none in this plain can make any pretensions to an origin much elevated. The Torne, Idle, Bickersdyke, &c. it is true, are now considerable currents; but none of them were ever rapid in their descent, as is evinced on an inspection of their former devious and serpentine courses.

The winding and zigzag direction of the channel of the old Don, as well as those of some of the larger rivers, proves that their progress through the valley, after their departure from the more elevated regions, was very slow; and that the beds of some of them were considerably below those of the present streams, known by the same names, is equally manifest; hence it is easy to perceive, that the difficulties presentable to modern inspection did not exist to the same extent seventeen hundred years ago. The gradual and progressive elevation of the beds and banks of all rivers which have their rise in mountainous tracts, is a law in nature perpetually in action, and cannot have eluded the notice of the most indifferent observer.

The Don, for instance, is from its source to its arrival below the town of Doncaster, considerably below the general level of the country; but after it leaves that place, and wherever else it has an opportunity of escaping from its confines, we invariably find that its waters have raised its banks to an altitude much above the immediate

vicinity of its course. To this cause may be ascribed the deeply embedded state of a number of implements of husbandry, war, &c. which have been frequently found several feet below the present surface.*

It is imagined by some, that the level, antecedent to the inundation, was not only well cultivated, but that the forest itself was not a primeval one. To support this untenable position, they allege, that the order in which the trees were disposed manifests a design, and could not be the work of nature. In some parts of the district, exclusive plots of the oak are found; while in others, the fir prevails; but not in total exclusion of every other wood. However conclusive this circumstance may be in the estimation of some observers, on a full and mature consideration, we think it will be found rather to denote an origin coeval with creation itself, or at all events, that it was as old as the general deluge. The roots, as well as the prostrate trunks of the oak, are found to have chiefly occupied the clayey portion of the valley, while the fir is generally discovered in a bed of sand. On a matter so abstruse as this, where conjecture and deduction only can guide our researches; a multiplicity of opinions will naturally prevail; and while some attribute the deluge and fall of wood to the hand of nature, others ascribe both to the operation of an invisible and supernatural agent; but none, that we are aware of, have assigned the flooding to Roman policy.

That this small portion of the *Sylva Caledonia* was annihilated by the Romans, is deducible from a series of circumstantial evidence; in fine, it is so far demonstrable, that little or no doubt can be entertained on the subject. That the Britons, like other savage nations, were accustomed to avail themselves of such shelter, is obvious to every one who is acquainted with the earliest records of national defence. Cæsar, in his celebrated commentaries, complains of the obstructions he met with in consequence of Cassibelin and his associates crossing a fordable part of the Thames, and taking refuge in the fastnesses of miry woods, and low watery forests. To the testimony of Cæsar, we have it in our power to add that of others equally respectable. Tacitus informs us, that Venutius, the Brigantian king, on being too closely pursued by the Roman legions, fled for shelter into the woody district of his country. The same is also noticed by Herodian, as well as of Agricola by Tacitus;† who, after defeating the Silures, was prevented from reaping that advantage from his victory which he reasonably anticipated, in consequence of the retreat of the natives into the woods, &c. of their province. When narrating the conquering progress of the

* As the workmen were employed to cut of some of the turnings in the river below Wheatley, in the summer of 1824, a brass instrument was discovered, from two to three yards below the top of the bank. This relic is now in the hands of Mr. Coupland, of Rotherham, and is undoubtedly British.

† Lib. xiv. Ann. sec. 10. Vid. also Sammes' Antiquities, p. 110.

same general, he likewise remarks, that the Caledonians would have been completely cut off, had they not availed themselves of the protecting power of the bogs and woods.* Their neighbours, the Gauls, we are also informed by Cæsar, were addicted to the same habit. "The next day, Cæsar dispatched lieutenant T. Labienus, with the legions he brought back from Britain, against the revolted Morini, who being deprived by the excessive drought of the benefit of the bogs and marshes, to which the year before they retired for protection, most of them fell into his power. But the lieutenants, Q. Titurias and L. Cotta, who had been sent into the province of the Guelders, returned without doing any harm, save the cutting up their corn, laying waste their fields, and burning their towns; for the enemy had secured themselves in the woods." From this extract, and those previously noticed, we may gather two important facts, viz. that the old Gauls and Britons were in the habit of seeking security in their woods and bogs; and that those woods were destroyed by the Romans, for the purpose of dislodging the rebellious natives; and although the latter citation, in all its parts, has reference to the Gauls, every impartial and intelligent reader will allow, that it applies with equal force to our ancestors, the Britons, whose towns or places of retreat were generally situated in the midst of thick woods, in some elevated part of the country, or in the more defensible position which their morasses afforded.†

The practice of retiring into woods, &c. to elude the vengeance of a victorious army, is not wholly confined to the pages of ancient history. King Edward I. chased the Welsh into their woods, &c., which, in order to dislodge them, he was obliged to destroy. The same was also done in Scotland by his grandson, Edward III.‡ Henry II. did the same in Ireland; and in the border wars, John, Duke of Lancaster, "to avenge himself of the depredations the inhabitants had committed, set 24,000 axes at work at once, to destroy the woods."§

If the Romans were the annihilators of the level of Hatfield-chase, and the surrounding district, is it not reasonable to infer, we may be asked, that some of their vestigia would occasionally be found? To this we reply in the affirmative, and have already produced instances to that effect. In addition to which, we would observe, that a few years ago, the effigies of a Roman warrior, carved in oak, was found in Grindley-car, deeply embedded on a subsoil of clay; and Dr. Rennie, as well as Dugdale, notices many others.

Inaccessible hills, impassable morasses, and impenetrable woods, were always places of retreat for the aborigines of our island, into which the native or acquired hardihood of the Roman veterans was not sufficient to pursue them. Desultory

* Tac. Vit. Agric.

† Vid. Cæsar's Gaul, lib. vi. cap. 29.

‡ Leland. Coll. vol ii. p. 468.

§ Rennie on Peat Moss, p. 26.

warfare is a peculiar trait in the character of all uncivilized nations. Unity of action, and concentration of force, are acquirements to be found only in the improved state of war, when exercised as a science. To this cause, in a great measure, may be assigned the havoc which a trained band of disciplined warriors makes in the lax ranks of a savage and vindictive banditti, who shrink appalled from its herculean charge, and leave a tithe in number masters of the bloody field. Xiphiline, on the authority of Dion, informs us, that the emperor Severus, during his abode in Britain, complained loudly of the obstacles he met with in his attempts to subdue the natives, and unequivocally ascribes the cause thereof to their means of defence, and immethodical but destructive mode of attack. Their numerous and sudden skirmishes proved exceedingly troublesome to those haughty conquerors, and rendered extremely hazardous the separation of any small part of the army from the main body, whether on march or in camp; a circumstance which is obliged to occur in the regulations of an hostile and invading power, in order that provisions may be procured, and the country reconnoitred. No advanced guard, nor any foraging party, or other small detachment, could be dispatched from the main body, but they were immediately assaulted, and frequently cut off by their ever watchful enemies, who forthwith returned into their fastnesses, and bade defiance to those scourges of mankind and subjugators of the world. This system so baffled and enraged the old veteran, Severus, that he determined to aim at the root of the evil, by a thorough and efficient annihilation of their places of refuge. To effect this desirable consummation, he commenced his work of destruction, with fire, hatchet, and sword; and in this, and similar undertakings, he had the misfortune to find his ranks thinned of 50,000 men.

The Roman road, which by Leland and his followers has been erroneously called Watling-street, came in contact with a portion of this subterranean forest at Bawtry; a little north whereof, are yet the remains of a Roman camp, situated between the way and wood in question. This entrenchment is placed on the very borders of the old forest, now in ruins, but in the Roman era, it is probable, in the very centre of it; near which a battle has been fought, as would appear from the number of spear-heads, and other warlike weapons that have been found in the immediate vicinity of those earth-works; and more, it is not improbable, yet lie hid in the wood which partially covers the site of this Roman remain.

Mr. Pryme, whom I have before so frequently quoted, is of opinion, that to an occurrence of this nature it is, that the village of Austerfield owes the origin of its present name. The Saxon, *Felb*, we are aware, was but rarely added as a terminal, but it implied that a battle, or some memorable action had occurred in its immediate vicinity. This, for instance, is particularly the case at Hatfield, Bradfield, Wakefield, &c. as well as at Austerfield. The appellative part of the name, viz. *Auster*, or

Oster, he supposes, has reference to *Ostorius*, who, he imagines, contended with the Britons for the empire of the Brigantian province; hence he would derive the compound *Austerfield*, or *Osterfield* as it is sometimes spelt, from *Ostorius's* field. This mode of derivation, however, seems rather specious and imposing, than happy and correct. To *Ostorius*, it is true, is awarded the credit of being the first Roman that subdued the morose and vindictive spirits of our Brigantian ancestors; but the same may be said of *Ostorius*, touching the Brigantes, as hath been said of *Cæsar*, respecting the conquest of Britain, viz. that he rather shewed that province to his successors, than subdued it.

To determine with accuracy the precise period of the annihilation of this forest by the Romans, would be an attempt attended with much difficulty; but the era affixed to that event by Pryme, is too early by one hundred years. If the Romans were the constructors of the ways generally ascribed to their policy, we can scarcely give to the *Herman-street* an original anterior to the year 70 or 71, when *Petilius Cerealis* added a considerable portion of the Brigantian province to romanized Britain. If, then, the two important and chief military ramparts of the Romans in the north, were not extended through this province, until from twenty to thirty years after the age of *Ostorius*, we cannot consistently suppose that the vicinal roads would be so early by a number of years, and which were no doubt formed for the sake of rendering their domination more extensive and more permanent, as well as for the convenience of a regular and expeditious mode of communication.

The annihilation of this forest by the Romans is not an insulated occurrence, unsupported by similar events. The whole range of early history proves that it was the invariable custom of all early nations. They had no other means of dislodging the natives from their fastnesses. We have already remarked, that the Romans had recourse to that system in Gaul. The extensive subterranean wood near *Kin-cardine*, in Scotland, fell by the same power. In that morass, is on the subsoil a Roman causeway. "It entered upon the south of the morass at *Craigford*; on the north of the same moss, near the river *Teith*, it is still visible; while it communicates with the moss on both sides, it seems to be interrupted there. Traces of it have, however, lately been discovered in digging that moss. After the peat, eight feet deep, was removed, the remains of this road were laid open to view. It is twelve feet broad; it is not paved with stones, like the rest of that work; it is constructed of trees from nine to twelve inches in diameter. Those forming the first tier, are laid in the direction of the road; over these, another tier of trees, of half the diameter, are laid across."* *De Luc*, also, after a minute and very attentive inspection of the mosses, &c. on the continent, comes to the same conclusion. "*Demonstier*, in his

* *Rennie on Peat Moss*, p. 40.

account of the fossil wood, discovered near Paris, observes, That it appears from Cæsar's account of Labienus's expedition against the Gauls under Camelogenus, that all the neighbourhood of that city was at that time woods and marshes. That the inundations of the Seine overflowed these. That Camelogenus retreated thither, determined to wait the attack of the Roman legions. That Labienus attempted to force a passage through the morass, by twigs and branches covered with sod. That he found this impracticable. That he therefore went up as far as Melun, and mounting fifty boats with soldiers, sailed down the stream into the city. That the Gauls set fire to the city, cut down the bridges, and placed themselves beyond the marshes. That they were then surrounded and completely defeated by the Romans. Gobelinus mentions, that moss is found at the port of Paris, where these woods and lakes formerly lay.

" I may add, that it would appear from the Roman historians, that London at the same time was surrounded by woods and marshes; and it is probable, that the extensive morass found in the vicinity of that metropolis, in digging the docks at Deptford and Blackwall, and all the marshes adjoining, originated from these."*

These facts, with a number of others that might be brought forward, point out beyond a doubt, who were the destroyers of this portion of the *Sylva Caledonia*; but how, or by what means it became so effectually flooded, is a problem of more difficult solution. That the valley of itself had not that inherent power, is manifest; or that it was not liable to extraordinary floods, any more than at present, is not less obvious; for the same cause that prevented its revival, would have obviated its existence; and no question can possibly be entertained relative to its former site; therefore, the real agent must be sought for elsewhere.

Now, as the object of the Romans, in wasting the forest, was to extirpate, or expel the aborigines from their strong holds; their work would have been only half done, if after its fall, they had there stopped. In the effluxion of time, a new wood would have sprung up from the old stools, and have again afforded them ample security in the moment of danger; while the prostrate trees would have added to their means of defence, and the frustration of the original design. To remedy this natural result, and render their removal and dispersion permanent, an inundation of so much of its site as was approachable by water would have the desired effect, and complete a grand and comprehensive scheme, not unworthy of a Roman Cæsar.

The rivers flowing through these parts, viz. the Ouse, the Trent, the Aire, and the Don, having their rise in distant and elevated regions, would, of course, ere then have

* Rennie on Peat Moss, p. 42.

acquired banks and beds, somewhat raised above the general level, through which they roll their waters; and on being cut, would disembody their contents, and drown the circumjacent lowland to a considerable depth.

Of this opinion, according to an unpublished work amongst the Harleian MSS., was Abraham de la Pryme, so far, at least, as respects the flood; but he attributes it to the waters from the Humber.* Had that been the case, however, a greater quantity of marine remains would have been met with. Every portion of this vast champaign incontestibly proves, that the substances of which it is composed are the productions of fresh water. The influx of water, from sources so ample, would speedily overflow the whole district, and render human habitation impracticable. The face of the country, which had hitherto exhibited a scene richly diversified by a variety of wood, of hill, and dale, occasionally presenting patches of arable or pasturable land, displayed now a forlornly wild and dreary aspect, fit only for the abode of fish and fowl. Such outlets as had, prior to that calamity, preserved the country tolerably dry, would, through the impetuosity and conflict of the contending currents, let loose from the neighbouring rivers, together with the refuse of the fallen forest, put in action by the power of such a mass of water, become choked up, and assist in producing the devastation and ruin that overspread this unfortunate district for a period of 1,400 years. The velocity with which the waters would escape from the chasms made in the banks by the Romans, would speedily enlarge the aperture, until at length the channels of the rivers would be determined only by a dry summer and a neap tide.

The trees which covered this valley in the British era, had in several instances attained to a gigantic stature; so large, indeed, that the revolution of several centuries

* His words are as follows. "The Romans being thus plagued by those wild Brigantes, were resolved to take another course with this formerly woody country; seeing that it yet remained to be a continual rendezvous for malcontents, and that they issued out of every side thereof to annoy them.

"Therefore the garrison of Aukburrow (in com. Linc.) which was upon the east borders of this woody valley, being as much troubled with the excursions of the enemy as the other garrisons were, petitioned the Roman lieutenant of Britain, that he would be pleased to give them leave, to let the great estuary Humber through the woods, into the reliques of this troublesome country, to destroy the enemy that harboured themselves, and that their garrisons might not be so continually harassed as they now were.

"The lieutenant liking this gave them leave to do the same; who having summoned as many of the conquered Britons as they thought sufficient; they soon performed it, for the cut was not over half a mile long; upon this, the Humber soon wore the passage exceedingly broad, overflowed all the reliques of the aforesaid huge forest, and many thousands of acres more round about the same, drove all the Brigantes and other mal-content Britons out of the same, drowned a great number of them, and turned the reliques of the forest into a great lake; and the weight of the waters so depressed the soil of the country, lying for a good way on the west of the breach, that it is lower than the rest unto this very day; and all the rivers that ran through this forest into the Trent, and so into the sea formerly by Lincoln, were suddenly lost in this great deluge; and their former channels, being now for the most part become unnecessary, by the turn of the waters, formed new ones, and cast themselves into the sea as naturally as they had formerly done by Lincoln." Vid. Pryme's MS. Hist. of Hatfield, Lands. Bib. Harl. MSS. No. 897.

alone could produce them. Oaks have been found, twenty, thirty, and even thirty-five yards long, all of which had lost much of their top. Pryme informs us, that about one hundred and eighty years ago, was found, under a large tree in the parish of Hatfield, an old-fashioned knife, with a haft of a very hard black sort of wood, which had a cap of copper or brass on one end, and a hoop of the same metal on the other, where the blade went into it. There was also found an oak tree in Mr. Candby's parcel of moors, "forty yards long, four yards diametrically thick at the great end, three yards and a foot in the middle, and two yards over the small end; so that, on a moderate calculation, the tree must have been nearly twice as long." On another occasion, was found, a fir-tree. "thirty-six yards long, exclusively of what it had lost from the small end, which might probably have been fifteen yards more." We also have seen trees of more than ordinary magnitude taken from the sombre bowels of this waste, but never had an opportunity of measuring them.

In a letter to which we have before alluded, Mr. Bigland gives the dimensions of a tree which he measured, in the following words: "In the beginning of the year 1819, James Brailsford or Belford, a person whom you well know, dug up, about two hundred yards from the west bank of the Torne, and nearly opposite to the bridge, between Akum and Gate-wood, an oak-tree, of which the trunk measured forty yards in length, and was twelve feet in circumference in the middle. Making a reasonable allowance for the top, this giant of the forest can scarcely have been less than seventy yards in height. Had it been now sound and standing, it would have contained by the usual (although somewhat erroneous) mode of measuring, about 1,080 feet, and at the present price of good oak timber, would have been worth about £162.; besides the branches, which might have been worth £15. or £20. more; making the whole value £177. at the least."

To a tract of land capable of producing trees of so uncommon a size, a moderate degree of dryness in the soil, and a lapse of nearly ten centuries are requisite. The inference deducible from these facts, lends its aid to the position with which we set out, and corroborates, in a striking manner, other collateral evidence, which of themselves are not sufficient to establish a theory in any way entitled to an unqualified espousal.

After the fall of this portion of the Caledonian wood, and the inundation of its site by a diversion of the currents of the neighbouring large rivers, together with the agitation of the earth immediately composing the surface, effected by the weight, impetuosity, and confiction of the opposing streams, and the silt, &c. with which they were charged, the bodies of the wood soon became embedded in a stratum of sand; hence it is, that we in many cases see the trunks of the prostrate timber lie across each other. In course of time, the water would acquire a general level, when

in the absence of winds, the agitation and confusion at first occasioned by a combination of their powerful effects, it would deposit its feculencies, and, in course of time, wholly bury such wood as happened to lay in the focus of these contending tides. In the heat of summer, when the exhaling and prolific influence of the solar beams decreased the weight of water, and generated or called into action the latent germ of a numerous progeny of the aquatic tribe of plants, moss, &c., a thick crust of vegetable matter soon formed, and floated for some time on the surface of the lake, until it eventually became entangled in the boughs and branches of the fallen wood, underwood, &c.; which, together with the decay and putrefaction of the relics of the forest, the rapid growth and consumption of moss, cotton-grass, conferva, &c., some of which gather annual strength by an annual decay, tended gradually to raise the level to an altitude inaccessible to any save extraordinary floods. That this supposition is within the range of probability, is abundantly obvious, from what is manifest at the present day. Some parts of Hatfield-chase are now highly elevated above the mark to which the greatest floods ever rose, and its present summit is much lower than it was fifty years ago.

From a regular succession of periodical floods, the constant decay of vegetable matter, and an annual reproduction of a peculiar species of watery plants, this vast morass assumed its present aspect; and however extraordinary it may appear to a superficial observer, it is perfectly in unison with the law and order of nature. Moss, once generated under favourable circumstances, is capable of an astonishingly rapid increase; and although the cause that originally predisposed its being, may have become obsolete or inert, its inherent constitution acts as a perpetual stimulant, and induces it to multiply to an extent which experiment, and a long and attentive course of observation only can ascertain.

The opportunities of witnessing the rapid growth of moss, &c. do but seldom occur on an extended scale; but on a more limited one, they are perpetually happening. In the large peat-pits, in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, the renovation of moss, &c. may be accurately marked; especially so, where the water is not very deep. At first, may be observed a mucous substance on the surface of the water, resembling a dark green carpet. To this succeeds an infinite multitude of thread-like fibres, closely knit together like net-work, which extend downwards from six to nine inches, while the surface, in the course of a year or two, begins to assume a grassy appearance. This substance continues to increase, and eventually serves as a soil, whereon is scattered by the wind, a multitude of seeds, some of which grow and luxuriate to an astonishing excess, until the mass becomes too heavy to be borne, when it sinks to the bottom, and if the water be tolerably deep and stagnant, there rots, and is succeeded by another crop, which, like its predecessor, soon ceases to be buoyant, and follows it to the bottom. Thus, in the course of a century or two,

layer after layer displaces the water, and forms the substance called peat-earth, on which afterwards are grown heath, and other ligneous plants.

That this has been the mode in which the Hatfield bog was first formed, is extremely probable. The layers or succeeding strata of vegetable matter are everywhere evident ; especially in the more recently made morass, which, of course, has not had so much time to become consolidated, and is therefore less distinguishable. General De Jean observes, that in stagnant pools, the progress of the formation of moss is perceptible to the eye ; "that in some, there is only a kind of net-work begun on the verge ; that others are half covered over with it, while some are wholly filled to the depth of two or three feet ; that after a certain progress, these plants reach the solid base, at the bottom of the lake ; that others rise upon the surface ; that these, by being exposed to the influence of the sun and air, are dissolved and reduced to common mould."* Poiret remarks, when the pits are not "drained of water, or too extensive in their surface, or too deep, and especially where there is no current, that, in such favourable circumstances, the formation and renovation of moss is very rapid ; that fish-ponds would soon be filled up by it, and canals would soon cease to be navigable ; that they would speedily be converted into mosses. He adds, that the Dutch are completely aware of this, but that their indefatigable industry in using every precaution prevents it. With this view, they either endeavour to give an occasional current to their canals, by the influx of the adjacent rivers, when they are swelled above the level of the sea at low tides, or carefully clear these canals of moss. He says, that without these precautions, compact moss would soon occupy their place."† Of this fact, also, all the agriculturists who farm any portion of the Hatfield moss, are fully aware. The dikes which fence their respective allotments, require continual cleansing, or they would quickly discontinue to serve the end for which they were made.

The peculiar nature and property of peat-earth, formed by vegetables of this character, constitute an important and curious inquiry ; but which is too prolix for admission into this introductory discourse. To leave it wholly unnoticed, however, would be an unpardonable omission.

Between stagnant water, generally found in our valleys or marshes, and moor or peat-water, a wide difference exists. Professor Robison remarks, "It is by no means enough to the formation of peat, that the place be a wet marsh, abounding with vegetable matter. In immense districts of Europe and America, such situations are common ; we have impassable swamps of vast extent, which are not filled with peat. I am inclined to think, that a certain juice is necessary to the formation of

* Cited by Rennie.

† Ibid.

bags into moss." What this juice is composed of, he, however, leaves us to guess; but when we take into consideration, that wherever moss is found, trees are likewise discovered, we are naturally induced to suppose, that it is the result of, and proceeds from the woods, &c. giving out their juices to the water that surrounds them. On this portion of our subject, we shall quote the words of the Rev. R. Rennie. "Most of the plants which contribute to the formation of moss, are possessed of astringent, antiseptic juices, soluble in water. When such plants are, therefore, immersed in that liquid, in a stagnant state, these juices must be diffused through it. Of course, it must be changed in quality, and differ from that of rain or river-water. When a quantity of oak-leaves, or bark, or wood, or even aquatic plants, drop into a pool of stagnant water, a change of colour ensues, and it acquires a bitter, astringent taste, and antiseptic quality. Aquatic plants, such as abound in moss, may flourish, even in such a liquid, though no succulent herb will. By this means, a mass of vegetable matter may be accumulated. And, in the course of ages, that matter may be converted into moss. Still, the water may be expected to possess the same astringent, antiseptic quality.

"Accordingly, it is a well known fact, that in this respect, moss-water differs from rain or river-water. The latter, when it is allowed to stagnate, especially in warm weather, becomes putrid; the former does not. M. De Luc has observed this difference. He says, 'That the water in the Dutch canals is apt to become putrid in the heat of summer. By this means they become a nuisance to the inhabitants.' Mr. Dentan makes a similar remark. He adds, 'That an elastic and inflammable gas rises from the bottom of the water in the canals, when it is stirred with a staff. He collected this gas in an inverted cylinder of glass. When a lighted candle was applied to it, it took fire.' Brissons calls this the gas of the marshes. Moss-water in the same latitude and climate with these canals, is not liable to such a change, and yields no such gas. M. De Luc takes particular notice of this fact. He says, 'That the moss-waters over all Holland and Hanover, and the continent of Europe, are not liable to the putrid fermentation.' Mr. Macard says the same. He ascribes this distinguishing quality (as he calls it) to the bitumen they contain. Dr. Rutt, in his essay on mineral waters, observed the same peculiar qualities, and ascribed them to the same cause. In this respect, therefore, it differs from rain and river-water.

"Moss-water is possessed of an antiseptic and embalming quality. It not only remains pure and free from putrescency, but it retards the putrid fermentation both of vegetable and animal matter immersed in it. That the ligneous and aquatic plants lodged in it are found in a state of unusual preservation, is doubted by none; and that all the parts of animals have been preserved in it for ages, cannot be denied.

"The oak stakes taken out of the banks of the Thames, are a sufficient proof of the former. These are known to have been placed there by Julius Cæsar, nearly 2,000 years ago. Yet they are solid and compact, and seemingly bituminated.

"The innumerable animal bodies that have been discovered in a complete state, are sufficient proofs of the latter.

"Moss-water seems to contain tannin. For the skins of all animals found buried in it have undergone an operation similar to tanning. They are always harder, thicker, and tougher than those of living animals of the same species. In this respect, also, it differs from rain and river-water.

"Moss-water converts all the vegetable matter immersed in it into moss. This is not the case with rain or river-water. A few facts may be stated to shew this difference. M. De Luc mentions one; he says, 'That in the plains of Twickle, there is a water that oozes through the sand to the surface. It originates from a stratum of moss below it, and is impregnated with a black substance. This communicates to the water the colour of coffee. When this water descends into the adjacent plain, and becomes stagnant it leaves a sediment, which of itself makes very good moss, of which the inhabitants make peat.' He adds,

"'In some plaes, where the operations of nature are unmolested, the lakes formed by this water, are filled with aquatic plants. These do not undergo the putrid fermentation. They are not completely disorganised; on the contrary, they are convertible into moss, highly inflammable. It is akin to the mosses of Bremen, but more compact.'" Mr. Rennie adds, "From all these facts, we may conclude, that moss-water, must be possessed of certain chemical qualities, distinct from rain or river-water, in order to convert vegetable matter into moss. It is in vain to assert, that the peculiar colour of it is owing to the mechanical diffusion of the particles of moss floating in it. Whatever matter be the cause of that colour, it is clear, that it is held in it by chemical solution; for however dark that colour sometimes is, moss-water is never turbid; no particles of moss or any other matter can be observed floating, even by the aid of the finest microscope. When any chemical test is applied, then it becomes turbid. When calcareous matter, or carbonic acid, or gelatine, or muriate of tin, is poured into it then it assumes a turbid appearance, and yields a copious precipitate. All this shews that the colouring matter is not only mechanically diffused, but held in chemical combination in the water."*

In illustration of the antiseptic nature of moss-water, we would observe, that in June, 1747, "a labouring man at Amcoats, in the Isle of Axholme, was digging turf or

* Cited by Rennie, p. 257.

peat in the moors, and about six feet below the surface, his spade cut the toe of a sandal, which dropped into the pit he was graving in; also part of the foot dropped in, which so terrified the man, that he left it. Hearing of this discovery, Mr. S. went with some of his servants to make further search, when they soon found the other sandal, whole and firm. It was soft and pliable, and of a tawny colour, with all the bones of that foot in it, and all the gristly part of the heel. Proceeding further, they found the shin and thigh bones, which he measured, and found to be eighteen inches long. They then found all the skin of the lower part of the body, which was of the same colour as the sandals, and very soft, with fresh hair on it, &c. which distinguished it to be a woman. The skin drew and stretched like a piece of doe leather, and was as strong. They then found the skin of the arms, which was like the top of a muff or glove, when the bones were shaken out. They then found a hand, with the nails as fresh as any person's living. This hand is the lady's natural skin tanned with the nails. The sandals must be very ancient, and most certainly were made of a raw hide, as they and the skin of the lady were both of one colour, and both had one and the same tanner, viz. that of the moor-water."*

Some time ago, was also found in the bottom of a turf-pit, "a man lying at his full length, with his head upon his arms, as in a common posture of sleep; whose skin being, as it were, tanned by the moor-water, preserved his shape entire, but within, his flesh and most of his bones were consumed and gone." An arm of whom was for some time in the possession of Dr. Johnson of Pontefract.†

* Philos. Trans. 1747. "Mr. Catesby, F. R. S., author of the History of Carolina, &c., being present at the reading of the paper referred to, when the sandal was exhibited, said, that this shoe or sandal was exactly like what the Indians in Virginia wear at this day, and call *Mokasin*."

"That ingenious artist and skilful antiquary, Mr. George Vertue, communicated to Dr. C. (M. D.) his sentiments concerning this sandal, in the following words: 'When the above letter was read at the Society of Antiquarians, there was produced a hand of the woman there mentioned, and a sandal or shoe, taken from one of her feet; it being made of leather, tanned ox-hide, but remarkable for being cut out of one flat piece, so as to fold about the foot and heel; the form and make being so contrived, without under-heel-pieces, as to be flat to tread on; the shape that of a woman's foot, and the toe round-pointed. This being of an ancient form, the society ordered an exact drawing to be taken, both of that and the hand, which drawing is preserved among others belonging to that society.'

"It may be observed, concerning the antiquity and use of leather shoes in England, that this shoe or sandal appears by its form to be ancient. I conceive that it was before Edward IV.'s time, when by custom, piked shoes had so increased in length, that all such as wore them in excessive length, were to be mulcted, or have them cut shorter in passing in or out of the city gates of London. This had very likely passed among the better sort of people about the kingdom; for Chaucer, in his time, mentions the use of long piked shoes, so long as to be tied up by strings or small chains to their knees. Thus it might have been with men's shoes, but not in so long a degree for women's use; though, observing ancient pictures of men and women, in books of illuminations, piked shoes appear in several reigns, from Edward III. to Richard III. in England.

"Also, on our ancient monuments of stone or alabaster, cumbent statues have mostly piked shoes. But some of earlier date than Edward III. have broad turned-up shoes at the toes, of the same like form and make as this woman's. The men's broad toes, and the women's narrow. Therefore I conclude, that this sandal could not be earlier than Edward I. or Henry III. Also, that the cutting and sewing to form the heel cleverly, by a stitching behind the heel with a small leather thong, may have been in use before that of waxed thread, used by shoemakers, formerly called *oordswiners*.'" *Gallery of Nature and Art*, vol. ii. p. 143.

† Peck's *Axholme*.

Between Thorne and Hatfield, were likewise found the bodies of an adult and a child, in a similar condition. The former was so much injured, that the sex could not be discovered. The latter was somewhat more entire, but both of them were considerably mutilated by the excavators. We have an account of a loss of lives in this district, which will be noticed in a future page.*

The inflammability of peat or turf, is also another peculiar trait in the character of this species of vegetable production. Between it and coal there seems a great affinity. Hydrogen abounds in both to a great excess. Sennebier says, that aquatic plants, such as grow in marshes and moss-pits, emit oxygen, and absorb hydrogen. Hence it would appear, that peat becomes less inflammable, "in proportion to the quantity of that gas, which is evolved from it, and the proportion of oxygen it imbibes. Like them, too, for this reason, when long exposed to the external air, it loses its inflammability altogether.

In addition to hydrogen, peat-earth contains much sulphur. Henckel saw a marsh covered with the *flowers* of sulphur, and others have made the same observation. Carbon also is a component part of moss, which likewise greatly assists in its combustion, hence it is, that on being ignited, it burns with the rapidity of a stratum of coal, and if permitted, would nearly annihilate the whole body. Immense pits are found in various mosses, many of which were made through the effects of fire.

"Hydrogen and carbon, form a compound combustible. These are the elementary principles of all the variety of bituminous matter. Having a strong affinity to each other, they must, of course, combine. As there is a continual accession of these simple inflammables, so there must be a compound which they form; and in proportion to the greater or less degree of heat that is applied to the moss, in proportion too, as these simple ingredients combine, or are mixed with extraneous matter, must these combinations appear more or less pure, liquid, or solid; but always inflammable. Hence, all the varieties of bituminous matter have been discovered in moss. Naphtha is found in some, petroleum in others. Asphalt in some, amber in others. And hence, on distillation, every species of moss yields a certain proportion of bituminous oil, more or less concrete. And all moss whatever yields a considerable portion.

* Horns, hoofs, and bones, of animals have been found in moss, in perfect preservation. The horns of the stag, and especially those of the *Cervus Hippelaphus* of Pliny, have been discovered in the moss of Lismore; and Dr. Walker says, that this species has been extinct in Scotland 700 years. Whole skeletons of animals, the species of which has not been known to exist but by such discoveries. In digging a pit for a well, near Dulverton in Somersetshire, many pigs were found in various postures, still entire. Their shape was preserved. The hair remained on their skin, which had assumed a dry, membranous appearance. Their whole substance was converted into a white, friable, laminated, inodorous, and tasteless substance. When exposed to heat, however, it emitted an odour precisely similar to broiled bacon. *Vid. Rennis, p. 520.*

of carburetted hydrogen, or bitumen in a gaseous form. Hence, even some peat yields one third of its weight of bituminous matter in a liquid state, independently of what escapes in the form of gas. That such peat should be more inflammable than the recent vegetable of which it is composed, is therefore reasonable to be expected. Du Hamel states, that a fir-tree, when fresh cut, and in full vigour, yields only one fourth of its weight in tar, and that ordinary wood yields only one twelfth; whereas Dumain extracted from the peat he describes, one third of its weight of liquid bitumen. Probably the Ince peat may afford an equal proportion.

“ Besides this, it appears absolutely certain, that a considerable part of the bituminous matter in moss, is in a state of solution; that moss-water is almost always of the tinge of coffee; that, when evaporated, it leaves a sediment similar to bitumen, cannot be doubted. If so, this may of itself account for the very high degree of inflammability of all low-lying level mosses; for in all such situations, there must be a perpetual accession of this inflammable matter by *alluvion*. The moss-water issuing continually from the mosses that lie on rising grounds, and especially on the acclivities adjacent, must thus be carried down to such low levels. There it must stagnate; there too it must continually deposit this inflammable sediment,”* and become more highly impregnated with coloric in the same proportion as the watery particles evaporate.

In giving an account of the efforts which have been made to render this vast tract of morass a firm and useful piece of ground, we are not aware that we can do better than adopt the narrative of Dugdale, so far as concerns the most early exertions that have been made to recover the long-lost arable condition of this extensive level.

Immediately after the 50th Henry III., “ the inhabitants of these parts, imitating the good husbandry of those in other countries, who had by banking and draining made good improvements in such fenny places, did begin to do the like here, for in the 1st Edw. III., I find that Robert de Nottingham, and Roger de Newmarsh, were constituted commissioners to view and repair those banks and ditches, as had been made for that purpose, which were then grown to some decay; so also, were John Darcy of the Park, Roger de Newmarsh, and John de Crosholme.

“ Several other commissions there were afterwards to the same purpose, viz., in the 25th Edw. III., to William Basset, Thomas de Swinford, William de Clive, Thomas Levelance, William Wascelyne, and Thomas Degmanton, for all the banks and sewers in this isle. In the 26th Edw. III., to Ralph de Wylloughby, William Basset, William de Skipwith, Hild de Useflete, Robert de Haldenby, John de

* Reunie, p. 506.

~~Wasingcroft~~, and John de Flete of Bulwick; for those upon the rivers Trent and Don, within the hundred of Crulle. In the 39th Edward III., to John Tours, William Wascelyne, and Ralph de Burnham, for those upon the rivers, Don, Idle, and Bickersdike, in this isle, wherein they were directed to proceed according to the law and customs of this realm. In the 40th Edward III., to Thomas de Ingelby, William de Fynchden; William de Galby, parson of the church of Epworth, and others, for those in the parts of Balne and Merchlande, and lordship of Hatfield, in the county of York; as also within this isle, and soke of Crulle in this county. The like commissions had the said Thomas and William; with Roger de Kirketon and others, in the 41st Edw. III. So also in the 43d Edw. III., had John de Burnham, William de Galby, clerk; Richard Poutrell; and others, for those in this isle, betwixt Butterwyk and Gunthorp.

“ In the 2d Hen. III., to Hen. de Percy, earl of Northumberland; William de Skipwith, Roger de Fulthorpe, Hen. Asty, John Poucher, Thomas de Burnham, and William de Topliffe, for those betwixt Byckersdyke and Doneheved, throughout all this isle, and the soke of Crulle, then in decay, through the force of the Trent. And in the 7th Rich. II., to Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; Sir William de Wylloughby, knight; William de Skipwith, and others, for all those in the isle, as also, betwixt Byckersdyke on both sides in Nottinghamshire, and the river of Done in Yorkshire.

“ In the 1st. Hen. V., William de Lodgington, Thomas Egmonton, and John Dawenay, Robert Waterton and Edmund Fitzwilliam, being constituted commissioners for the view and repair of the banks and sewers in the soke of Crulle, and the isle of Axholme; and between Byckersdyke on each side; sate at Crulle, upon the Monday next after the feast of the nativity of the blessed Virgin, in the year above said; before whom the jury then presented, that one Geoffrey Gaddesby, late Abbot of Selby, did cause a strong sluice of wood to be made upon the river Trent, at the head of a certain sewer, called the Mare-dyke, of a sufficient height and breadth for the defence of the tydes coming from the sea, and likewise against the fresh waters descending from the west part of the before mentioned sluice to the said sewer into the same river of Trent, and thence into the Humber; and performed the same upon his free good will and charity, for the ease of the country. Which said sluice, certain unknown persons (inhabitants of the lordship of Hatfield) pulled down, in the time of John de Shierburne, late abbot of that place, and next successor of the said Geoffrey. And whereas the said John de Shierburne, did new make the said sluices of stone, sufficient (as he thought) for the defence of the sea tydes, and likewise of the said fresh waters; the jurors said that they were not strong enough for that purpose, being both too high and too broad; and that it would be expedient, for the advantage of the country, that the then abbot, if he pleased, would, in the

place where those sluices of stone were made, cause certain sluices of strong timber to be set up, consisting of two flood-gates, each flood-gate containing in itself four foot in breadth, and six in height; as also, a certain bridge upon the said sluices, in length and breadth sufficient for carts and other carriages, which for the future might pass that way; and being so made, and having stood for the space of one whole year, against the force of those tydes, by the view of Richard de Amecotes and Robert Lyulf of Waterton, elected and sworn, by the before specified commissioners, or some others to be chosen by them, that thenceforward, the said Abbot of Selby, Richard Amecotes, and others of the freeholders of Crulle, Amecotes, Waterton, Carlethorpe, Ludington, and Eltorpe, in this county (Lincolnshire), as also all the said towns in common, should in respect of their lands and tenements, lying within that soke, be obliged of right to keep them in repair.

“ And they said further, that it would be very necessary, that the before mentioned abbot, if he pleased, should cause to be there made, without the said sluice, towards the river of Trent, at the feast of Easter, then next ensuing, one demmyng, for that present. And they also said, that for the future, the said freeholders, as also the said towns, and every of them, might cleanse and scowre the said sewer, called Mare-dyke, according to the proportion belonging to each of them therein, from the said sluice to the bridge of Ludington, called Lane-end-bridge.

“ Whereupon, the sheriffe was commanded to summon the said abbot, Richard Amecotes, and the rest, to appear before the foresaid commissioners, at Crulle aforesaid, on the Tuesday next, before the nativity of the blessed Virgin, then next ensuing, to answer, &c. At which day they all came accordingly, and could not gainsay what had been so presented by those jurors.

“ And long after this, scil. 5th Edwd. IV., Sir Thomas Burghe and Sir Robert Constable, knts.; John Nevelle, Robert Sheffield, jun., Thomas Moigne, Richard Haunserd of Ouresby, and others, were constituted commissioners for the view and repair of the banks and sewers throughout this isle; as also, betwixt Bykersdyke on each side in the county of Nottingham, and the river of Done on both sides in the county of York, and within the wapentakes, of Manley, Yereburgh, Coryngham, Astakhouse, and Walsherofte, in this county of Lincoln; and to make statutes and ordinances therein, consonant to the laws of the realm, and custom of Romney-marsh. As also to impress so many labourers as they should think fit for that work, upon competent wages, in respect of the great necessity for hastening thereof.

“ Having thus traced down the successive commissions for improvement of the marshes in this isle, by banking and drayning, until after the statute of the 6th Hen. VI.; which statute prescribing a form for all that should be issued out after

that time, throughout this whole kingdom ; wherein direction and power is given to those who are to be employed therein, to make and ordain necessary and convenable statutes and ordinances for the salvation and conservation of the sea banks and marshes, and the parts adjoining thereto, according to the laws and customs of Romney marsh ; and likewise to hear and determine all and singular complaints that should come before them, touching that business, according to the laws and customs of this realm, and the customs of the said Romney-marsh ; appointing also, that upon great and urgent necessity, they should put into the said works and repairs, as many ditchmakers and other labourers upon competent wages, as might be sufficient to perform that service. It will not be necessary, as I conceive, to give further instances of this kind ; I shall therefore descend to that great and no less commendable work, which was undertaken shortly after the late King Charles's reign ; not only for the drayning of all the surrounding marshes of this isle, but of the adjoining fenny ground lying in Yorkshire, viz. Hatfield-chase and Dykes-marsh ; wherein I may not omit to observe, that the overflowing of the fresh waters over that whole level was such, by reason, that the before specified rivers of Idle, Bykersdyke, Torne, Done, and Ayre, were obstructed in dyvers places, with so much silt and other impediments, chiefly contracted by the daily tydes, as I have before declared, that not only in winter, but even in the summer times, boats laden with plaister have passed over that part thereof called Hatfield-chase, to a place called Hollen Bridge, near Hatfield-woodhouse ; the water upon the drowned grounds being about three feet deep, and the fisher's house, called Steer's Lodge, standing on ground thrown up and raised three or four feet above the level, often drowned.

“ Neither was Haxey-carr less overwhelmed ; large boats, laden with xx quarters of corn, usually passed over it, from the river of Idle to Trent bank ; men rowing also, with lesser boats, to look swans over all parts of it, betwixt Lammas and Michaelmas ; and in like sort, over Starr-carr, and Axholme-carr ; in so much, as there was no less than 60,000 acres of land overflowed by the said fresh waters.*”

On the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII., the manors of Armthorp and Crowle, the former belonging to the abbey of Roch, and the latter to that of Selby, were added to the former limits of the chase, as would appear by a proclamation dated at Westminster, the third day of November, A. D. 1542.

This proclamation was the result of an act passed the 28th day of April, A. D. 1540, which ordained, “ that the king, with the advise of his most honourable counsell, or with the advise of the most part of them, may sett forth att all times by authority

* Dugdale, p. 142.

of the same act, his proclamation under such penalties and pains, and of such sort as to his highness, and his most honourable counsell or the most part of them shall seeme necessary and requisitt, as in the said act, amongst other things more plainly appeareth. And where also the king's highness, and his most noble progenitors have bene lawfully seased of the lordshipp and manor of Hatfeild in the county of Yorke within this realme of England, as in the right of his crowne; within which said lordshipp and manor of Hatfeild, his highness and his most noble progenitors have ever had and used a chase of red-deere for their pleasure and pastime. And now, forasmuch as the said game of redd-deere is well replenished, meete and convenient for his grace's pleasure and pastime, intending also to enlarge the said chase of Hatfeild: Therefore his high pleasure and com'andment is, that his mannor of Armethorpe, with appurten'ces, which were parcell of the possessiones of the late monastery and priory of Rowche, within the said county of Yorke. And also the mannor of Crowyll, with thappurten'ces, in the county of Lincoln, which were p'cell of the possessiones of the late monastery and priory of Selby, in the said county of Yorke, being very neere adjoyning unto the said chase of Hatfeild, and meete and convenient for the defence, scope and increase of the deere there, shalbe frome the feast of Christmas next coming, part and parcell of the said chase of Hatfeild; and also shalbe judged, deemed, and taken as part, parcell, and member of the same chase, to all purposes, constructions, and intentes whatsoever it be, and shall have like liberties and priviledges in them and every of them, as the same chase of Hatfeild hath had. His Highnes' pleasure and com'aundment is also, that all and every person and persons whatsoever, he or they bine, which shall at anie time after the said feast of the nativity of our Lord God, wrongfully attempt to hurt, chase, or kill anie deere within the said mannors of Armethorpe and Crowyll, or in either of them, or within the precincts of the same mannors, or any of them, that every such offender and offenders, which shalbe thereof convicted, and attainted according to the laws of this his realme, shall have and suffer such like punishment, and incurre such losse and forfeitures for the same, as be ordayned for such offenders in anie other the king's forrestes, parkes, or chaces, within this his realme of England," &c.*

Thus it was, that the chase of Hatfield; already reputed one of the most extensive in England, became greatly enlarged, and rendered still more injurious to the neighbourhood, by increasing the quantity of game, and the facilities which it consequently afforded to the poacher, and temptations to the idle and profligate to infringe the laws.

Having now arrived at the era, in which the unfortunate Charles I. wore the British diadem, it will be expected that we give more at large the account of the improvements which were effected by the enterprising industry of Sir Cornelius

* Harl. MSS. No. 442; fol. 175.

Vermuyden, and his Flemish followers. This we will do in as brief a manner as possible.

In the 2d Chas. I., the king, with the advice of his council, contracted with Cornelius Vermuyden, Esq., a Dutchman, to lay the whole level dry; who, for his pains and expence, was to be remunerated with one-third of the whole 60,000 acres, more or less. The conditions of the agreement being fully executed, Cornelius commenced his arduous and commendable undertaking, which he successfully accomplished in the course of from four to five years, at the expence of nearly £56,000.*

Notwithstanding the provisions in the original articles, relating to the common-right holders, Vermuyden does not appear to have been so mindful of their right and interest, as their case in justice demanded; which, together with the injury done by the participants' new works, to the old enclosures, had the effect of exciting in that order of men a general murmur of dissatisfaction. "Whereupon, commissioners were accordingly appointed, to treat and agree with all such as had, or pretended to have, right of common within any of the manors," mentioned in the deed of agreement, "which took effect with each of them, except those of the manor of Epworth in the isle; against whom, Sir Robert Heath, being the attorney-general, exhibited an information in the exchequer-chamber, when the whole, being in number 370, (who were all that could be discovered at that time to have a right of common,) came and submitted to such an award, as Sir John Banks should make therein, who, after several hearings of all the parties, and their counsel, made this award, viz., that of the 13,100 acres belonging to that manor, (which was then to be drained with the rest of the level,) 6,000 acres should be allotted to the commoners, as their part or portion laying next to the town, and so preserved for ever at the charge of the said Sir Cornelius Vermuyden; and the remaining 7,400 acres to be set out in the remotest parts of those wastes to Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, and his participants, for their parts, and the said king's part, in right of his interest, as lord of the soil; which by consent, was decreed in the exchequer-chamber, and possession thereupon, established with the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and his participants and their assignees."†

In the fifth year of the reign of the same king, a decree was procured from the exchequer, by the inhabitants of the manor of Crowle, occasioned by the exhibition of a bill in that court, by Sir Robert Heath, the attorney-general, against Thomas

* The Rev. Abraham de Pryme says, at the expence of £200,000.; but in this calculation, it is probably to be presumed, he includes the sums paid for the lordship of Hatfield, &c., together with the costs of litigation, and the injury sustained by himself and participants, in repairing the banks, &c. &c. Vid. his MS. Hist. in the British Museum, &c. before cited.

† Dugdale, p. 145.

Watkinson, Clerk; Henry Butter, Jermin Berrier, and divers other tenants within the manor and parish of Crowle, in the county of Lincoln, defendants; touching a great quantity of waste grounds and lands, heretofore subject to be surrounded with water, lying in the county of York, and being parcel of the lordship of Hatfield; in which said grounds and lands, the defendants, and other tenants and inhabitants of Crowle aforesaid, did claim free-common of pasture, and turbary, and liberty of fishing and other properties in the waste and surrounded grounds; and which said waste and surrounded grounds and lands, His Majesty, being lord of the said waste and surrounded grounds, thought fit to improve; and to that purpose, certain articles and agreements were made between His Majesty and Cornelius Vermuyden, Esq. "Whereupon affidavits were made by Thomas Leavens, John Drax, and others, touching the right and usage of common by the said tenants of Crowle; which being satisfactorily proved, a commission was issued unto Sir John Wray, Knt., Sir William Nathan, jun., Knt., and William Anderson, Esq., commissioners, named and appointed by the said defendants; Mr. Sergeant Callis, John Eastoft, Esq., and John Smith, Gent., or to any four or more of them, being all persons approved by the court, and trusted indifferently and equally to execute the said commission; and the right honourable William Viscount Ayre, and Thomas Viscount Castlebar, were desired by the court, that one of them would be present for His Majesty, at the examination of the said commission, which the commissioners, or any four of them were to take into consideration."

The particulars having been gone into, and divers witnesses examined, touching the matter at issue, it was ordered, "that so far, and in those parts where the precincts of the wastes and land of the lordship of Hatfield, and of the said manor of Crowle, do abut and join, one upon the other, the same bounded out by the old river Dun, which runneth betwixt the same, and which in those parts, also, is the very true boundary of the counties of Lincoln and York; and that there be three great wastes and common grounds, situate and lying in the lordship of Hatfield beyond, on the west side of the said river called Old Dun, called and known by the several names of Northtofts, Haynes, and the ground lying betwixt the said Haynes and Ducklingledge, called Haynes-plains.* Which said three parcels of ground are of those several quantities, as the said commoners are creditably informed, i. e., the said

* In the Isle of Sandtoft, with which Henes is included, was founded a religious institution. It was of the Benedictine order, and a cell to St. Mary's of York. Of its foundation or fate, but little has escaped the wreck of time. Amongst the cells appertaining to the parent abbey at York, it is thus noticed by Leland: "Cella de Henes et Sandetofta:" but in the Monasticon, is an exemplification of the charter of Roger de Mowbray, the then owner of the principal part of the property in this neighbourhood; which, as it contains most that is known on the matter, we will here transcribe.

"Universis presentes literas inspecturis vel auditoris, R. Decanus et Capitulum beati Petri Eboraci, salutem in Domino. Noveritis nos inspexisse et vidisse, et de verbo ad verbum examinasse cartas religiosorum virorum Abbatis et Conventus beate Marie Eboraci, tangentes locum suum de Sandetoft, et de Henes, non cancellatas, non abollitas, nec in

Northtofts doth contain about 317 acres; the Haynes 1,200 acres; the grounds lying between the Moorehouse and Duckling-ledge ——— acres; and because the lords and owners of the said manor of Crowle, i. e., Sir Jarvis Elwis, Knt., Jeremiah Elwis, and Nicholas Hamerton, Esqrs.; who, since the said contract and undertaking of the draining and improving of these said wastes, purchased the said manor of Crowle from the city of London, to whom His said Majesty had lately before conveyed and assigned the same, did claim some pretended title to the freehold of the grounds, called the Haynes, Northtofts, &c.; and because the tenants, as well as copyholders of the said manor of Crowle, did challenge and claim common of pasture, and other liberties and profits as aforesaid, in the three parcels of ground lying within the lordship of Hatfield. The said commissioners did, therefore, hear the claims and evidences at large of the several parties interested in the presence also of the said lords; by which the said lords, tenants, and parties interested, made their several claims; and after long hearing and debating of the said claims and differences, touching rights of common and other liberties and profits as aforesaid, an agreement and a composition were made in the manner and form following, viz., His Majesty and the said Cornelius Vermuyden, His Highness's grantee of the Lordship of Hatfield, should for ever hereafter be free and exonerated and discharged of common, and all manner of interest which the said tenants of the said manor of Crowle could or might have, or challenge to have, in the said Northtofts, Haynes, and the grounds lying betwixt the Moorehouses and the Duckling-ledge; and in consideration thereof, the commissioners did agree and order, (if it should please the court to accept thereof,) that the free tenants, and copyhold tenants of the said manor of Crowle, should have the possession, freehold, and inheritance of 650 acres of ground, to be set out from the Black-waters, and southward, in the county of York; and the

aliqua parte viciatas, in hæc verba. Notum sit omnibus videntibus, vel audientibus literas has, quod Ego, Rogerus de Mowbray, cum consilio hæredum meorum, et amicorum meorum consensu, pro salute animæ meæ, et animarum patris et matris meæ, et omnium parentum meorum, concessi et dedi, et hac mea carta confirmavi ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Eboraci et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam, Insulam quæ vocatur Santoft, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et cum piscariis quæ vocantur Sister et Careflete, et cum Heselholm, et Mundeholm, et Hailwaldholm, et Calvecroft, et totam terram et pasturam inter Calvecroft et Carleflet usque ad Heselholm, et usque ad aquam quæ vocatur Ydel, libere et quiete. Et concedo eis ad opus monachi de Santoft sex acceppas ordeï de hominibus meis de Appewyt omni anno in die Omnium Sanctorum, et medicamentum decimarum omnium ciborum meorum ubicunque fuero in Haxolm, et quindecim parcos habeant per totum annum sine pannagio in bosco meo qui vocatur Ros, et pasturam decem vaccarum in eodem bosco, et quicquid inde capere voluerint de mortuo bosco ad comburendum et de viridi ad ædificandum, sine vasto et venditione. Insuper concedo monacho de Santoft, ut habeat unum Mastivum ad custodiendum domum suam et croftum suum de extracis animalibus, et quicquid poterit lucrari de communi palude, et de rebus suis venditis ad utilitatem suam, sine impedimento hominum meorum. Si quis hæredum meorum, instigante diabolo, hanc confirmationem violare presumpserit, maledictionem Dei, et mei, et omnium parentum meorum habeat, quia sicut didicimus antecessores nostri hæc omnia eis concesserunt, et plurima alia eis contulerunt. Testibus hiis, Roberto de Alneto, Sampson de Albino, Radulfo de Belum, Roberto de Davil, et multis aliis."

To the above, the same Roger by a further charter, gave to the same monastery all that he had in the village of Wroth or Wroot. From another charter it would seem, that Henes was bestowed upon the oell at Sandtoft, by William de Warren, lord of Hatfield, &c.; "*cum mora et morais quæ circa sunt Henes, ad faciendum inde commodum suum tam in mora quam in terra lucrabili et morais et Munkeflete, cum omnibus piscariis suis.*" It is extremely probable, that the Isle of Santoft was the habitation of a recluse before the conquest. Its name imports an ancient original. A similar institution had existence on the opposite side of the moors.

400 acres, residue thereof, to be likewise surveyed, measured, and laid out for convenience, and adjoining to the 650 acres; to be conveniently laid out of the turf-moors of the said county; also, of which 650 acres, the commissioners agreed, that the said defendants, tenants, commoners, and inhabitants of Crowle, might take conveyance in the name of feoffees or grantees in trust for the use and benefit of themselves, and all the tenants and owners of the said manor of Crowle, or otherwise the said certificate to be of none effect." It was also ordered, and agreed by the said commissioners, that such as claimed right of fishing on the said manor of Crowle, &c., should have in lieu thereof apportioned to them, 100 acres of the said waste; they surrendering annually for the same portion, the rent they were accustomed to pay to the lord of the manor for that privilege.

Previously, however, to the accomplishment of this great undertaking, which was to be finished in three years, the manors of Hatfield, Thorne, Fishlake, Stainford, a third of that of Brampton, called Gaite or Gaites, Dowcethorpe, &c., with their appurtenances, were sold by His Majesty, in the fourth year of his reign, to Cornelius Vermuyden, for the sum of £10,000.; reserving to himself, his heirs and successors, certain rents, &c., which are fully particularized in the body of the deed of feoffment. Immediately afterwards, at the nomination of the said Cornelius, the King granted to Sir William Curteine, Knt., and Robert Cambel, alderman of the city of London, "and our faithful and wellbeloved servants," Charles Harbord, Esq.; our surveyor-general, Thomas Brindley, Esq., one of the auditors of our revenues; John Lamote, merchant; and Timothy Vanuletern, Clerk; their heirs and assigns; all those parts, portions, or parcels of land, lying and being within or near Hatfield-chase, in the county of York aforesaid, or Lincoln and Nottingham, or any of them, and within the manors or parishes of Snaith, Crowle, Rawcliffe, Epworth, Belton, Haxey, Stockwith, Crowle, Misson, Misterton, and Grindley, or any of them, reserving, as in the former case, several rents, payable annually into the court of exchequer; which reserved rents were granted by the same king to Catherine, Duchess of Buckingham, daughter and sole heir to Francis, Earl of Rutland; and Sir George Manners, Knt., in the first instance, and in the last, to Philip, late Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and Sir Robert Pye, Knt., in trust for George, Duke of Buckingham, the second son of the popularly gay and unfortunate George Villiers, the third bearing that title, by Catherine his said wife. He also demised to John Gibbon and J. Corcillis, Esqrs., his original one-third of the drained lands in trust for the same person; they paying thereout for ever, the fee-farm rent of £1228. 17s., as reserved by the indentures.*

* According to a MS. account of the drainage of this level, *penes* Mr. Kitchen, of the Levels, the reserved rent of the manor of Hatfield was £195. 3s. 4d. and a red rose. This was the rent under which it was held of the crown, from a very remote period, in addition to which, a further sum of £425. per annum, was to be paid to the crown on the same occasion. The manor of Brampton, with his premises in Wroot, were also subjected to an old rent of £28. 6s. 8d. and a pair of gloves or 4d., and an increased rent of £60.

Ever seeking to be troublesome, the commoners, as we shall hereafter note, sought every occasion to render themselves extremely vexatious, and thwarted by every means in their power Sir Cornelius and his participants. Those of the manor of Epworth, as we have already observed, claimed right of common over 13,400 acres of waste; who, on the division, agreeably to the award made by the attorney-general, had assigned to them 6,000; but some of them not being content therewith, a further reference was made by consent of all parties, in the 12th Charles I., to Sir John Banks, who, to avoid all occasion of strife and animosity at that portentous period, allotted to the commoners 1,000 acres more out of the participants' share; also Epworth south-moor and Butterwick-moor; and considering that the poor within the parishes of Epworth, Haxey, Owston, and Belton, all in Epworth manor, would be sufferers by the loss of fishing, fowling, &c., he awarded, that the participants should deposit the sum of £400. as a stock to employ the poor above-named in the making of sackcloth, cordage, &c.*

Matters being thus adjusted, and the black horizon in some measure yielding to terms of compromise and conciliation, the work of improvement was prosecuted with fresh and augmented ardour. In the 14th Charles I., Sir Cornelius and his participants contracted with Isaac Bedloe, a merchant, to construct a church at Sandtoft, for the celebration of divine worship, in the Dutch and French languages; wherein they placed a minister, and allowed him an annual salary of £80.; "whereunto resorted above two hundred families of the French and Walloon protestants," exiles from the country of their birth, for fear of the inquisition. They erected above two hundred habitations for husbandry, &c. and ploughed and tilled much of the 24,505 acres allotted to Sir Cornelius, in virtue of the original agreement; all of which they quietly enjoyed, "until about the month of June, 1642, when some of the inhabitants, pretending that they had right of common, said, that they were not bound by the before-mentioned decrees; and therefore, taking advantage of the then distractions, they rose in tumults, brake down the fences and enclosures of 4,000 acres, destroyed all the corn growing thereon, and demolished the houses of the residents.† Still continuing their riotous behaviour, they, in the following year, destroyed the floodgates at Snow-sewer, let in the waters from the river Trent, and completely inundated the whole of Hatfield-chase.‡ So wide indeed was the ruin, that much of the level in this neighbourhood was nearly reduced to the state it was in, ere the age of Charles I.

Not satisfied with the evil which they had already done, but like men "bent on desperation," they, with the inhabitants of Misterton, demolished a sluice near that

* Pryme's MSS.

† Dugdale's Hist. p. 147.

‡ Dugdale says, from this circumstance, only 74,000 acres were laid under water.

village, and brake down the banks, which immersed a yard deep in water, stacks, barns, &c. The islanders resident at Haxey, were not far behind their neighbours in this work of havoc and desolation. In the year 1645, they also tumultuously congregated, brake down the banks of the Idle, &c., turned their cattle into the participants' corn, and otherwise injured their property to the extent of their power.* The participants, thus seeing all their labour and expense on the verge of ruin, and unable to cope with an armed, numerous, and enraged populace, dispatched an humble petition to the Commons House of Parliament, presenting, that after expending the sum of £200,000. in the drainage of the level, &c., the tenants of the manor of Epworth, &c., notwithstanding their acquiescence with the late decree, had in a riotous and hostile manner laid waste, to a vast extent, the level which they had by much industry and care rendered nearly dry; destroyed the crops growing thereon, by depasturing their cattle amongst the rapes, &c.; firing their farming implements, demolishing their habitations, and maiming their occupants. Willing to preserve peace, and fearful of the consequences of a protracted system of rebellion, the constituted authorities ordered that the sheriff of the county of Lincoln, and the justices of the peace there, should, upon complaint made to them, therein punctually and summarily enforce the statutes made in the 13th Henry IV. for suppressing of riots and routs, and call to their assistance, if need required, the trained bands of the said county, and the Parliament forces next adjoining, to be aiding and assisting to the participants, in guarding and keeping those sluices and sewers, in repairing what had been so demolished, and in levying taxes legally imposed, tending to the preservation of so good and beneficial a work to the commonwealth. And for the settling of this business, they further ordered, that the sheriff of the county of Lincoln for the time being should, upon request to him made by the participants, appoint such a deputy within the limits of the said level, for the sudden aiding and assisting them, (when need should require,) as they from time to time did desire. And that this order should forthwith be published in the several parish-churches and market-towns in this county.

Aid, civil and military, being thus at the disposal of the participants, they lost no time in availing themselves of its power. The sheriff, with the assistance of nearly one hundred men, made a spirited attempt to regain possession of the disputed portion of the level; but he was opposed by one Daniel Noddle or Noddel, solicitor to the commoners, assisted by a force of about four hundred of the inhabitants, who, proving too powerful for the sheriff and his feeble *posse comitatus*, compelled him to fly for safety out of the precincts of the contested property. On this event, a series of military operations were commenced. The participants, finding that civil power was inefficient, were driven to the necessity of having their bill formally heard.

* Ex præfatis dispositionibus.

Noddell, fully aware of the injustice of his conduct, procured the formidable aid of the memorable Lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne,* and Major Wildman, who, before the cause could be heard, "joined with the inhabitants in a further riot on the remaining 3,400 acres, which till then had been kept up; impounding the cattle of the tenants, and refusing to admit of replevins, and so forced them to what rates they pleased for their redemption." The promptitude with which Noddell, Lilburne, and Wildman acted, compelled the participants to have reference to Michael Monkton, Esq., a neighbouring magistrate; who, instead of adopting any system of defence, took part with the rioters, and on an indictment being preferred against some of the offenders, he espoused their cause in open court, although a verdict for the participants had been returned by the jury.

In A. D. 1650, a full and formal hearing of the participants' bill took place in the exchequer, when a decree was made, "for establishing the possession with the participants, which was published on the place, in the presence of divers of the said inhabitants; but they, having obtained the influence of the said Lilburne, Wildman, and Noddell, declared that they would not give any obedience thereto, nor to any order of the exchequer or parliament, and said they could make as good a parliament themselves; some exclaiming, that it was a parliament of *clouts*, and that if they

* The firmness, courage, and intrepidity of this republican character is proverbial. When he first exhibited his impatience of tyranny, he was an apprentice in London, in which capacity he complained to the chamberlain of the conduct of his master. In whosever hands power was placed, he was at all times its most strenuous opponent, whether in civil, military, or ecclesiastical affairs. Ever ready to espouse the cause of the oppressed, he combated against the strong arm of the unjustly severe, with an energy and perseverance truly exemplary, but often without judgment and discretion, as is evinced on this occasion. Enthusiasm is a necessary passion in the human mind; without it, we were milk-warm inanimate beings, unfit for half the services man has to perform; but when wrongly directed, or falsely biased, it fills the world with crime and misery. Such it proved, in some cases, in the person under our brief consideration. His contentions were not confined solely to the sword; his pen was occasionally called into requisition, and was generally employed for the same purpose. To repel the shafts of injustice, and blunt the edge of powerful abuse, whether clothed in purple, clad in rags, or arrayed in the ecclesiastical garb; to pull down the strong holds of power, or to rally the sinking cause of the weak, were alike to him objects of high interest. Eventually, he turned quaker, and was so unfortunate as to become an inmate of Dover castle, where he seems to have had time to ruminate on his former excesses. "I now," says he, "contentedly feed savourily on bread and cheese and small beer alone, for saving of money; and for my liberty, I am ready with Peter to say, 'it is good being here,' for even in Dover castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God and myself, and his gracious outgivings to my soul, than ever I had in all my life; not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition, under the bishops."

"O my soul's joy!
If after every tempest come such calms,
May the winds blow, till they awaken death!
And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas,
Olympus-high; and duck again as low
As hell's from heaven! If I were now to die,
'Twere now to be most happy; for, I fear,
My soul hath her content so absolute,
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate."

He died at Eltham, and was brought to London, August 31st, 1657, and was buried in the new churchyard adjoining Bedlam, in Moorfields. *Vid. the Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XV.*

sent any forces there, they would raise men to resist them; and thereupon proceeded to the defacing of the church of Sandtoft, and within ten days' time, did totally demolish the town itself, with other houses thereabouts, to the number of fourscore and two habitations, besides barns, stables, and outhouses, as also a windmill, and destroyed all the corn and rapes then growing on the said 3,400 acres of land; the damage of all which amounted to £80,000., as appeareth by the testimony of sundry witnesses."*

The leaders of this bold and unprincipled coalition next proceeded to apportion to themselves a part of the participants' property. Lilburne and Wildman, for their share of the 7,400 acres, took 2,000, and Noddel 200, in consideration whereof, they engaged to defend the remainder of the rebels against deeds done, and to maintain them in full possession of the residue. This agreement being made, and the documents sealed, the said Noddel and Lilburne, with some others, proceeded to the church of Sandtoft on the following Sunday, and turned out thereof the congregation, which consisted chiefly of such as had fled from the kingdom of France, in consequence of the severe persecution then prevalent. After having thus acted, Lilburne and Noddel went to Crowle, and there endeavoured to seduce from their allegiance the commoners, &c. of that manor. In this attempt they were but too successful. Thus these daring and ambitious characters effected a complete and dangerous revolution in this part of the country; bidding defiance to, and holding in derision, all law and authority. The government however, paralysed as it then was, found it absolutely necessary to take active measures to arrest their devastating progress. A string of grievances was drawn up by a committee of the house, grounded upon the depositions of a number of witnesses; but in consequence of a dissolution of parliament by the army under the command of Cromwell, on April 20th, 1653, the consideration thereof was delayed for a period of ten days, during which time, the commoners, with their leaders, were dealing havoc in woful abundance. On the meeting of the new parliament, the subject immediately met the attention it demanded. The bill, prepared by a committee of the former members, was directed to be read. On that being done, it was referred to a select committee, who also examined the question with much care and deliberation. After hearing the depositions of several disinterested witnesses, and the counsel for each side of the matter in debate, it was ordered, "that the forces of the army quartered within the level of Hatfield-chase, or within the counties of York, Lincoln, or Nottingham, or any of them, or any other that then were or might be in those parts, should be aiding and assisting to the officers of justice; and the said participants, for settling and establishing the possession of the 7,400 acres of those late improved lands within the manor of Epworth." And as it respected the damage already done to the property

* Dugdale, on the authority of a printed case, now probably lost.

of the participants and their tenants, it was ordered, "that the commissioners of the great seal, from time to time, should award a special commission of oyer and terminer to the judges of assize for the said respective counties, to try the rioters, and to punish them according to law and justice, and to enquire of the damage suffered as aforesaid, by the said participants and their tenants, to the end that they might have legal reparation for the same."

Powerful as the arm of the law generally is, and always ought to be, the inhabitants and their abettors still continued their riotous proceedings. Disregarding all law and subordination, they assembled in clans, and placed themselves in various parts of the level, seemingly determined to oppose force to force, and in that position, waited for the arrival of their enemies. In this state of things, it was agreed by Sir Anthony Ingram and other participants, that Nathaniel Reading, Esq., counsel at law, should be employed to "subdue these monsters;" for which he was to have a salary of £200. per annum, and an indemnification against all charges.*

The critical situation of affairs in a national view, at this dissembling period, caused the measures of government, in many instances, to be lax and tardy, and no efficient steps were as yet taken to stem the torrent of rebellion. Cromwell, although at the helm, well knew that his elevation was not beyond the reach of reversal, and was afraid to throw the brand of disaffection amongst that order of men. The participants, weary and impatient, presented another petition, "together with a remonstrance from the commissioners of sewers, to the lord protector and his council. An order of reference was made upon the 15th of April, 1656, to the lord Fienes, then one of the commissioners of the great seal; the lord Lambert; major-general Disborough; the lord Lisle, and the lord Strickland, (for so they were then called,) or any three of them, to consider of the said petition, and report their opinion thereon to the council."

These lords, therefore, after having taken a mature view of the subject, made their report greatly in favour of the participants, and committed the redress of grievances to Major-general Whalley, who was desired to adjust the various differences in as amicable and just a manner as was possible. He had authority to enforce a compliance, by the punishment of the disobedient; to prevent them from keeping arms, or other offensive or defensive weapons; to assist the sheriff with the military, in giving possession to the various owners, and to afford them his aid in the full establishment of peace, and a free exercise of their religion.

* Mr. Reading was counsel at law, and was first sent into this country by the earl of Artrim, who had married the dowager-duchess of Buckingham, to collect the fee-farm rents held in trust by the said dowager. He married Arabella Churchill, sister to Sir John Churchill, and Aunt to John duke of Marlborough. He died in 1712, at his residence in Belton, aged about 100 years. *Pryme's MS. Diary.*

The disaffected, confident in their strength, and calculating upon the inefficient means of government, resisted every attempt of reconciliation, by either compromise or civil force; the military, therefore, was obliged to be put into requisition; which, after much time, and thirty-one set battles, wherein numbers were killed and wounded, was effectual in gaining possession of the level.

Peace being thus obtained, the participants, conformably to an agreement made by Charles I., claimed to be incorporated. The draught sets forth, "And whereas, upon another contract under the great seal of England, made by the advice of his late Majesty's most honourable privy council, bearing date the 27th of December, in the fourth year of his reign, his said Majesty reserved £16,800. fine, and was to have reserved to him, the yearly fee-farm rent of £1,228. 17s. per annum, for ever, for his Majesty's proportion therein. And did agree well and sufficiently to convey to the said Cornelius Vermuyden, and his heirs and assigns for ever, the said several portions therein, freed and discharged from all claims of common and pretences whatsoever. And his said Majesty did also agree with the said Cornelius Vermuyden, that his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, should and would give his royal assent to a bill in parliament for settling and confirming the same. And would incorporate the said Cornelius Vermuyden, his participants and assigns, for the better order and government of the said drained grounds. And his said late Majesty did further grant several other privileges and advantages in encouragement of the said undertaking.

"And whereas, in pursuance of the said contracts, his said Majesty did by letters patent, bearing dated the 5th of February, in the fourth year of his reign, and by other letters patent, bearing date the 24th day of March, in the twentieth year of his reign, grant and convey to the said Cornelius Vermuyden and his heirs, or to others by his nomination, in trust for him and his participants and their heirs, the said several proportions accordingly. And whereas, the respective commoners did freely submit to the several proportions which were set out and allotted to his said Majesty, and the said Cornelius Vermuyden; (those only within the Isle of Axholme excepted,) who would not submit, till a decree in the court of exchequer was, in the twentieth year of his said Majesty's reign, obtained for the establishment of the proportions lying within the said isle; and the said decreed proportions being 7,400 acres, or thereabouts, were peaceably enjoyed, till the beginning of the late wars; at which time, some of the said commoners, under pretence of not being bound by the said decree, did therefore invade the same, and destroyed great quantities of corn, and damaged above a hundred and fifty habitations, and a church erected by the participants, for the French and Dutch protestant strangers, their tenants; and maliciously drowned the same: so that the whole improvement was in great danger to be thereby lost."*

* From a draught in possession of Mr. Thos. Chester Huggin.

The object of this bill was, to incorporate Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and his participants, in order, as the draught expresses it, that the level might be "better governed." Its leading and most prominent features were, that they should be a body "politic and corporate, in deed and name, and have succession for ever, by the name of the governor, bailiffs, conservators, and commonality of the level of Hatfield-chase; which corporation shall consist of one governor, three bailiffs, and twelve conservators and commonality, and shall have and use a common seal, to be appointed by themselves; and shall and may assemble, when and where they please, and shall and may as well demand and reserve and levy all arrears of taxes by the commissioners of sewers, since the 24th day of June, A. D. 1656, imposed by any laws of sewers now in force on the participants' lands in the said level, (except those lands in the Isle of Axholme,) and call all receivers, collectors, and other officers, to account for the same; as also assess and tax all the improved lauds within the said level, (the commons part excepted,) for support and preservation of the said level, and works concerning the same; and for defraying all other charges tending to or depending upon the same; and for the non-payment of the said taxes or arrears, to levy and recover the same, by all such ways and means, as taxes imposed by commissioners of sewers may be levied or recovered, by virtue of any statute or statutes now in force. And shall and may appoint a treasurer, clerk, sergeant at mace, and other officers, and allow them such salaries, as they shall think meet, and remove them at pleasure, and upon death or removal, appoint new ones in their places. And Sir George Savile, Baronet, shall be the first governor; and Edward Waldron, John Gibbon, and John Bradbourne, shall be the three first bailiffs; and Sir Thomas Addye, and John Anthony Vanvalkenburga, Bart.; Sir Charles Harbord, Sir John Ogle, Knts.; William Ramsden, Walter Rea, Mark Vanvalkenburga, Robert Hampson, John Hatfield, George Johnson, John Hanblet, and Alexander Broome, shall be the first twelve conservators, who were to hold their respective offices until the 16th day of February, A. D. 1662, or until a new election should be made by the said corporate body, or the major part of them. That there should be a market held weekly at Sandtoft, on every Friday, for the sale of commodities of every description, and two fairs annually, viz., on the 10th day of April, and the 10th day of September, in every year, commencing also in A. D. 1662."* This bill intended likewise to constitute the body corporate commissioners of sewers in perpetuity.

It is much to be lamented, that the provisions of the bill alluded to never passed the great seal; had that event occurred, it is totally impossible to say what the consequences ere now would have been, or what aspect the level before us would have assumed. Situated on a dry tract of ground, in the centre of this vast morass, and

* From the draught before-mentioned.

the focus wherein would have been concentrated the power, privileges, &c. of the body corporate, Sandtoft would have rapidly advanced in importance, and probably on the ruins of Epworth and Thorne, would have been at this day the only market in the neighbourhood, to which the inhabitants of these parts would have resorted. The junction of the Don with the Trent would have opened to them the rich mines of Derbyshire, and the interior of Nottinghamshire, &c. ; lime, coals, stone, &c. would have found an easy and expeditious channel of conveyance ; while commerce, and activity would have crowded the streets of that now obscure village.

Sanguine and romantic as these conjectures may appear in the estimation of some, to others, we have no doubt, they will seem rational and sober. A communication of the Don with the Trent by way of Sandtoft, leaving the former a little above the borough of Doncaster, would even now have a wonderful effect, and tend greatly to enhance the value of property throughout the whole of that neighbourhood. The town was wholly inhabited by foreigners connected with the drainage, and many of them were highly respectable. In 1650, it consisted of a church, a population of nearly one thousand souls, good highways and bridges, and other accommodations ; but such are the effects of civil broils and domestic commotions, that ere the commencement of the eighteenth century, not a vestige of the church was in being, and most of the Dutch-built houses were levelled with the ground. Pryme says, that he well remembers some of the walls of the church were standing in 1687 ; but in the latter period of his life, its whole site was eaten as common by the isle-people's cattle. A great number of couples were married there, and several of the inhabitants of the vicinity found within its yard a place of sepulchre, wherein

“ To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot.”

“ It stood on the northern side of the bank, on the road leading from Bears-wood-green to near Idle-bank, nearly opposite to Mr. Reading's last new-built house, which stands on the south side of the bank.”* Its list of ministers exhibits a rapid succession. They were in number five, and named as follows, viz.

Monsieur Barhatt.
— Deekheshta.
— De la Pryme.
— De la Porto.
— Levanley.

In 1687, the level, with its immediate neighbourhood, was visited by a calamity, almost as disastrous in its consequences to many, as had been the turbulent conduct of the commoners of Lincolnshire. “ Towards the end of this year,” remarks Pryme,

* Pryme's MS. Diary.

“ there happened a great inundation in the levels, by means of the great rains which fell above, and the high tides, that encreased the waters so much, that they broke the banks, and drowned the country for a vast many miles about. My father and others in general that dwelt there, lost very considerably in their winter corn, besides the great expence they were put to by boating their cattle to the hills and firm land, with the trouble of keeping them there for two or three months. I have been several times upon the banks, (which are about three yards in height,) when they have been full up to the very tops. Nothing appeared on one side, but a terribly tempestuous sea. The water remains about half a week, and sometimes a week, at its full height; whose motions some hundreds of people are waiting day and night. But if it chance to be so strong as to drive away, as it often does, any quantity of the banks, then it drowns all before it, and makes a noise by its fall, which is heard many miles, before they perceive the consequence, and in the place where the water precipitates itself down, it forms a huge pond or pit, sometimes one hundred yards about, and of a vast depth; so that, in that place, it being impossible for the bank to be rebuilt, they always build it half round; many of which pits may be seen beyond Thorne.

“ On the 17th of December, 1697, we had a very great snow, which on the level ground was about two feet and a half thick, after a pretty hard frost, which froze over for several days. On the 20th, it thawed exceedingly; upon which, there came down so great a flood, that the like was never known. About forty-one years since, there was the greatest flood that was ever remembered, but that was much less than this; for this came roaring all of a sudden, about eleven o'clock at night, on to Bramwith, Fishlake, Thorne, and other towns upon the Don; upon which, the people rung all their bells backwards, (as they commonly do in cases of great fires;) but though this frightened all to the banks, and bid them all to look about them; yet, nevertheless, the loss was very great. The people of Sykehouse and Fishlake had banks to save them; yet it overtopped all, drowned the beasts in the folds, and destroyed their sheep. Several men lost their lives. The houses in Sykehouse, and several in Fishlake, were drowned to the very eaves; so that they reckon no less than £3,000. damage was done by the same in the parish of Fishlake. It came with such force against all the banks about Thorne, which kept the waters of the levels, that every body gave them over, there being no hopes to save them; and ran over them altogether; and the ground being so hard, they could not drive down stakes upon the tops of their banks, to hinder the water from running over. At last, it being impossible that such vast waters should be contained in such small bounds, it burst a *huge gine* close by Gore——, near Thorne, where there had been gines formerly, and so drowned the whole levels to an exceedingly great depth; so that many people were kept so long in the upper part of their houses, that they were almost pined; while all their beasts were drowned about them. It was indeed a

sad thing, to hear the oxen bellowing, and the sheep bleating, and the people crying out for help, round about as they did, all over Bramwith, Sykehouse, Stainford, and Fishlake, and undoubtedly in other places; yet no one could get to help or save them, it being about midnight; and so many people were obliged to remain for several days together; some upon the tops of their houses, others were in the highest rooms, without meat or fire, until they were almost starved.*"

Such was the state of the levels in the immediate neighbourhood of Hatfield and Thorne, so late as the latter end of the seventeenth century; and even so late as one hundred years subsequently, a similar flood would have had the like effect.

Notwithstanding the cessation of military hostilities in the isle and its immediate vicinity, occasioned by the decisive measures of General Whalley, those of a civil nature still continued to harass the parties, and keep up a spirit of contention, highly injurious to the feelings of those concerned, and detrimental to improvement in general.

In 1688, the isle people, vulture-like, put in their claim to a larger portion of common; whose case, by consent, was referred to Sir Thomas Hussey, Sir Willoughby Hickman, Sir John Boynton, Colonel Whichcot, &c.; who made an award, to which the isle people would not submit.

In 1691, their case came before the barons of the exchequer; but they, tired of the subject, dismissed it without a formal hearing, recommending the parties to agree amongst themselves. The participants, therefore, and the commoners, came to an adjustment of their differences, and the sheriff of Lincolnshire proceeded to give the parties legal possession.† Although peace was thus on the eve of ratification, it again proved delusive, and the energies of domestic strife were now to be wielded by the weaker sex. Popplewell's wife, (whose husband, and John Pinder, solicitor, were agents for themselves and commoners,) with a great number of men in disguise, women, and children, began the work of waste, by burning the fences, destroying the corn, and committing other mischief. Mr. Reading, who had been counsel for the participants, was a creditor for £3,000., a sum which they were unable to pay; he consequently, with great reluctance, accepted of a lease of some of their lands, in the manor of Epworth, for six years, in full consideration of his demand. Commencing the work of improvement, he made rapid progress in reclaiming it from the ruin

* Pryme's MSS., Lansd. Bib. Sir John Reresby, in his memoirs, also names the year 1681, in which excessive damage was done in several parts of Europe, as well as in the levels of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. In the latter two counties, the damages were estimated at a million sterling. Vid. p. 134.

† Peck's Hist. of the Isle of Axholme, p. 123.

that had long overspread it; but the hydra-headed monster, which had for so long a time scourged this unfortunate neighbourhood, now set its talons on him. Popplewell's wife, and a herd of tools, assaulted the premises of Mr. Reading, by attempting to fire them in the middle of the night, and thus at once to diabolically extirpate the whole family; but Colonel Robert Reading, son of Nathaniel Reading, Esq.,* made way for their escape, by a demolition of the stanchions in the windows; being prevented egress by way of the door, in consequence of the keyhole being filled full of sand, through a device of the rioters. Disappointed in this wicked scheme, they wrecked their vengeance on his property. They annihilated his outhouses, cut down his trees, destroyed his fences, turned loose and maimed his cattle, "and gave him diversion at all points of military execution." Mr. Reading loudly complained of these aggravated insults; but both the civil and military functions seem to have been on this occasion very lax. Popplewell had the audaciousness to inclose and appropriate to himself and friends, a large plot of ground, belonging to the king and to the participants, with the profits whereof, he contended against the claims of the legal owners. At length, however, the officers of justice were put on the alert, and several of the rioters were apprehended, and punished according to the magnitude of their offences. Popplewell, an old and egregious offender, compromised the matter for himself, wife, &c. by the payment of £600. The passing of the riot act, however, in the reign of George I., the punishment of the delinquents, and a dismissal of the commoners' bill with costs, in A. D. 1719, operated in such a manner, as to put to flight all expectations of recovery by force, and at once gave confidence to legality, and confusion to hopes, founded on a thirst for plunder. After these occurrences, the spleen of mischievous and disaffected individuals was compelled to evaporate within the precincts of their own dwellings; and in the room of that direful scourge, civil and domestic strife, a series of laudable efforts have been made to render this extensive district a firm and fertile soil; and which have so far succeeded, that it is now an useful and profitable piece of land.

Soon after Lord Irwin purchased the manor of Hatfield, &c., some difference arose between his lordship and the commoners, concerning a right exercised by the said commoners, in hauling and mooring boats and vessels upon the river Don, and other presumptive trespasses. The defendants not being able to produce an indenture, wherein those privileges were established and defined, which was then in the hands of Mr. Canby, steward of the said manor. In Trinity term, 1731, the tenants, and other persons concerned therein, filed their bill in the court of exchequer, against the said Lord Irwin and others, praying that the decree formerly made might be confirmed and fully enforced; to which his lordship and other defendants, in

* He behaved himself very well in his capacity at the battle of Dunblain, in A. D. 1715, against the forces of the Pretender; and commanded at the little battle of Glenohurd, the year after, when he took 500 Spaniards prisoners. *Pryme's MS. Diary.*

1755, put in their answer; when, after much preliminary negotiation, and an hearing of counsel for both sides, it was decreed, in the month of December, in the same year, that the inhabitants should hold and enjoy the lands mentioned in the issue and verdict, and all other the lands allotted and conveyed to or in trust for them, according to the decree of the 30th of November, 1630, and that the said deed of feoffment should be enrolled amongst the records of the court. Which was enrolled accordingly.

From this decree, Lord Irwin appealed to the house of lords; and upon hearing the said appeal, the said house, on Monday, the 4th of December, 1758, without hesitation affirmed the decree, with sixty pounds costs. This decree had a considerable effect on the provisions of the late enclosure.

A LIST OF THE FIRST DRAINERS, AND OTHERS, THAT CAME OVER FROM
FRANCE, HOLLAND, &c.

DUTCH.		SCOTCH.
Sir Cornelius Vermuyden	Herniu, <i>vel</i> Harnue	Sir James Campbell
Andrew Houarde	Hanker <i>vel</i> Anker	Sir John Ogle
Matthew Vanvalkenburga	Blarsan	
Marcus Do.	Cagnolan, <i>vel</i> Cockland	
Lucius Do.	Bannudett	
Cornelius Vanbuezen	Vanplue	FRENCH.
Samuel Vanperoor	Tusor	Sir Philip Venatte
John Vanbareel	Bohazel	Abraham Do.
William Vancedby	Abraham Deleus	Dubling
Philip Jacobson	Abraham Skys	Furguoin
Isaac Vanpeeror	Dionysius Vandale	Planeart
Pietus Do.	Jacob Skys	Bonville
Peter Crayspennire	Charles de Boxel	Lanfair
Widow of Edw. Bishoppe	Regnier Cornelian	Lorgue
Marcellus Vendarron	Wonter de Galden	De la Noy
Derial Lesney	John Vandinere	Egard, <i>vel</i> Egar
Lenord Coth	Jacob Draogbract	Coyday
Valerian Ubiet	Sir James Cath	Le Lang
Sebastian Franker	Beharrel	Prinsay
Widow of Michael Trayslyn	Stephen Sterpin	Leopiere
Horegrave	Vandebes	Le Lion, <i>vel</i> Leie
Beamarise	Ponce	De la Noy, <i>vel</i> Leney
Deregue	Taffin, <i>vel</i> Saffinder	Cufair
Roubult	Brounyee	Pinfey
Renard	Massiagall	Lenoise
Franke	Geebalt	Chavat, <i>vel</i> Savat
Smague, <i>vel</i> Smack	Marguecheie	De Cont
Cough Hoy	Clate	Le Tale
	Kierby	Lenard, <i>vel</i> Leward.

To this list, which we have copied from Pryme's diary, the De la Prymes, and several other subsequent exiles might be added, many of whose descendants yet exist in the neighbourhood of the level. Indeed, Thorne, Hatfield, Crowle, Wroot, Epworth, Haxey, Blaxton, Awkley, Finningley, &c. are half peopled by the posterity of the Dutch and French settlers. The condition of the people of the Isle of Axholme, ere they obtained a more general communication with their neighbours, is painfully depicted by Pryme. "Yesterday," says he, "I went to the Isle of Axholme, about some business; it was a mighty rude place before the drainage, the people being little better than heathens; but since that ways have been made accessible unto them by land—their converse and familiarity with the country round about them, they have become mightily civilized." So slow did the progress of civilization extend its benefits into this obscure corner, that so late as A. D. 1767, the great bulk of the inhabitants of the isle, knew no other kind of bread, than that composed of horse-beans and coarse flour.

This chase, and the adjoining park of Hatfield, in which our kings of old frequently partook of the diversion of hunting, were well stored with red-deer. A keeper was in constant pay to take care of the game, with which it abounded to excess. But the chief officer belonging to this establishment was the surveyor-general, who was generally a person of more than ordinary note in the neighbourhood. "We are almost at a loss," says Pryme, "as to the name of the surveyors-general, from the first coming of this manor into the hands of the crown, till the year 1509, when we find that Henry VIII. conferred that honour on Thomas, Lord Darcy; which, it is probable, he enjoyed with his other honours, until he had the misfortune to join the rebels in the north, and thereby forfeited it with his life.

Thomas, Lord Darcy, was succeeded by Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury; an immunity which this nobleman would gladly accept of; not only in an honorary point of view, but for the privilege of "chasing the fleet deer," a diversion to which he was much addicted. In his estimation,

"A cry more tunable
Was never hollo'd to, nor cheer'd with horn."

To him succeeded George, his son, the sixth earl, who enjoyed it in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was followed by Gilbert and Edward, his brothers, who died in 1617, when it speedily afterwards fell into the hands of Cornelius Vermuyden.*

* Pryme's MSS., Lansd. MSS., No. 897. In a letter sent to his wife, dated, "Rughford, this Wednesday, about xi of clock, 24 Aug. 1614," Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury writes, "On Monday last, being gone by 5 of clock in the morning, I went to Hatfield, accompanied w'th my 2 nephews and the 3 Markhams, brothers only, and vi of my own men, non lvyng knowing whether I wolde goe, till within v or vi miles of the place. So I cam thither aboute xi of the clock, and kill'd 3 staggs with my bowe, lodged at Steeres' howse, and returned hither yesternyght: one of the

For the execution of the laws connected with this chase, the surveyor-general was the chief officer. By him all orders were issued to the king's bailiffs, who apprehended the offenders, and lodged them in the castle of Thorne, where they were confined until disposed of as the law in such cases directed.*

"Of the preserve there were five in number, the chief of whom was he termed the bow-bearer, because, when the King chanced to come to sport here, his business was to attend upon him, bearing the King's bow; and when his Majesty was pleased to make a shot, he delivered the bow into the King's hand.†

"The bow-bearer of this chase had his station at Streetthorp, in the parish of Sandal, (but near Armthorp,) where the chase began, according to the addition thereto by Henry VIII. The last bow-bearer was Sir Robert Swift, the son of William Swift, Esq. This Sir Robert Swift married one of the daughters of Sir Francis Leeke, whose son was created Lord Deincourt and Earl of Scarsdale. Sir Robert Armstrudder married one of the daughters of Sir Robert Swift. The latter purchased Streetthorp, where he dwelt.‡

staggs I bestowed thereof to 2 or 3 next neyghbouryng gent. that came to me yesterday mornynge, before I came from thence; the other two I send you by this bearer, Tom'e Beedson, together with vi bucks, some of them not so fatt as they sholde have been, if the extreme raynye day yesterday (when of necessity they were to be killed) had not byndred the keep's to make better choyce: what appurtenances of them are sent withall, this note inclosed will shew you. The next venison you shall have from me is lyke to be baked; but that must aske some longer tyme, as staggs can be kylled, w'ch is as hard to doe in this foreste, and in Hallamshire, for fatt deere, as it is easie to kill them at Hatfyld. Yesterday, as I cam through Bawtrye, I was toulde that the corps of my onlye nephewe, Sir George Savile, was newly passed through that towne, who died at Newark (as they say.) He was heere 3 or 4 of the laste dayes, that the kynge was heere, and lodged with his father at Welbecke, every nyghte, and was as well as ever I saw him. I did never heare any one worde of hys beyng ill, nor do I yet know when he fell syck."

To shew the unsettled state of life which these country gentlemen occasionally led, during their absence from the metropolis, we will further transcribe a portion of the latter part of the same epistle. "Heere I mean to tarry tille Saterday next, at nyghte, and then to Welbeck, and ther all Sunday; on Monday, to Wyngfield, and there 3, 4, or p'haps 5 days, if drynke laste; then to Sheffield, and so to Tankersley, but how long at those two howses, I cannot now resolve, but as we see cause; then hyther agayne, and so to rune up and downe in the cyrcle, so long as we staye heere." *Gent. Mag.*, Vol. lxx. pt. 1. p. 371.

* Pryme's MS. Diary, and Leland's Itinerary, Vol. i.

† Pryme. "Bowbearer, an under officer of the forest, whose office is to oversee, and true inquisition make, as well of sworn men as of unsworn, in every bailiwick of the forest, and of all manner of trespasses done, either to vert or venison, and cause them to be presented, without any concealment, in the next court of attachment, &c." Jacob, verb. Bow-bearer.

‡ Lansd. MSS. No. 897. This Sir Robert Swift was a man much respected, and greatly addicted to a jocular mode of conversation—ingenuous, witty, and merry. Some years back, a number of anecdotes were prevalent concerning this humorous gentleman; one of which is left on record by Pryme, viz., that he having once discovered a gentleman of Cantley, a town in the immediate neighbourhood of the chase, whose name was Slack, stealing one of the king's deer, he apprehended him, and learning that he was a constant transgressor, (the assizes then being at York, and all the other delinquents being sent from Thorne prison,) Sir Robert sets out with this gentleman to the same place. But night coming on, they took up their lodgings by the way, and finding there by chance a pot of good ale, this Mr.

The number of keepers under the superintendence of Sir Robert was great, and they were placed in different parts of the interior and exterior of the confines of the chase. One was stationed at Holmhouse, one at Double-dale, another at Bramwith; one at Flaxley, one at a place called —lordworth, another at Domstunfield; one at Bawtry, one at Eastoft, another at Sandal; three at Crowle, three at Belton, one at Sampson's-lodge, one at Sandtoft, one at ———; others at Gatewood and Lindholme; several at Thorne, Tudworth, and Woodhouse; Armthorp and Cantley; all of whom were kept in continual pay, at the charge of the King.

Over these were set head-keepers, being all gentlemen, who were to take care of every thing that the under-keepers informed them of, touching the preservation of game. Sir Henry Lee was for some time one of the keepers of this description.* Peck, in his *Desideratum Curiosi*, informs us, that in the age of Elizabeth, the salary of the keeper of the house and chase was £6. 1s. 8d. per annum; from which we may probably infer, that one of the head-keepers was also household steward, and that the old palace was wholly appropriated to the King's use, or for the accommodation of such favourites as were armed with his commission, and authorized to kill the "bounding deer," on this well-stocked chase.

The extent of the chase, and the number of the deer, were, as we have just observed, very great. They filled the whole country, and often wandered far beyond the precincts of this district. For it appears upon record, that in the 18th year of Edward I., many outstraying deer ran as far as Brampton-chase, a distance of several miles; and that the keepers of that chase did frequently take advantage of that circumstance, and drive them into their own park. Pryme says, that they were as common as sheep in our own day; and that in winter, when herbage was scarce, they repaired to the stack-garth of the farmer, and made terrible havoc with his fodder, if not prevented by a constant watch, day and night. But the attention of the farmer was not confined to his stack-garth only; the crops in his field required

Slack told him so many merry tales over the same, and enticed them to drink so long, that he got Sir Robert and those with him dead drunk. Upon which, taking a piece of paper, he wrote thereon the following couplet:

To every creature God hath given a gift,
Sometimes the SLACK do overrun the SWIFT;

And having dropped them into Sir Robert's pocket, (where he found them next morning,) he immediately made his escape, and was not heard of for a considerable length of time; but Sir Robert, seeming as if nothing concerned, kept on his journey to York, and having performed his business there, returned to his station.

This Sir Robert died very much lamented by all that knew him, in the year 16 , and was buried in Doncaster church. Pryme's *MS. Hist.*, Lansd. MS., No. 897.

* Lansd. MSS., No. 897, Warburton's Coll.

the same vigilance, or they were speedily destroyed by the rapacity of this destructive herd.

In the midst of so great a number of deer, often rendered tame through hunger, we cannot but suppose, that either vexation, or the palate of the farmer, would occasionally prompt him to violate the law, by a clandestine seizure of some of the wary herd. In the manuscript work to which we have so frequently referred, we have an account of the means by which young kids were often taken, and detained until they were nearly full grown, and sufficiently fat. I have heard, says Pryme, many relations how circumspectively they went to work, who were resolved to taste of the king's venison. Some of them, he remarks, are not worthy of remembrance, but one, as an ensample, he puts upon record. It is as follows. "I have heard men say, that when any one happened to find a young kid which he had a mind to have, he immediately pulled out his knife, and pared its claws, so closely, that it could not possibly make use of its feet, and then taking advantage of the night, he conveyed it to some bye place which nobody frequented, and then laying it down, its dam would soon find it, and there she would constantly give it suck, and feed it until it was as fat as bacon; and then again, taking advantage of the night, he that had thus pared its claws, (and kept them in the same painful state,) would come with some more of his companions, and after cutting its throat, would carry it away."*

Amongst the evidences of George, the sixth earl of Shrewsbury, is a paper, entitled, the "Profit that was then made of the Office of Hatfield." Although this document is in some measure imperfect, such part of it as is intelligible cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

	£.	s.	d.
The fee appertaining to the master of the game	0	0	0
The fee belonging to the bow-bearer	0	0	0
The bailiff's fee	0	0	0
The profits arising from the wafes, streys, and felons' goods	0	0	0

There is no sum attached to these particulars; we are therefore at a loss to know how much each office was then worth. Most of the following are rated.

	£.	s.	d.
The profits of the hills, arising from fish and fowls	40	0	0
The park, with the warren, and the park car and coppice	40	0	0
The land and meadow, the Hope and Martin Jagg	26	13	4
The lease of the parsonage of Hatfield, with the members, viz. Thorne, Steynford, Woodhouse, Dunscroft, Bramwith, &c.	130	0	0
Several parcels of land, amounting annually to	243	6	8
The park, with all the severals thereto belonging	62	2	0

* Landed. MSS. et alia.

	£.	s.	d.
The Great-meer, and the Countess'-meer, with other waters thereto belonging	40	0	0
The joynt rent of the severals per annum	20	0	0
The windmill, let now yearly for	8	0	0
The soke laid to it yearly	20	0	0
The Marting Ings	9	0	0
The Earl's Ing and Hope per annum, £11. but worth	20	0	0
The wafe, strey, and felons' goods, paid yearly by the bailiffe to the lord of Sheffield, amount to about	20	0	0
The mastership of the game, worth	10	0	0
The house, orchards, and meadow-close adjoining	0	0	0
Common pasture pro omnibus averiis	0	0	0
The placing and displacing keepers	0	0	0
Two ferrys, viz. at Steynford and Bramwith	2	0	0

Out of the above-said particulars, there are the following yearly sums to be paid out,

	£.	s.	d.
Thomas Moore's rent to the Queen	12	0	0
For the park and warren; the park car and coppice	6	3	0
Wafes, streys, and felon's goods	0	10	0
The windmill	0	13	0
Parsonage of Hatfield, with the tythes, &c. as before mentioned	26	13	4
To the vicar and curate, yearly	15	0	0

Besides these, there are certain rents payable yearly to the audit of York, issuing out of the park and Broad-mere; and the like sum received in fees, under 20s. or thereabouts.

Mr. Dodsworth informs us, that in the 14th Edward II., a "summa totalis" was taken of the rents at Hatfield, and they were found to come to £222. 13s. 4d. *per annum*. "Yet," says Pryme, "I find account of Thomas de Steynforth, and Hugh, son of Hugh de Hatfield, farmers of the herbage of Hatfield, as well in the park of Hatfield, as of ——— pasture within its soke, and the several parcels within the conserves of Thorne, 'simul cum separata pastura inter Calcatur apud Thorne,' from the feast of St. Michael, from the 30th to the 31st Edward III.; for only £10." Wide as these two sums are from each other, both, it is probable, may be right. The above two personages might hold the herbage of Hatfield, and yet have no right or authority over any of its manorial privileges. Among the particulars just given, we find a separate entry of "common pasture *pro omnibus averiis*;" but no amount is attached, and we have no hesitation in saying, that Thomas Stainforth and Hugh Hatfield took the herbage of the paramount lord of the manor.

In the reign of Edward II., the rents, &c. of the lordship of Hatfield, would be considerably more in amount, than in the succeeding reign, or perhaps at any period

which elapsed between those of Edward II. and Charles I. The immense number of alienations made by the Warrens, in the age of Edward III., would tend greatly to lessen the annual sum usually paid into the coffers of that noble Norman. The grants, generally, were on exceedingly easy terms. We will here, for the satisfaction of the reader, transcribe the substance of the most important of them, as they are found in the *Abbreviated Rolls*.

- 5 Edw. III. R. concedit Joh'i de Doncastr. et Alicie ux. ejus unum messuagium, unam bovatom et viginti et octo acr. t're, cum p'tin. in Hatfield, q. Joh'es de Warennā com. Surr. nup. concesserit, &c. tenend. eidem Johanni et Alicie, et her. corporibus eodē Johannis et Alicie, &c. redd'o inde per ann. triginta et octo solidos, &c. *Rot. 22. Abb. Rotu.*
- 6 Edw. III. Johannes de Warennā, Comes de Surr. virtute licensie R. concesserit Ric'o Martyn de Hatfield, quadraginta et quatuor acr. et unam rodā terre et prati de vastis ipsius comitis in Hatfield et Thorne tenend. eidem Ric'o et her. suis, redd'o inde per ann. xviii. xd. &c. *Rot. 18, ut sup.*
- 6 Edw. III. R. confirmavit donac'o'em quam Joh'es de Warennā, Com. Surr. fecit de uno tofto et triginta acris et una rodā terre de vastis ipsius comitis in Hatfield Joh'i de Wormele tenend. eidem Joh'e et he'dibus suis, redd'o inde per ann. viginti et tres solidos et septem denar. et Joh'i Stout quadraginta acr. terre de vastis tenend. eidem Joh'i et he'dibus suis. *Rot. 23, ut ant.*
- 9 Edw. III. R. concessit et lic. dedit Joh'i de Warrenā, Comiti de Surr. q'd ipse concesserit Edmundo Testard quadraginta acras vasti de vastis ipsius comitis, de Northwode in Hatfield, tenend. eidem comiti tresdecim solidos et quatuor denar. per ann. sine, &c. *Rot. 21, ut ant.*
- 10 Edw. III. R. concessit et confirmavit Ric'o de Thorne, tria messuagia, decem acras terre, decem et octo acras prati, et dimid. quatuor acras more, et dimid. et quadraginta acras vasti cum p'tin. in Hatfield et Thorne, in com. Ebor. q. Johannes de Warennā, comes Surr. concessit, &c. tenend. eidem Ric'do et he'dibus suis, redd'o viginti et octo solidos novem denarios et unum quadrantem imp'p'm. *Rot. 31, ut ant.*
- 10 Edw. III. R. concessit et confirmavit Joh'i fil. Petri de Steynford, triginta et unam acras terre, et dimid. de vastis Joh'is de Warennā, comitis Surr. in Thorne et Hatfield, q. idem comes concessit, &c. tenend. eidem Joh'i et he'dibus suis, redd'o inde per ann. decem solidos et sex denarios, et faciendū sectam ad cur. et ad molendinum ipsius comitis, &c. *Rot. 31, ut ant.*
- 14 Edw. III. R. confirmavit concessionem quam Joh'es de Warennā, com. Surr. fecit Willielmo de Warennā, fil. suo, de centum et viginti et duabus acr. terre, cum p'tin. de vastis ipsius comitis in man'io de Hatfield, tenend. eidem Willielmo et her. suis redd'o inde per ann. decem solidos pro om'i s'vicio. *Rot. 26, ut sup.*
- 20 Edw. III. R. confirmavit concessionem quam Joh'es de Warennā, nup. comes Surr. fecit Henr. de Kelstern. lardinar. ipsius comitis, de triginta et quatuor acris et dimid. et una rodā terre, et una acra de vastis ipsius comitis in Hatfield, tenend. eidem Henr. et her. suis redd'o inde per ann. p. qual't. acr. terre et more quatuor denar. &c. *Rot. 19, ut sup.*

These are a few of the many grants made by the Warrens, to their dependents in the lordship of Hatfield, which shew by what means their interest became lessened,

and their annual income diminished. Ere the reign of Edward III., the whole of this rich manor, with its dependencies, almost exclusively belonged to that princely family. Hence, the "summa totalis" of the 14th Edward II. and that of Elizabeth may be easily accounted for.

From the era in which it first became the property of the crown, to the age of Hen. VI., this chase, and much of its vicinity, would seem to have been exclusively the patrimony of our kings; but in the latter reign, in consequence of his having made Humphrey Stafford, (son and heir of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, by Anne, widow of his elder brother, Thomas, and daughter of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester,) Duke of Buckingham, and chief Duke of all England, he gave and granted to him, and to his heirs for ever, the Chase of Hatfield; but what length of time it continued in this family, we have not yet ascertained. The Duke was slain at the battle of Northampton, fighting for his sovereign, in the 38th Henry VI.

In the reign of Henry VIII., we again find it royal property; which it remained to be until it was conveyed to Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, &c. in the 4th Charles I., as has been already noted.

In 1540, there was made, by command of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, a particular survey of the boundaries of this chase, but which we regret we have not been able to meet with. Pryme saw it, and gave a copy of it in his manuscript history of Hatfield, &c.; but by either misfortune or design, the page which contained it has been torn out.

The extensive and far-famed Forest of Sherwood occupied only a small portion of our district; but ere the improvement introduced by agricultural pursuits, it undoubtedly connected itself with the forest on which our attention has been so long engaged, and formed a part of that vast woody country, called by Richard of Cirencester, *Sylva Caledonia*.

Whatever portion of this sylvan wild was destroyed by the legions of Rome, it is manifest, that such part thereof as could not be approached by water, would, unless prevented by some powerfully operating cause, speedily resume its pristine condition; and none that we are aware of did exist, in anywise calculated effectually to retard its regrowth. In the delineation of its most prominent features we shall be very brief, and refer such of our readers as may feel desirous of being better acquainted with its history, to the Nottinghamshire historians.

On our approach to the precincts of this quondam forest, a singular, but natural train of ideas crowd upon the mind, and call to our remembrance ages long since

ingulfed by the perpetually revolving vortex of time; and notwithstanding that the sylvan scenery of the Fauns and Dryades is now supplanted by the gait of Ceres and her followers, we cannot forget that we are still on that identical ground, where the deer sported in playful gambols, and gladdened the heart of the royal hunter.* It was here, where the shrill notes of the exhilarating horn, borne on the wings of the wind, through the zigzag avenues of this mazy forest, inspired with phrensy the votaries of Diana. It was here, where the nimble steed, partaking of the sport with his rider, threw aloft his proud head, snuffing the balmy air, and pawing the fertile earth, swift as the wind, chased the fleet deer; and it was here, where the intrepid Robin Hood, and his merry crew, prowled unmolested through its trackless paths, and bent the deadly bow, which shot forth like lightning the awful shaft, that bore on its fatal crest a sure and never-failing doom.

To a mind capable of taking a retrospective view of those lawless times, a field of matter highly interesting cannot fail to attract his attention. A wide and mazy forest, the origin of which is anterior to the range of historical records; the extent whereof seems to have been scarcely circumscribed, and whose mingled boughs, dense foliage, and interlaced fibres, in many places, so closely invested its site, that with the exception of a few intricate paths and winding tracks, the woody part of this district seems to have been an impervious gloom under the penetrating rays of an effulgent sun, more calculated for the abode of

" Men, whose souls,
Big with infernal guilt,
Ne'er rest in peace, until
Their brother's blood be spilt;"

than the habitation of civilized man. Could Robin Hood, that gallant freebooter, whose heroic actions have been sung in "measured verse," return from his silent and eternal mansion, revisit the theatre of his merry pranks, and stand unmoved amidst this wreck of woods? Could he, in any part of this almost interminable forest, recognize its former features? or rather would he not question the identity of the place, and re-ascend to his permanent dwelling, not much gratified by a review of his sublunary residence? But such is the fatality attending upon all created things,

* Several of our potentates have exercised the diversion of hunting in this forest. The Flammangh family, which came into England with the Norman, and founded the abbey of Welbeck, held the manor of Cukeny, com. Nottingham, by the service, "deferendo palefridum domini Regis super quatuor pedes de clario domini regis, quotiescunque ad manerium suum de Maunsfeld jacuerit;" and if in shoeing the king's palfrey, he lamed him, he was to give him a palfrey, with four marks. We also learn from this document, that the same manor, or the third part of a knight's fee in Cukeny, was held on the same terms, by a Saxon thane called Gamelbere, prior to the advent of the Conqueror; and it is denominated "vetus Dreyinghe," by which term, according to Blount, we are to understand a "knight, or one that held land by knight's service, before the conquest, and was not deprived of his estates by William the Norman." Vid. *Blount's Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, by Beckwith. So also did the Fauconbergs.

that the moment they tread on the threshold of existence, their first step is a movement to the goal of their eternal doom.

Britain, as we have before remarked, like most, or we might say all other countries, was, in its wild and primitive state, covered by a boundless wood, which disappeared in the same proportion as population increased. Wood, in the infancy of every nation, is an important and valuable material. Devoid of the means, or unacquainted with the mode, by which more substantial buildings were raised, trees, with their boughs and bark, were a substitute everywhere ready; and on the abandonment of the rocky fissure, or excavated earth, these materials furnished a resource whereto they could at all times find a speedy access. A protection from the severity of the weather, was not the only use to which wood might be successfully applied; for it likewise constituted the only, or principal material for fuel, and a bulwark of defence in time of war.*

This extensive tract, according to Thoroton, was formerly divided into, "or rather known by the names of Thorney-wood, and High-forest; the first of which, although the least, contained within its boundaries no fewer than nineteen towns or villages, of which Nottingham was one." That portion called the High-forest, reached to Bossington, in the county of York; but in the last perambulation, made in the reign of Henry VIII., it had retired to Worksop; and now, in this neighbourhood, scarce the feature of a forest is in being. The present woods in the vicinity of Bawtry, Tickhill, Finningley, Rossington, and Worksop, together with the ruined one before mentioned, are all portions of that vast sylvan district, which the lapse of time and the industry of man have converted into a terrestrial paradise.

The orthography of the name which it bore, is by Camden supposed to be derived from the compound, "Clearwood;" but how far it was susceptible of that appellation, let the same authority be our informant, when he asserts, that it was so "thick set with trees, whose entangled boughs were so twisted together, that they hardly left room for a single person to pass."†

In the itinerary of Leland, but little notice is taken of this place. We find it only once mentioned by that venerable author, viz. "Soone after I enter withyn the space of a mile or lesse ynto the thyck of the woodie foreste of Sherwood, wher ys great game of deere, and so I rode a v. myles in the very woody groundes of the foreste, and so to a little pore streate or thoroughfare at the ende of the wode."‡

* Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 8.

† Camd. Brit. vol. i. p. 438.

‡ This appears to have been Popplewick. Vid. Thoroton, and Leland, vol. i. fol. 116.

As this forest, like most others,* was chiefly vested in the crown, its government was generally conferred on one of its favourites, who was styled "Justice in Eyre of his Majesty's Forest of Shearwood." He had under him, a warden, his lieutenant, and steward; "a bow-bearer and ranger, four verderers, twelve regarders, (reduced to that number by an ordinance made in the time of Edward I. by William Vescy and his followers,) four agistors, and twelve keepers or foresters, in the main forest. Besides these, there are now four keepers in Thorney-wood, where anciently there were but two." In Thoroton's time, (1677,) the government of this forest was in the hands of the Duke of Newcastle; "but the glorious condition of the whole had greatly declined," a circumstance that would naturally occur, after it became the property of a number of individuals. The caprice of some, and the necessities of others, would speedily despoil its ancient condition; while the unquenchable thirst of speculation, more than both the others, would aid in its annihilation.

The privilege of *libera warennia*, which will be so frequently mentioned in our succeeding pages, was introduced and granted by our Norman line of English kings, as well as by some of their successors, to eminent persons, large landed proprietors, or court favourites, and may, with some colour of justice, be rather esteemed an office than an honour, and the grantee a keeper, than a free and independent sportsman. Ere the conquest, when the few shades of feudalism brought in by the Saxons were become less dark, and fast approaching the gulf of oblivion, each owner of an estate had an inherent right to hunt upon his own demesne, or the lands of his subinfeoffed dependents, free from the control and molestation of any order of men whatever; but after that event, this seemingly natural and unalienable right became grossly restricted, and the destruction of a head of game, subjected the unfortunate offender to a punishment of the most serious and degrading nature.†

The principal aim of our most early historians appears to have been to delineate the progress of armies, the intrigues of potentates, the sacking of cities, the depopulation of kingdoms, and the extermination of man. Few have reversed this picture, and such as have occasionally, but transiently departed from this baleful propensity,

* The number of forests and chases vested in the crown, in the time of Elizabeth, exceeded that of any other European potentate. "A forest," says Howel, "hath her court of attachments or Swainmote-court, where matters are as legally pleadable as at Westminster-hall. The hart, the hinde, the hair, the bore, and the wolfe, are forest-beasts. The buck, the doe, the fox, the matron, the roe, belong to a chase and park. And all these kind of recreations, the king of Great Britain hath in so many forests, whereof there are in England, exclusive of thirteen chases and seven hundred and eighty-one parks, these which follow." Here the author proceeds to name seventy-seven, seven of which are in the county of York, viz., Applegarth, Gautry, Knaresburgh, Lune, New-forest, Pickering, and Wood. These were the old forests. Vid. *Howel, on Kingship*.

† In the age of William I., the killing of a buck or boar, rendered the culprit liable to lose both his eyes. Our old statutes are disgracefully copious on this subject, nor are more modern ones free from the charge, to say the least, of much impolicy. The laws of Ina do not contain one provision against the destruction of game.

have furnished us with hints, rather than facts, and left us to grope our way in little less than Cimmerian darkness.

Notwithstanding this martial disposition, or rather cruel curiosity, in our early annalists, the feuds of the Britons, and the valour of the Romans, have been but sparingly touched upon. None of their works refer directly to the wapentake, and but few to Britain at large. Independently, however, of the silence of history, we have strongly inductive evidence, that a number of battles have taken place within the immediate boundaries of our district. Occupying a long and extensive frontier, for such a series of years, it is hardly reasonable to suppose, but that the blessings of peace and concord were too often violated by the daring passions of a savage race of rude and vindictive chieftains; and no rational doubt can exist, but that the widely extended plains in the north-east, and the mountainous fastnesses in the south-west, have frequently been the theatre on which the destiny of the Brigantian province has been disputed with obstinate and brave perseverance, as is evinced by the numerous earth-works, &c. that have been, and are now prevalent.

Barren, however, as are the annals of Britain and Rome, with respect to military enterprises in this portion of Northumbria, those of the Saxons are not much more prolific or interesting; for excepting those at Conisbrough, Hatfield, and Doncaster, none other of any account has reached our time.

The whole narration of Geoffrey of Monmouth, concerning the conflict between Hengist and Ambrosius, at Mexbrough and Conisbrough, A. D. 487, seems one of the many which were fought only within the walls of the cloister. It is stated by this sage monk, that in the above year, was contested at *Mailesbelly* a bloody battle, between the Saxons and oppressed Britains, under the command of the above personages, the former of whom being defeated, was obliged to fly for refuge to the castle of Conisbrough, whither he was chased by the valiant Ambrosius,* and on a second rencontre, was killed under its walls, and there interred. Over his body, as was usual in that age, was heaped a mound of earth, as a monument intended to mark the place where that wily hero lay. The real or supposed tomb of this bloody warrior is still pointed out by the residents, and shewn as a curiosity to every inquisitive visitor.†

* By the Welsh Bards, he is called *Emrys Wledig*.

† Geoffrey of Monmouth says, that Eldald, bishop of Gloucester was asked, how Hengist, after his capture, should be disposed of; to which he replied, that as he (Hengist) had been the cause of great desolation and misery; that as he had rendered many children fatherless and widowed many women, he ought to be dealt with in strict conformity with such ruthless conduct. "Insequeretur namque prophetam Samuelem, qui cum Agag regem Amalech in potestatem retinisset, concessit illum in frustra, dicens, 'Sicut fecisti matres sine liberis, sic faciam hodie matrem tuam sine liberis inter mulieres.'" *Galf. Mon. Glou. Chron.* by Hearne, p. 141.

This affair, as it is thus transmitted to us by Geoffrey, has been scrupulously followed by most, or all of our historians from the time of Robert of Gloucester, to the days of Hume.* Further and more accurate research, however, has rendered this part of the history of Geoffrey extremely problematical; so much so, indeed, that Turner, the celebrated historian of the Anglo-Saxons, with some others of earlier and later date, seems disposed to question the whole matter, and to class this brat of monkish generation amongst the many improbabilities conceived and sent forth from that fruitful source of error.†

To the oppressed and disheartened Britons, the bare name of Hengist and his cruelties was terribly alarming. Pressed by the iron hand of internal war, and smarting under the lash of the civil discord, which raged to an extent unparalleled in the annals of domestic commotion, a new and unexpected enemy in the field, appears to have created an universal panic. From one end of the kingdom to the other, the footsteps of this vindictive and crafty chief have been marked with blood; and every thing wearing the aspect of calamity, has by the copiers of Geoffrey's narrative been attributed to him. The Saxon chroniclers, however, more consistent with probability, assert, that the last battle fought by Hengist with the Britons, was at a place called Wippeds-fleet, which Battley fixes in the isle of Thanet,‡ and he is said by Marianus and Florentinus to have died peaceably in his kingdom of Kent; therefore, when every ray of light relative to this question is brought into a focus, and every portion of evidence which those dark times afford is carefully examined,

* Vid. Camd. Brit. vol. ii. p. 85. Speed, p. 282, ed. 1620. Drake's York.

† Merlin, the famous British prophet, who lived about this time, observes:—

“ Fly from these fatall severall fires O king,
Which from Less Britain the two exiles bring;
Now are their shepps a rigging, now forsake
Th' Armoricke shoares, and towards Albion make,
To avenge their murdered brother's blood on thee,
In Totness road to morrow they will bee,
The saxon Princes, shall contend in vain,
For young Aurelius, having Hengist slain,
Shall peaceably possesse the British throne,
Striving, the opposite Nations to atone.
He the true faith shall seek to advance on high,
But in the quest thereof by poyson die,
The Dragon's head, he brother shall succeed,
And after many a brave heroick deed,
By him perform'd, the fates shall strife to waft
His soule ore Styx, by a like poysonous draught;
But those who sent them to th' Elizian bower,
His son the Bore of Cornwall shall devoure.”

‡ Vid. Turner, vol. i. p. 94. Carte, vol. i. p. 104. Matthew of Westminster also says, that he fought the Britons on the banks of the Don. Lambard seems to intimate, that the battle fought between Hengist and Ambrosius was at Wippedfleet. Vid. his Diction. p. 162. Leland, on the authority of the Chronicles of Harding, says that “Hengist was beheaded at Conanboro' in Kent.” Vid. his Coll. vol. iii. p. 426. Neither Huntington nor William of Malmesbury ascribe his death to violence, or credit the testimony of Geoffrey. Vid. Stillington.

much doubt will still exist, whether Hengist ever fought the battle of *Mailesbelly*, and still more, that he was killed and entombed at the village of Conisbrough, by the heroic Aurelius Ambrosius.

From the hyperboles of Geoffrey's fancy, and the conflicting testimony of historians, relative to the battle of Conisbrough, we will next proceed to notice the contest of Hatfield, the cause and consequences of which are more plainly seen, and better authenticated.

Anxious to repossess their fallen power, the bards of ancient Britain were ever urging their countrymen to attempt its recovery, by every means in their power; the spell of druidism had lost its charm, and the mind of the vulgar was disrobed in some measure of its misty coil; but the dismal cloud of pagan superstition still hovered over the human intellect, and rendered it a prey to the designs of the wickedly ambitious. Under their powerful influence, Cadwalla the Britain, and King of North Wales, a Christian prince, envying the prosperity of Edwin, the Northumbrian monarch, entered into a league with Penda the pagan King of Mercia, who, after a series of manœuvres, concentrated their forces, invaded his kingdom, and called this virtuous prince from the altar of Jesus to the shrine of Mars. On their intentions becoming fully known to King Edwin, he hastily put his forces into requisition, and prepared to meet the enemy. The combined army, entering Northumbria by way of the pass at Bawtry, encamped their force on Hatfield-heath, which was on the verge of the Northumbrian province.

Speed, after an elaborate panegyric on the character of Edwin, thus proceeds to narrate the issue of that fatal day. "But, as the sun has his rising, his height, and descent, and is ever moving in the circle of his celestial orbit, so man hath his birth-time, being, and death, and till then is never stayed in one certain point. Kings therefore, as they be kings, are the suns of their own world; but as they are men, go to the shadow of death; neither can the strength of their power, wisdom, or policy, love or applause, stay the hand that holds the fatal knife; for so in this king Edwin we see raised above hope to attain the diadem, and ruling in love and liking of his people, was notwithstanding cut off in the midst of his glory and greatness of strength. For Penda the stout Mercian, envying his peace, and Cadwalla the Briton, seeking to recover his rights, joined in friendship against this monarch, and met him as his enemies in the face of a field. The plain was large, and called Heathfield; when, after a long and bloody flight, king Edwin was slain, with prince Offryd his son, his whole host put to the sword, or a most shameful flight; which chanced the 4th of October, A. D. 633, the 6th of his Christianity, the 7th of his monarchy, the 17th of

his kingdom, and the 47th of his age. His body was lastly buried in St. Peter's, at Streanshull, afterwards called Whitby."*

With this account, the Reverend Abraham De la Pryme does not circumstantially agree. He imagines that the *Campodunum* of Bede was placed on the site of the modern Hatfield, and that king Edwin, when first the intelligence of this unprincipled invasion reached him, was actually at his palace in that place. This, however, as will be hereafter shewn, is an untenable position. But let him speak for himself. "King Edwin being then at his royal seat at this town of Hatfield, where he had lately built a magnificent church, as soon as he heard of their approach (the pagans), he caused all his forces, that upon such a sudden he could, to be gathered together from all the country round about; which being all in arms, they flocked under the standard of so good a king in great numbers, and pitched their camp on the great heath, on the west side of the town, which spread itself as far as the river Don, which heath is since called the lings, by this town of Hatfield. King Edwin took all the care he could to line the woods that were standing, with archers from the camp, almost to Doncaster, with an intent to hedge in the enemy, if it were possible." He now proceeds to relate the order and issue of the contest, which agrees nearly in substance with what we have already stated.

On the termination of this truly disastrous conflict, Pryme further remarks, that on the next day, "when that the army had marched away, several of the countrymen round about, that had fled to save themselves from the heat and fury of the enemy, came to review the field, and found the slain to amount to 10,000 men. Amongst the rest, they found the body of the poor king Edwin, all besmattered over with dirt, blood, and gore, whose head they cut off, and sent to York to some of his nobles, who buried it with great sorrow in St. Peter's church, which was then building; as for his body, and that of his son Osfred, and the rest of his nobles, they were cast into a great hole, and a huge hill of earth thrown over them; which hill remains to this day in Hadam-field, near the lings, now called Slaybur-hill, i. e. the hill where the slain were buried; but the field having now been ploughed for several hundreds of years, the eminence is not now so conspicuous; yet it is higher, even now, than any other part of the field.

* Speed, cap. xx. p. 301. Dr. Henry says, that the battle was fought on the 12th of October, A. D. 633. The assertion of Speed, relative to the burying-place of Edwin, is probably wrong; for the Benedictine abbey of Whithy was not founded until A. D. 657, a period twenty-four years subsequent to his death. His expression, "lastly," however, would denote a removal of his body to that holy sepulchre, from the place of its original interment, a circumstance by no means improbable. Bede, the authority of Pryme, makes no mention whatever, as to what became of his body. His head, he remarks, was sent to York, and subsequently deposited in the church of St. Peter then building. If, as Pryme

"The country people know the aforesaid place very well, and will shew at a little distance from the town, a place which they call Ster-bur-hill-slae, where blood, they say, is traditionally reported to have flowed down in torrents into the lower part of the field, and then run like a river on by the common side to the southwards. They also say, that it ran off the lings into the town of Hatfield, like a river; but when all this happened, they do not know; but it is most certain and undoubted, that it was after this great fight."*

In taking it for granted, that the village of Hatfield was the *Campodunum* of Bede, Pryme, we conceive, has fallen into some errors relative to this affair. That Edwin should concentrate his forces on the plains of Hatfield, is scarcely within the range of probability; and we might, it is presumed, be more safe in the ascription of the encampment, and the occupation of Hatfield, to the pagan army. At that early era, that village could not be approached by the Mercians, but from the south; and we can scarcely suppose, that Edwin would leave to the mercy of the allied army, so important a post as the town of Doncaster, which we have every reason to believe was strongly fortified, even at that remote period.

In the Saxon age, the occupation of Doncaster and Conisbrough might be considered as an essential point in the defence of the southern boundary of Northumbria, which the sagacity of the brave Edwin would not suffer him to neglect. Hemmed in on the east and north-east, by rivers, wide, deep, and numerous, together with an impassable morass, the former could not be approached but by the pass at Bawtry, or one in its vicinity, which continued ever after the Roman dynasty, to the age of Charles, to be the only or principal road which connected the western frontier of the Mercian, with the southern one of the Northumbrian kingdom; hence, it is easy to see the necessity of rendering tolerably secure the town of Doncaster, being the first important place that they would meet with, and situate upon the direct line of road which they must travel; whilst on the contrary, Hatfield was rather insulated, but not ill adapted for a defensive position.

The reasons which induced the combined army to march forward to Hatfield, rather than take up its station in the more immediate neighbourhood of Doncaster, are not quite so obvious. In marching forward to the village of Hatfield, they most certainly left exposed to the Northumbrians, the only means of retreat, in case of a

conjectures, the body of Edwin was cast with others into a pit, on the field of battle, and there suffered to lie for a very short time, it would be totally impossible to identify it. The ashes of Edwin most probably lie in the vicinity of Hatfield.

* *Lans. Bibl. MSS. No. 897.* Tradition is a species of evidence seldom wholly unfounded; but often, as in this instance, greatly exaggerated. That blood, issuing from the wounds of ten thousand, or any other number of men, should run in such torrents, is wholly inadmissible. The boldness and strength of the report, however, could only gain currency by the magnitude of the event.

disastrous issue of the contest; but they were well aware, that a force, sufficiently strong to protect that means of egress, would considerably weaken either army; whilst the populous state of the town of Hatfield and its immediate neighbourhood, promised a more sure and constant supply of provisions, as well as a more defensible position.

Exclusive of these considerations, the language of Bede would seem to establish our premises, and render our position more than conjectural. "Paulinus," says he, "in provincia Deirorum baptizabat in fluvio Sualva qui vicum juxta Cataractam præterfluit. Non enim Oratoria vel Baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis Ecclesiæ poterant ædificari. Attamen, in Campoduno, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fuit Basilicam, quam, postmodum paganis ag'nibus Ædwinus Rex occisus est, cum tota eadem villa succenderunt." Here it will be observed by the learned reader, that Bede, who lived in the same century, unequivocally asserts, that the *Campodunum*, in which King Edwin had a royal palace, was destroyed by the pagans, *after* they slew King Edwin.* The annihilation of the town of *Campodunum*, we are willing to admit, is no direct proof of its non-occupation by the pagans, prior to the battle; but it is strongly presumptive evidence, whether destroyed before or subsequently to the conflict, that it was not deemed prudent to suffer that place to exist for a longer period, and that it was too strong and dangerous a post to leave entire in the hands of their enemies; a circumstance, in our estimation, sufficiently potent to exhibit the folly and imprudence of Edwin, and the improbability of the opinion of Pryme in supposing, that Penda and Cadwalla were in possession of Doncaster previous to the contest, that the *Campodunum* of Bede is the present village of Hatfield, and that Edward was therefore stationed there on the invasion of the pagans.†

Elated by success, the triumphant arms of the pagans, in unison with their creed, were next turned against the unoffending and peaceable inhabitants, whom they butchered in an indiscriminate manner, sparing neither age nor sex. Cadwalla, Merlin's "brazen man," though a professing Christian, disgraced the cause which he had espoused, by exceeding in barbarity the bloody deeds of his ally. Prompted by an inveterate dislike of the English name and nation, he determined to depopulate the country, which he wofully effected to an alarming extent.

* Bede, Ec. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 15.

† Of this battle, our old chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, thus writes:—

"In to the veld of Hadule ech of hem drow,
Myd her ost, and smyte ther an batayle strong y now,
Kyng Edwyne was ther aslayne, and Osfryd his sone also,
And Godbold kyng of Orcadas, and her foll ney therto.
And Cadwal was all aboue, the wull yt wold y laste,
The Englyse and the Saxons he slow tho wel vaste;
He ne sparede olde ne yong, ne womman, ne chylde,
That he ne slow, wanne he vound, he was nothyng myld."

The dreadful condition to which the Northumbrians were reduced by the implacable hatred of these ferocious chiefs, staggered the faith of thousands; and induced them to fear that the prophecies of Taliessin, and other Cambrian bards, were on the point of fulfilment.* Ethelburga, the royal consort of Edwin, together with Paulinus, her preceptor, and her two infants, escaped the fury of the storm by a flight to Kent. Osfrid, as we have noticed in a preceding page, fell with his father in the field of battle, and with him, it is probable, found a place of sepulchre in the immediate vicinity of Hatfield; but Eanfrid, another of his sons, by misfortune fell into the power of his foes, and afterwards, in violation of a solemn oath, was put to death by Penda.

The general terms in which the venerable historian portrays this event, prevent us from following with precision the bloody footsteps of those ruthless destroyers; and whether they visited with especial vengeance any other place within our district, we are unable to say. On their arrival at the city York, that northern barrier soon fell before their conquering force. In the various sorties, the neighbourhood was deluged with blood, and the inhabitants thereof brutally butchered. Retributive justice, however, inflicted condign punishment on the head of this inhuman barbarian. He was at length slain, with the flower of his army, at *Deniseburna*, in A. D. 634.†

In the various conflicts which took place in the latter period of the Saxon dynasty, the predatory warfare adopted by the Danes does not seem to have been much

* Vid. Turner, vol. i. p. 144, and the authorities he there cites. To this event the prophetic eye of Merlin seems to have been directed:—



“The heavens, in stead of water, bloud shall showre,
And famine shall both young and old devoure:
Droop and be sad shall the red Dragon then,
But after mickle time be blythe agen.
And now the Serpent, that was white before,
Shall have his silver scales all drenched in gore.
Seven scepter-bearing kings in field shall die,
One of whose sainted souls shall pierce the skie;
Kept shall the babes bee from their mothers’ wombes,
And soon as climbe on earth, grope from their tombes.
All by a brazen man shall come to passe,
Who likewise, mounted on his steed of brasse,
Both night and day, will London’s prime gate keepe,
Whether the careless people wake or sleepe.”

The loose and indefinite manner in which the prophetic writings of the Welsh bards are generally written, enable the fancy of some of our old writers to apply almost every page to some important event. Hence it is, that the predictions of Merlin, &c. have often met with admirers in more early ages. Matthew of Westminster reports, that in the days of Cadwalla, the clouds dropped blood for three days together, and that the country was miserably afflicted by swarms of venomous flies. The British nation is prefigured under the character of the “Red Dragon.” The scales of the “White Serpent” denote the Saxons. The seven kings are supposed to have been Edwin, Offric, Oswald, the saint spoken of; Segebert, Egric, Anna, and Cadmus, the Scottish monarch. The “brazen man, mounted upon a steed of brass,” has also been supposed to have reference to Cadwalla.

† The Deniseburna of Bede is supposed by Camden to be the present Dilston; but some place it at Eringburn. Vid. Smith’s ed. Bede, p. 721. Also, Bede, lib. iii. cap. 1.

exercised within the limits of the wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill. Inexhaustible in their resources, that daring people attacked the Anglo-Saxons at every point of the island. Scarce a river of note was free from their piratical excursions. In the year 833, just two centuries after the last noticed contest between Edwin and the pagans, King Egbert and the Danes contended for the empire of Northumbria. Egbert was defeated with great slaughter at Karham or Carham, in the north; whence, after performing prodigies of valour, and narrowly escaping with his life, he fled southwards, and made a second stand at the town of Doncaster, whither he was chased by the Danish army. Egbert was here joined by much succour, when he again "measured strength" with the Danes, and completely routed them.*

Previously to Egbert's expedition into the north, it would appear that he and his army were stationed at Conisbrough, where a messenger arrived to inform him of the descent of the Danes, and solicited him immediately to march, and endeavour to thwart their devastating progress.† On his defeat, he most probably availed himself of the protection afforded by the castle, and securing the pass at Doncaster, held the Danes at bay until further assistance arrived. That this was the case, is in full unison with the locality of the places, and deducible from the language of our poetical authority. Between Conisbrough and Doncaster, the Don is nowhere fordable, except in dry seasons; consequently, the possession of these two places enabled the Saxons, or rather the Anglo-Saxons, to hold the Danes in check for almost any length of time.

From the same authority we may also learn, that the Danes occupied the northern bank of the Don for some time, ere the force of Egbert became much augmented; and notwithstanding that the pagans had decidedly the advantage over the Christians, the former were not in a condition to force the passage of the river, until the arrival of the thirty-five ships in the Humber, when they soon found their number greatly increased. On this occasion it was, that Egbert exclaimed, "God wote now comes my travaile," an exclamation sufficiently intelligible to impart a correct idea of his critical situation. On the subsequent arrival of his nephew, "Sibright, duke of Brails," with other assistance, he successfully opposed the united energies of number and desperation.‡

* Langtoft's Chron. vol. i. p. 17. See also Leland's Coll. vol. ii. fol. 520.

† Sone after the wyntere, whan the somer bigan,
The Kyng and his meyne went to Burgh-Konan.
It was on Whitsunday, in tyme of slepyng,
Kom messengers of the north, and teld Egbright the Kyng,
Through Frithbald, a lorde of the Northende,
And sayd "Sir Egbright, our chief king to tille lende,
Suffer not sir Frithbald long to lede this pyne."

‡ On this memorable occasion,

"Haldayn of Donkastre, was chosen that ilk day,
To bear the kyng's banere ageyne the palin lay."

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that in making Northumbria the theatre of these transactions, we have followed implicitly the British annals, which, it is to be lamented, often materially differ from the Saxon story. Langtoft has minutely, but not elegantly described the causes and consequences of the operations north of the Humber. Leland, too, on the authority of an old chronicle written in French, says, that in the "33 yere of Ecbrigthe, the Danis arrived at Lindisfarne, and fought with the Engles at Carham, wher 2 Bishoppes and 2 English Countes were slayne, and greate numbre of people. And a 2 yeres after the Danes arrivid yn Westwales, where Egbricht over cam them at Hengistendon." Here it will be seen, that the chronicle agrees with our poetical author, relative to the arrival of the Danes in the North, and the subsequent battle at Carham, but he is silent as to any martial operations in the vicinity of Doncaster. On this occasion, as well as on many others, the Saxon chronicles most certainly seem best entitled to credit, and the battle which we, on the authority of British history, have brought to Northumbria, is carried to Charmouth in Dorsetshire, by those who prefer the Saxon account. We, however, are disposed to believe, that the British annals on this occasion, as well as on some others, are entitled to a closer investigation than they have hitherto received.

From the age of Egbert, to that of Hen. VIII., no military transaction of any note ever stained with blood the face of this district; or at least, we are not aware that any are on record, although a period of full seven hundred years had elapsed. After the subversion of the octarchy by the former monarch, fewer causes of internal war existed. The division of a country like Britain into a number of smaller kingdoms, was at all times productive of much animosity. The jarring interests of petty chiefs, and the private piques of proud and domineering courtiers, presented on all occasions an insuperable bar to domestic tranquility and social concord.

On the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., a vast concourse of monks, friars, &c. were turned loose into the world, without any means of support whatever. The idle and the dissipated, the saint and the devil, were alike the objects of want, the victims of despair, or the tools of the designing. Those powerful and efficient materials were first concentrated and ignited in the county of Lincoln, where a body of full 20,000 men were assembled, under the guidance of Dr. Mackarel, Prior of Barlings, who on this occasion assumed the name of Captain Cobler; and although it at first presented a very menacing attitude, it was crushed without much trouble, by the Duke of Suffolk.

Immediately on the suppression of the Lincolnshire revolt, one of a more formidable nature broke out in the county of York. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of things at court, this rebellion was suffered to proceed, until its aspect became truly alarming. The origin of this, like the one already adverted to, may with much

justice be attributed to the influence of the monks, and other ecclesiastics; who, alive to the consequences of the impending storm, endeavoured to thwart the purposes of the king by a threatening attitude.

To revive the perishing cause of monkery, every artifice was employed by the ascetics that ingenuity could devise; and their persuasive eloquence wrought so effectually on the ignorance of the people, that a body of 40,000 men flocked to the standard of the cross, fully equipped with horses, arms, and ammunition. On their banners were painted the five wounds of Christ, "the chalice, the cake, and other like devices of the church of Rome; and upon their sleeves were written the name of the Lord."

In order to bind themselves more closely to the object of their assembly, and to each other, the following oath was administered: "Ye shall not enter into this our pilgrimage of grace for the commonwealth, but only for the love that you do bear to Almighty God, his faith, and the only church militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the King's person, his issue, to the purification of the nobility, and to expel from the King and his privy council, all villany and evil counsellors; and that ye shall not enter into this our said pilgrimage for any particular profit for yourselves, nor to do displeasure to any private person, but by council for the commonwealth; nor flee, nor murder for envy; but in your hearts put away all fear and dread, and take before you the cross of Christ, and in your hearts his faith, the restitution of the church, the suppression of heretics, and their opinions, by all the contents of this holy book."

In their advance southwards, they restored to the forsaken monasteries their old occupiers; persuading some, and compelling others, to join their "martial throng." The strong old castle of Pontefract, after a short and faint resistance, was by the Archbishop of York and the Lord Darcy, surrendered to the insurgents, while the towns of York and Hull were at their mercy;* but in their attempts to reduce the castles of Scarbrough and Skipton, they were less successful, being foiled by the Earl of Cumberland and Sir Ralph Evers.

Pursuing the advantages which they had gained, this formidable band of rebels were permitted to advance so far south as Scausby-lees, near Doncaster; on which heath they established their camp, and concentrated their scattered force. The Earl of Shrewsbury was the first that dared to attempt an arrest of their further progress. which he ventured to do without his Majesty's authority. This assumption of power gave, for a short time, strong reason to infer, that he armed in defence of

* Speed, fol. 140.

the rebel cause ; but his subsequent conduct taught both the King and the country, that though a catholic, he was not disposed to encourage insubordination, or give countenance to the lawless proceedings of an unruly, and tyrannical mob.*

During these transactions in the North, active measures were adopting in the south, to stop their further progress. The King, in order to gain time, and amuse the enemy, dispatched an herald with a proclamation. An audience was given to the messenger by Aske, the rebel commander, who, sitting in state, supported on his right by the Archbishop of York, and on his left by the Lord Darcy, heard the contents of the proclamation ; but not meeting with his concurrence, he forbade its publication before the army.† On this being represented to the King, he despatched the Duke of Norfolk into the north, with a small army hastily collected, who joined the Earl of Shrewsbury, then stationed on Wheatley-hills, which are about two miles from the heath where Aske and his army were encamped, on the 26th of October, 1536. Here they were joined by the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, and the Marquess of Exeter, whose united force did not exceed 5,000 men.‡ Had the insurgents taken possession of the bridge, nothing could have saved the royalists from destruction, but a hasty and successful flight. The occupation of this vital post was of incalculable benefit to the King's party, and proves beyond a doubt, that Shrewsbury held the town of Doncaster, ere the arrival of the rebels on Scausby-lees ; for we cannot for a moment suppose, that the latter would have preferred the barren heath of a desolate common, to the populous town of Doncaster ; or that they would have neglected to have availed themselves of the only sure pass over the Don. To this fortunate event may be ascribed the ultimate success of pacific overtures.

Success, and superiority in number, were circumstances sufficiently powerful to command the attention of the rebel chiefs ; while delay, on the contrary, was not less calculated to alarm them, and rouse to action every energy and solicitude of which they were masters. Considerations of this nature, together with the enthusiasm of the corps, and a deficiency in their finances, impelled Aske and his confederates to

* Speed, fol. 1036. According to Fleming, an idea of the same nature was generally prevalent amongst his own men. This rather troubled the noble Earl, and to persuade them to the contrary, " he caused the multitude of his soldiours to come before him, and there declared to them, that he understood what lewd talke had beene raised of his meaning among them in the campe, as he favoured the part of the rebels. But, said he, ' whatsoever their colourable pretense may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas, my ancestors have beene ever true to the crowne, I mean not to staine my blood now in joining with such a sorte of traitors, but to live and die in defence of the crowne, if it stood but upon a stake : and therefore, those that will take my part in this quarrel, I have to thank them ; and, if there be aile that be otherwise minded, I would wish them hence.' " P. 942.

† The countenance of Aske was so terribly awing, that some say the herald fell on his face, the moment that he beheld him.

‡ Miller's Don. p. 46. He says, that the rebel army did not amount to more than 20,000 ; but we shall, probably, not far err in naming 40,000. Vid. Speed, Hume, Henry, &c. Baker says, that the number under the command of Aske was 40,000.

determine upon an engagement without further parley. But in the night preceding the meditated attack, the current of the Don became so swelled by a heavy rain, that it was found impossible to be forded. Their second resolution was defeated by the same cause; a coincidence, in that age, well adapted to arouse superstitious fears, and induce a belief that fate frustrated their designs, and rendered their power impotent.

Conscious of an inferiority in numerical strength, the Earl well knew the importance of time; he therefore proposed a cessation of hostilities, to which the rebels unwisely agreed. In the interim of this short interval, the Earl remonstrated with the insurgents. Holding forth the King's affection for his people, his solicitude for their welfare, and his readiness to redress any grievance of which they could reasonably complain, he paved the way to negotiation rather than a decision by the sword, the result of which he had just reason to fear. This conference had the desired effect, and the pilgrims agreed to forward a petition to the King, by the hands of Sir Ralph Elleker and Mr. Bowes, with which they were to be accompanied by the Duke.

On their arrival at court, they found the King preparing for a journey to Northampton, where he had commanded an army to rendezvous until his coming. But the Duke convinced him that such steps were wholly unnecessary; that the rebels were discontented; and at war amongst themselves; that desertions were hourly taking place, and that patience and policy would be much more effective than a coercive system.

The reasoning of the Duke, on this occasion, was not only sound and politic, but probably selfish and interested. For we ought to bear in mind, that his Grace was a firm and staunch adherent to the Roman church, and therefore opposed to the measures which the King was then labouring to pursue. This state of mind would considerably influence the arguments used by the Duke on this memorable occasion. The dangers of a compulsory system would be exaggerated, and the necessity of moderation powerfully recommended.

The dilemma in which the Duke was placed, was most certainly one of a very delicate and peculiar character. In opposing the demands of the insurgents, he was opposing a cause which he heartily cherished; while on the other hand, a too anxious solicitude to effect a reconciliation might betray to his prince a partiality for the cause of the rebels, founded more on love, than loyalty and justice. However, after a very protracted conference, the Duke succeeded in obtaining pardon for the whole, with the exception of ten persons, six named and four unnamed, and a commission, authorizing him, with several others, to meet at Doncaster, in order to treat on and settle the conditions of peace. On the 6th of December, therefore, after hostages

had been demanded by the rebels, and four sent, about three hundred of the rebel associates immediately repaired to the appointed place, in conformity with the direction of the commission. Their demands were nearly of the same nature as those submitted to the King by Elleker and Bowes, which, for the gratification of the curious, we will here give verbatim.*

1. First, to declare to the Duke of Norfolk, and other the Lordys, that th' entent of our meeting of our partie, surely is meant and thought of assured troth, without any manner of disceyte, or male engyne.

2. The second is, to receiue the Kings sauecundyth vndre the Brode Seale of Englonde, and to deliure our sauecundyth, and promise, vndre owre hands, for the Lordys there.

3. The third, to entreate of owre generall perdon for all causys, and all persons, which be within the Realme, wyche in herte, word, or deed assentyd, edyter procured, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods; and that in the said perdon, nor other the Kings records, we be not witon reputed, ne taken, as rebyleous or tretors, nor rehersyd in the same.

4. The fourth, that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bande or serte, be not at owre metyng at Doncaster, but abcente themselfe from the Councell.

5. The fift, to receiue the Kings answer by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifie the vere etent thereof to vs there.

Also, to know what authority the Lords haue to etreate, in promes with vs ther, as well of owre promes of other things.

Also, to know what plege the wyll deliuer for our Capitana.

Also, yf thys pertyculars be concluded, then for to condyscend of other pertyculars.

1. the first touching our faith, to haue the heresydes of Luther, Wyclyf, Hussee, Melancton, Ecolampadius, Busyrs, the Confession Germane, the Aplege of Melancton, the werke of Tyndale, of Bernys, Fryth, of Marshall, Rastell, the Bookes of Sent Germane, and such other of any manner Heresie, without the Realme, not to be kept, but vterly to be dystryed.†

2. The secund, to haue the supreme of the Chyrch toching cure of sowlle to be reseruyd to the See of Rome, as byfore hyt whas accustomyd for to be; and to haue the consecration of Byshoppys from him without any first fruts, or pencyons to him to be payde out of this Realme, ellys a pencion reasonable for the outwarde defence of our faith.

Also, we beseke humble our most drade Soueraign Lord, that the Lady Mary may be legetymate, and the estatutes contrary to the same to be anulyd for the dome of the tytle that might incur to the Crowne by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

* Among the commissioners sent from the pilgrims' camp, were, Lords Nevell, Darcy, Stressre, Lumley, and Latimer, Sir W. Constable, Sir R. Constable, Sir R. Tempest, Sir Thos. Percy, Sir Geo. Darcy, Mr. Robert Aske, Captain; Sir Ralph Clayer, sen., Sir Ralph Clayer, jun., Sir Robert Evers, Sir Ralph Romemer, Sir Wm. Euston, Sir Geo. Lanton, Sir Thos. Hilton, Mr. Robert Constable, Mr. R. Banner, Mr. Wiseroppe, &c. &c. The motive for requiring such a number of the insurgents to attend the conference, may be difficult to name. It has been plausibly thought by some, that it was done with a view of distracting their councils, and perplexing their deliberations.

† Their whole aim was to subvert the gospel.

Also, to haue the Abbeyes that be suppressed to be restoryd to their Lands, Howsys, and Gooda.

Also, to haue the Tents and first fruts clearely dischargyd, onles the Clergy wyll of their selfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crown.

Also, to haue the Freres obseruans restoryd to their houses again.

Also, to haue the Heretiks Bishoppys, and temporall men of their seete to haue condigne ponyment by fire or such other; or ells to trie ther quarrell with vs and our partakers in battell.

Also, to haue the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Ryc. Rych, Knight, to haue condigne ponyment, as subuerters of the gud lawes of the realme; and onetemers sleze sect of this false heretykes fyrst inuenter and brengers of them.

Also, that the Landys in Westmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Dentsyd, Furnes, and the Abbeis lands in York, Worsaidyshire, Kerbyshire, Neuerdale, mayne be Tenant Right, and the lord to haue at euery change two yeres rent, in the name of a agarsumme, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commens vnder their seales; and this to be done by act of Parlement.

Also, the hand-gunnys and crosse-boys, with the penalty of the same to be repelled, onles hyt be in the Kings Forrests and Parkes to kyllers of Deere.

Also, that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may haue condigne ponyshment for their extortions in time of visitation, in brybes, of some religyous houses, x. l. xx. l. and for other summes, besyde horsys, vowens, leases, vnder couent seallys, by them taken, and other abominable acts by them committed and done.

Also, to see reformation for the election of Knights of shire, and the Burgys, and for the vse among the Lords in the parlement after the ancient custome.

Also the Statute for inclosing Intackes to be put in execution, that all Intacks, Inclosys syth Anno quarto Henrici septimi be pullyd downe exceding Forests, and Parkys to be dystrud of their quition, and tax now granted by parliament.

Also, to haue the parlyament in a conuenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, and the same to be so moqed shortly.

Also, that it may enacted by authority of Parlinment, that all recognisans, statutys, penaltys newly feyted during the tyme of the Commission may be pardoned and discharged, as well against the King as stranger.

Also, the priuilege of the Ryght of the Church to be confirmed by act of Parlament, and Prysts not to suffer onles they be degraded; a man to be saued by his Booke; Sanctuary to saue a man in all causes in extreme need, and the Church to saue a man for forty daies; and further according to the laws as they were vsed in the beginning of the Kynngys dayes.

Also, the libertyes of the church to haue their old customs, as the County-Palatine of Durham, Beuerley, Reppon, S. Peter of Yorke, and such other by act of parliament.

Also, to haue the Statute that no man shall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Also, the statute of treason for Wurdys, made sith Anno xxi, of our Soueraign that now is, to be in like wise repelled.

Also, that the common Law may have place as well as was used in the beginning of your gracious reign, and that all Injunctions be clearly denied, and not granted, unless the matter be heard in the chancery, and there determined.

Also, that no man upon sub poena, or Privy Seale, from Trent Northward, appeare but at Yourke, or by Attorney, unless it be directed upon pene of allegiance, or for like matter concerning the King.

Also, a remedy against Exchequer for fining of false Offices, and extortions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and against the promoters thereof.

Such were the demands of the rebels at this celebrated conference, but to which the commissioners on the part of the King had no authority to accede; being of the same nature and tendency as those sent to the court, of which the Duke and two others were bearers.

Under such circumstances, the Duke, as well as some others of the royalists, was involved in the eddies of a perplexing labyrinth, out of which it required the utmost stretch of his policy to extricate himself. Surrounded by quicksands, at once deep and extensive, he resolved again to have recourse to diplomatic measures; he therefore procrastinated the breaking up of the assembly, and wrote to the King. Holding forth the absolute necessity of making some concession in favour of the demands of the insurgents, or an hazardous and unequal conflict would be the consequence, he obliquely advocated the cause of the disaffected, under the mask of loyalty, and thus, by a well timed duplicity, served the end of both parties; for the King immediately sent down a pardon to all, without exception, with a promise, also, that the next parliament should be held in the north.*

On the arrival of this information, the assembled chiefs, &c. at Doncaster, repaired to their respective stations, and the insurgents forthwith dispersed, with a full confidence of being speedily heard within the precincts of their own country.

On a review of all the circumstances connected with the origin and progress of this commotion, a variety of weighty considerations crowd upon our minds. To the King, its dissolution was of vital importance—probably the salvation of his crown, and a prevention of the re-establishment of popery on its broadest basis. The advocates of that profession were numerous, respectable, and in the possession of very considerable influence. The relative situation of the neighbouring potentates was also a lucky coincidence; for the King of Scotland, a restless and ambitious sovereign, was then on the continent, and the Emperor of Austria and the King of France were then engaged in a violent and bloody war: so that the malecontents were prohibited from deriving any aid from foreign powers. Had not either the fears, or sound policy, or both, of the Duke, prevailed over the mad obstinacy of the King, civil discord

* Herbert, p. 207.

might have been prolonged, the mania of disaffection more widely spread, and foreign assistance procured; for little doubt can remain, but that on a trial of strength between Aske and the Duke, the former must have been the victor; and in proportion to the extent of his success, would he have modelled the nature of his demands.

Although peace was thus apparently restored, the King was conscious that the fire of rebellion was not extinguished, but that the sparks of insubordination still lurked among the embers of discontent; and the Duke had yet the disagreeable orders to continue in the north.

In these conjectures, his Majesty was not mistaken; for another insurrection reared its baleful head in the county of Cumberland, under the direction of Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, who, at the head of 8,000 men, besieged Carlisle; but they were ultimately repulsed by the bravery of the citizens, and speedily afterwards discomfited by the Duke of Norfolk, who, wearied by the demon of discord, wholly discarded his former arts, and hung no fewer than seventy of his prisoners, by authority of martial law.

To enter further into the commotions which at that time agitated the kingdom, would not be in unison with the design of this Introduction; we shall, therefore, after briefly observing, that those successive attempts to erect the standard of revolt, and render anarchy general, so enraged the king, that he lost all sense of the brightest jewel that can adorn the crown. Lord Darcy, Sir R. Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and Robert Aske, with many others, were executed, either by fire, axe, or halter; while his fury against the less offending and injured monks, &c. was equally summary. "John Paslaw, Abbot of Whalley, com. Linc.; John Castegate and William Haddock, of the same house; Robert Hobs, Abbot of Woburne, com. Bedf.; Adam Sudbury, Abbot of Geruaux, with Astbeed, a monk of that house; the Abbot of Lawley, com. Lanc., and the Prior of the same house; William Wold, Prior of Bridlington; the Parson of Pudington; five priests in Lincolnshire, and with them their chief, Captain Cobler, and John Allen, priest, were all hanged."* The body of Aske was brought to York, and hung in chains on one of the towers of Micklegate-bar. These sanguinary measures, together with an allowance of pensions to the monks, nuns, &c., were effective in the restoration of tranquillity.

In the narration of this affair, we have been somewhat more prolix than in the preceding ones; from a conviction of its importance in a national point of view, and in consequence of this wapentake being the theatre on which this portentous and political drama was exhibited in its most material parts.

* Speed, fol. 1642.

In the fierce and unnatural contests between King Charles and his subjects, this district appears to have escaped the scourge of domestic fury; or at least, no very material event, civil or military, marred the quiet of its yeomanry. Some few skirmishes occurred between small and local bodies of soldiery; devastation and carnage marked the progress of larger corps; while sacrilege and havoc accompanied the steps of each, to an excess of wantonness and extravagance, that will be felt to the remotest generations.

If, however, the division under our review escaped, in a great measure, the marshalling of armies, the clashing of swords, and the inspiring blasts of the echoing trumpet, many of its most wealthy inhabitants took an active part

“ In the intestine shock,
And furious close of civil butchery,”

as will be shewn in the following pages.

Having confined our attention for so long a time to the military transactions of the wapentake, we will now advert briefly to a more pleasing subject. To follow the valiant, heroic, and successful soldier to the field, wholly absorbed the notice of early writers. To him their attention was almost exclusively confined, as to a meteor that travels the etherial space. His exploits, although stained with the blood of thousands, are borne on the wings of fame; his actions are chronologized in history, and chaunted in the ensanguined verse of early bards, and his deeds brought down to succeeding ages, in more colours than were ever assumed by the chameleon of poetic fancy: while the progress of arts, the march of mind, and the less ostentatious, but more useful and innocent avocations were left to

“ The iron tongue of midnight.”

If, as has been judiciously observed by some, our edifices, domestic, military, and ecclesiastical, mark the progress of civilization, its study cannot but be deemed an occupation, highly interesting and richly deserving the notice of every inquisitive mind; and although this small portion of Yorkshire cannot boast of presenting to our view the finest specimens of ancient art, sufficient remain to command our attention, excite our admiration, create our wonder, and humble our pride. Commencing first with the ecclesiastical.

As it respects the structures of the aborigines of our island, whether domestic, civil, military, or sacerdotal, but little information is extant; and the most that we know of the latter, is, that they deemed it unlawful, and highly insulting to Deity, to tender him worship within the confines of a temple built by mortal hands.*

* Tac. De Mor. Germ. cap. ix. By enclosed temples, we would be understood to mean such edifices as were closed in at top, similar to their circular huts.

The account of druidical temples, transmitted to us by Roman and other writers, together with their remains in various parts of the British empire, point out their formation to have been a circular area, generally enveloped in the midst of consecrated groves. That they were on all occasions situate in the bosom of thick woods and dense foliage, is somewhat doubtful; and notwithstanding the testimony of the ancients, &c. we are disposed to believe, that Stonehenge, together with one or two other similar temples, may have been seated on open champaign ground.

On this highly interesting question, the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine have lately exhibited some well written essays. Controversy, when carried on with a view to elicit truth, does much service to the commonwealth of letters; and it is but justice to observe, that the lucubrations of the gentlemen, who have for some months contributed to amuse the public through the medium of that matchless repository of antiquities, have stood aloof from any thing like ill-nature, and laboured, on the basis of facts, to establish a rational and consistent theory.

On a subject so far thrown into the gloom of early ages, it were useless, however, to expect the accuracy of a mathematical theorem. Obscured by the revolution of ages, the hand of man, and the slaves of ignorance and superstition, most of the relics of paganism have sunk beyond recovery. Nevertheless, every attempt at their revival has the hearty good wishes of all well organized and liberal minds. It is the gloomy bigot only that fears the investigation of the subject, and shrinks from the agitation of a question, much more likely to enhance the value of Christianity, than hazard its downfall.

In our succinct endeavours to ascertain the real site and formation of the druidical temples, spoken of by early writers and now existing, we shall refrain from entering into an investigation touching their original, their mythological creed, and importance of character, any further than is necessary to illustrate the positions we may find it needful to assume, and the theory we feel disposed to espouse.

Concerning their formation, there is only one opinion; all agree that they were of a circular figure, or as near to that shape as the nature of the ground would admit. This is rendered abundantly manifest by such as yet remain entire in several parts of the British empire, as well as in France, &c.; but their usual sites unfortunately are not so obvious as a superficial observer might be led to imagine.

We have before remarked, that for a period of more than twelve months, a controversy has been maintained relative to the true situation of those monuments of antiquity, which the learning and industry of Borlase and Rowland had apparently placed on a basis of security. The mind of man, ever prying and inquisitive, is

sometimes too apt to take its aerial flight into the regions of fancy, and cull the flowers of a warm and vivid imagination, which his more sober judgment is often willing to realize. This, in an eminent degree is frequently the case with the zealous antiquary.

From Cæsar, &c. we learn, that the doctrines of the Druids were never committed to writing, for fear that they should become known to the profanely vulgar;* for the prevention of which, Mela informs us, that they taught their disciples the mysteries of their creed, in places of the greatest privacy; such as caves in the earth, and the impenetrable recesses of the thickest woods.† On this occasion, Lucan sings:

"The Druids now, while arms are heard no more,
Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore;
A tribe, who singular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove;
To these, and these of all mankind alone,
The Gods are sure revealed, or sure unknown."

Rowe.‡

To the testimony of Mela and Lucan, we may add that of Tacitus, Pliny, &c.; the former of whom, in the fourteenth book of his *Annals*, observes of Suetonius; that after he had subdued the island of Anglesey. "*Dein, corhortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulant, ne muliebri et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium posthac impositum victis; excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deus, fas habebant.*"§ The latter also, when speaking of the various forest trees, remarks, "that the Druids hold nothing more sacred than the mistletoe, and the tree in which it grows, providing it be an oak. Therefore they choose solitary groves, wherein are no trees but the oak; nor do they perform any ceremonies without the branches or leaves of that tree;|| and Ovid singeth:

"Ad viscum Druidæ, Druidæ clamare solebant."

If the custom of erecting temples and altars in groves of oak and other trees was wholly confined to the Gallic and British Druids, and adopted by no other nation in early times, we might then, with some colour of justice, call in question the testimony of the authorities we have cited; but fortunately, the whole range of

* De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 13, Delph. ed. p. 122. See also the notes in the same page;

† Ib. lib. iii. cap. 8.

‡ Rowe's Lucan, lib. i.

§ Tac. Ann. lib. xiv. p. 80. The "luci" in this transcript has been thought by some not to be genuine; but if difficulties are thus to be surmounted, what portion of the writings of the ancients may we not screw on the spindle of our own hypothesis? Vid. *Gent. Mag.* for April, 1824. Strabo says, that the Romans used every means in their power to extirpate the druids, but without success. Vid. *Duglass' New. Brit.* p. 174.

|| Tac. Ann. lib. xvi. cap. 44.

history, sacred and profane, comes in aid of their veracity, and proclaims it in terms too definite to admit of doubt, or be liable to question with any prospect of success.

Abraham planted a grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God.* But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and cut down their groves.† But thus shall ye deal with them, ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire.‡ And ye shall overthrow their altars, and break down their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall bow down the graven images of their Gods, and destroy the name of them out of that place.§ Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee.|| And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men.¶ Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys, under the cliffs of the rocks.‡ Then shall ye know that I am the Lord, when their slain shall be among their idols, round about their altars, upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and under every green tree, and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols.** They sacrifice upon the top of the mountain, and burn incense upon the hills under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good.††

A great number of other passages might be brought forward from the sacred writings, but sufficient have been adduced to shew, that to resort to groves and consecrated woods, for the purpose of sacrifice and worship, was a custom too much in use in the time of Moses and the holy prophets. Dr. Adam Clark, when commenting on the 33d verse of the 21st chapter of the book of Genesis, observes, "that the original Hebrew word, *Eshel*, has been variously translated, viz. a grove, a plantation, an orchard or cultivated field, and an oak. From this word, Mr. Parkhurst thinks, may be derived the name of the famous asylum opened by Romulus between two groves of oaks, at Rome, 'so we find the oaks were sacred amongst the idolaters also.' Ye shall be ashamed of the oaks ye have chosen, says Isaiah to the idolatrous Israelites; and in Greece, we meet in very early times with the oracle of Jupiter, at the oaks of Dodona. Among the Greeks and Romans, we have 'sacra Jovi quercus,'

* Gen. cap. xxi. † Exod. cap. xxiv. ‡ Deut. cap. vii. § Ibid. cap. xii. || Ibid. cap. xvi.

¶ 2 Kings, cap. xviii. † Isaiah, cap. lvii. ** Ezek. cap. vi. ver. 6 and 13.

†† Hosea, cap. iv. See also cap. x. The wretched superstition of the druids was curbed, but not annihilated, by the Romans. The Saxons and the Danes revived it, and probably added to, rather than diminished its gloomy aspect. Hills, encircled with a vallum, the foss inside, are supposed by Sir R. C. Hoare to be sites of sacred groves. See also Du Cange v. Nimeda, Nitas. Fosbrooke says, that they are respected in Scotland at this day.

the oak sacred to Jupiter, even to a proverb. And in Gaul and Britain, we find the highest religious regard paid to the same tree, and to the mistletoe, under the direction of the druids, i. e. the oak prophets, or priests, from the Celtic *deru*, which is derived from the *δρυς* of the Greeks." The temple of Vulcan, in Sicily, was situated in the gloom of a thick wood; that of Cybele, in the grove of Ida; that of Jupiter Hammon, as is above noted, in the grove of Dodona; and that of Apollo, in the grove of Daphne. The Persians erected their altars on high hills, and the Indians worshipped their deities under tall green trees. Maximus Tyrius tells us, that the Celtic race worshipped Jupiter, of whom they make the highest oaks the representative; and Golluh, in his *Memoirs of Franch Comite*, informs us, that one of the druidical maxims was, that none should be instructed but in the sacred groves. Tacitus repeatedly mentions the sacred groves of the Germans. "Effigiesque, et signa quædam, detracta lucis, in prælium ferunt." Again, "Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud: quod sola reverentia vident." And further, "Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, cæsoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor, et potestatem numinis præ se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia." From Ross we likewise learn, that the old Lithuanians, Petonians, Hungarians, &c. ascribed divinity and worship to trees; and the taller the tree, the more adoration it was deemed worthy to receive; and when the more pure and evangelizing precepts of Jesus were propounded to them, they were exhorted to cut down the objects of their worship; but none would venture to do that, until the preachers of Christianity set the example, and on that being done, they soon began loudly to complain to their prince, of the indignity offered to their gods; "whereupon," says Olave, "the preachers were presently commanded to abandon the country, and so these dogs returned to their vomit." Basil Kennett, in his *Antiquities of Rome*, when speaking of the temples in that "eternal city," observes: "The superstition of consecrating groves and woods to the honour of the deities, was a practice very usual with the ancients. For not to speak of those mentioned in the holy scriptures, Pliny assures us, that 'trees in old times served for the temples of the Gods.' 'The Romans, too, were great admirers of this sort of worship, and therefore had their *luci* in most parts of the city, generally dedicated to some particular deity.'"

The wretched superstition of the Druids was curbed, but not annihilated, by the Romans; changed indeed in aspect, but not rendered more pure in its nature, or less objectionable in its tendency. The Saxons and Danes, strangers to the effulgent

light diffused by the gospel of Jesus, again restored the heathen blind observances, and blocks of stone, trees, fountains, &c. were still honoured by human worship. That this was the case, is proved by a clause in the laws of King Canute, which runs, "We strictly discharge and forbid all our subjects to worship the gods of the Gentiles, i. e. the sun, the moon, fire, rivers, fountains, hills, or any trees and woods of any kind." Ross, whom we have before cited, when describing the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians, asserts, on the authority of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, &c., that their Gymnosophists were philosophers, who had their college in a grove near the banks of the Nile. The same author also reports, on the testimony of Bertius, that the people of Guinea hold certain trees in great veneration, consulting with them as with oracles, and using divers foolish ceremonies.

Thus then we see, that the practice of retiring to their groves and woods, for the purpose of communicating with their gods, was in general use amongst the ancients; how is it, then, that the same system of idolatry is objected to amongst the druids? Were they a distinct race of men, or is it because that the one is better supported than the other, or is the charge wholly unfounded? It would be useless, in this case, to question the testimony of Tacitus, though unsupported by any other writer. Of this fact, the advocates for the new theory seem fully aware; they therefore attempt its invalidation, by assuring their readers, that Tacitus knew nothing about the matter, having never visited Britain. This position we are willing that they should assume, although they cannot prove it to be correctly taken. If Cæsar's Commentaries do not bear him out, they do not contradict him. From whom, then, they ask, did Tacitus obtain his information; or was it his own hardy assertion, his mere *ipse dixit*? Tacitus, it must be acknowledged, relates a great number of events relative to Britain, with which Cæsar could not be acquainted, having discharged the debt of nature long ere their occurrence. And if it be demanded of us, how he acquired his information, we would answer, in the same manner that every other judicious historian obtained the facts on which his theories are built. Agricola, his father-in-law, was resident in Britain for a period of nearly seven years, and traversed the country, from Sandwich to the wall of Severus; he, therefore, would have ample opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with the manners of the Britons, which would be faithfully communicated to him, by that venerable conqueror; and in this instance, he had the advantage-ground of Cæsar, and unquestionably possessed a more intimate knowledge of the customs of our British ancestors, than the transient visit of Cæsar could possibly enable him to acquire.

The advocates for the non-existence of human sacrifice, and temples insulated in the deep recesses of extensive woods, ground their opinion on the ineligibility of the soil, in the vicinage of the relics, and the total absence of either forests, or their remains, at the present period. This, by the by, is no conclusive argument against their for-

mer prevalence. Numberless instances might be brought forward, where neither a forest, nor the relics of a forest are now cognizable, where aboriginal vestiges of a decisive character, too, are still in being. What has become of the boundless *Sylva Caledonia* of the Westminster monk, much of which was standing in the reign of Henry VIII. ? That trackless ocean of wood covered the whole of Derbyshire, much of the southern part of Yorkshire, all Nottinghamshire, and several other counties, and gave name to one of the most extensive portions of ancient Britain, viz. *Coitanni*, or *Coritania*, a compound derived from the *Coit* of the same tongue, signifying a wood. Derby, the capital town of the county of that name, and Deira, the southern division of Northumbria, owe their names, it is probable, to the same circumstance, and may have been derived from the British, *Diar*, oaks, to which, in the former case, the Saxons added their *by*. In this etymon, however, we are wholly singular, and therefore would not insist too far upon its correctness. The original of Derby is however generally ascribed to the Saxon, *Deornaby*, a deer-fold. This mode of derivation, if applicable to Derby, is very inapplicable to that portion of the Northumbrian province placed between the rivers Tyne and Humber. Leland is amongst those who give to the latter a Saxon origin, and refers it to the *Deon* of that language, which imports a wild-beast, ranging at pleasure through a forest or warren. Hence it will be seen, that whether the true original be founded on the British or Saxon tongue, it would seem to have reference to a woody district. All the famous forest of Sherwood, and that vast morass, encircling the Isle of Axholme, under the surface whereof a multitude of "sturdy oaks" yet lie, calculated, apparently, to stem the torrent of time, are a part of that vast wood. The high moors of Derbyshire and Yorkshire were formerly covered with a profusion of wood, as is deducible from the mosses, &c. which in many places now exist under their surfaces. On the subsoil of these parts, the oak, and other kinds of wood, have been frequently found, on sites, too, which have been considered incapable of rearing that "king of the forest." In addition to those evidences, we might also adduce the pages of the Winchester Rolls, and other ancient documents, which, whenever they apply to the matter, rarely fail in bearing out the position that we have assumed.

Mr. Duke, an able and intelligent correspondent with the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, has attempted to prove, that the soil in the immediate neighbourhood of Stonehenge, is totally ineligible to the growth of the oak ; and, if what he there alleges be the result of an extended range of experiment, that noted temple was most certainly never environed by the usual concomitants of a druidical place of worship.* Other instances are likewise put on record by this gentleman, and his friends who have taken part in the controversy. That limestone districts never abound in oak, or that they are peculiarly ill adapted for that end, is not borne out

* *Gent. Mag.* vol. xcii.

by facts. Much of the wood in the vicinity of Sprotbrough, Warmsworth, Edlington, Wadworth, Conisbrough, Tickhill, Roche Abbey, &c. flourishes on a thin limestone soil. Indeed, the noble and majestic oaks surrounding the lovely residence of the Earl of Scarborough, prove the futility of all arguments tending to that end.

Dispensing, however, with any farther observations on this part of the subject, we would beg leave to refer our readers to the second volume of Camden's *Britannia*, where they will find, that woods and groves were held sacred in the highlands of Scotland, so late as the age of Queen Elizabeth. On one occasion he remarks, "In the parish of Killirney, and shire of Nairn, is a grove, encircled with a trench or dry ditch, having two entries into it: all who live near it account it sacred, and will not so much as cut a rod out of it."

The gloomy sanctuaries of the Druids were most certainly in full unison with their religious creed. The mysterious obscurity, and "deep tranquillity," attendant on these stupendous temples, were sufficient to awe, if not to tranquillize the throbbing hearts of the ignorant and superstitious devotees. Immured in the shade of a vast, thick, and mazy wood, the approaches to which, it is probable, were zig-zag and intricate, no fitter place could have been devised to entangle the mind of man during the reign of "superstition's monarch." Night is ever favourable to meditation, but it is also the prolific mother of idle fancies and fanatic schemes: hence it is, that most of our monastic cells were placed in deep dells and recluse corners. All our most early religious edifices were from the same cause, also, left extremely gloomy, and it was not until the reign of the second or third Edward, that the orb of day could find access to their interior.

Convinced as we are, as to the truth of the old theory, we are not so "wedded to it," as to believe it to be without exceptions. Cæsar expressly mentions the private and public sacrifices of the Druids. "*Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur.*"* And when we call to our remembrance the care which was exercised by that body of men, to prevent their doctrines from being generally known and understood, we can scarcely suppose, that the place where was held their national synod, would be the theatre of their initiatory discipline. The interpretation of the will of the Gods, the education of children, the choice of a successor, the chaunting of their mysterious rites, &c. belonging exclusively to the druids, would, it is reasonable to suppose, be exercised at their private altars, to which the sacred tribe only would gain admission; while on all occasions of universal interest, with the attendance of the archdruid, a general assembly of the order, together with the principal nobility of the nation or district,

* *De Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 12.*

would repair to a temple of greater magnitude, and more national character. The great annual assembly in Gaul, was at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes; and it is not unlikely, that all national conferences, for the south and west of England were held on Salisbury plain.*

Mr. Duke acknowledges, that the "ancient authors certainly represent the druids as resorting to woods and groves," and confesses, that "he knows not how to reconcile such representations with the fact, that the structures of stone usually denominated druidical temples, are ever found in the most open and champaign countries." In this assertion, Mr. Duke, we conceive, is not fully borne out by facts. The noted temple in the county of Derby, called Arbourlow, is not in a champaign country; but, on the contrary, it is placed on a height, but little exceeded in elevation by any in that mountainous district. Numberless other temples, highly elevated, may be met with in several parts of the United Kingdom.

Difficult however as a reconciliation may seem, the whole problem would be solved if it were admitted that two orders of temples had then existence, public and private. Both are spoken of by Cæsar, and both remain, if magnitude in dimensions and eligibility in construction be allowed as criterions for judgment; but the former being more extensive and better calculated to resist the encroachments of time, continues the most prominently bold and conspicuous,

Thus then we see, that the temples of our British ancestors were probably of two kinds, and destined for two very different ends. Both were circular, enclosed by a foss, and consisted of rude upright stones with occasional transoms, unskilfully mortised. In the centre of the area, was placed the *sanctum sanctorum*, in which was situated the altar, whereon the priest sacrificed, and attempted to learn the will of the Gods by an inspection of the quivering limbs, &c. of the immolated victim. On all important occasions, and when threatened by the calamities of war, they scrupled not to sacrifice their fellow men at the shrine of Mars, and thus impiously endeavoured to appease the wrath of God by human blood.†

This mode of learning the will of the deity, forms, in our estimation, one of the most objectionable traits in the history of idolatry, and exhibits in a striking manner, the depraved state into which the human intellect had sunk, ere the promulgation of Christianity.

* Cæsar, ut ant.

† De Bel. Gal. cap. xv. and the note in the same page. Tacitus has recently been called "a base calumniator," by a gentleman bearing the signature of Merlin in the Gentleman's Magazine, May 1824, for attributing human sacrifices to the druids. Had Merlin, however, taken the pains to consult Cæsar, Pliny, Suetonius, Lucan, Cato, Justin, &c. he would have spared his invective; for no fact in ancient history can be better established; not only as it respects the Britons, but other nations likewise.

Concerning the altar of the ancients, that indispensable requisite of a temple, Mr. Toland thus remarks: "The Druids' altars were commonly in the middle of the templés, near the great Colossus, of which presently; as there is now such a one at Carn-Lhechart in the parish of Lhan-Gyvelach in Glamorganshire, besides that which I mentioned before in Scotland. They are by the Welsh in the singular number called *Kist-vaen* that is a stone-chest, and in the plural *Kistieu-vaen*, stone-chests. These names, with a small variation, are good Irish: but the things quite different from those real stone-chests or coffins, commonly of one block and the lid, that are in many places found under ground. The vulgar Irish call these altars *Dermot and Grania's bed*. This last was the daughter of the King *Cormac Ulfhad*, and Wife to *Fin Mac*; from whom, as invincible a general and champion as he is reported to have been, she took it in her head, as women will sometimes have such fancies, to run away with a nobleman, called *Dermont O'Dunny*; but being pursued every where, the ignorant country people say, they were entertained a night in every quarter-land or village of Ireland; where the inhabitants, sympathizing with their affections, and doing to others what they would be done unto, made these beds both for their resting and hiding place. The Poets, you may imagine, have not been wanting to embellish this story: and hence it appears, that the Druids were planted as thick as parish priests, nay, much thicker. Wherever there is a circle without an altar, 'tis certain there was one formerly; as altars are found where the circular obelisks are mostly or all taken away for other uses, or out of aversion to this superstition, or that time has consumed them. They, who, from the bones, which are often found near those altars and circles, tho' seldom within them, will needs infer, that they were burying places; forget what Cæsar, Pliny, Tacitus, and other authors, write of the human sacrifices offered by the Druids: and in mistaking the ashes found in the carns, they show themselves ignorant of those several anniversary fires and sacrifices, for which they were reared, as we have shown above. The huge coping stones of these carns were in the nature of altars, and altars of the lesser form are frequently found near them; as now in great Latin and Greek churches, there are, besides the high altar, several smaller ones. There is another kind of altar much bigger than either of these, consisting of a great number of stones; some of them serving to support the others, by reason of their enormous bulk. These the Britons term *Cromlech* in the singular, *Cromlechu* in the plural number; and the Irish *Cromleach* or *Cromleac*, in the plural *Cromleacha* or *Cromleacca*. By these altars, as in the centre of the circular temples, there commonly stands, or by accident lies, a prodigious stone, which was to serve as a pedestal to some Deity: for all these Cromleachs were places of worship, and so called from bowing, the word signifying the bowing-stone. There is a Cromlech in Nevern parish in Pembrokeshire, where the middle stone is still eighteen feet high, and nine broad towards the base, growing narrower upwards. There lies by it a piece broken off, ten feet long, which seems more than twenty oxen can draw: and therefore they were not void of

all skill in the mechanics, who could set up the whole. But one remaining at Poitiers in France, supported by five lesser stones, exceeds all in the British Islands, being sixty feet in circumference."

Such being the formation of the ecclesiastical edifices of our British ancestors, it would be in vain to look for beauty and proportion, in structures so rudely and simply formed. In the preparation of the materials, the chisel was but sparingly used. Solidity and vastness, it would seem, constituted the acme of perfection; while mystery and obscurity veiled the mimicry of the votaries of their mythology.

On the advent of the Romans, and their eventual establishment in this island, a different order of temples soon became prevalent; and instead of the rude and shapeless block, magnitude and grace were associated with the gorgeous hierarchy of that ambitious people. Within the confines of our district, however, we are not aware that such an establishment had existence; unless their station at Doncaster was furnished with an edifice of that character. Such a circumstance is within the scope of probability.

In their temples, the Romans closely imitated the Greeks, allowing for difference, the improvement which experience and lapse of time generally produce. The principles were the same, but the former people decorated the capitals, the entablature, &c. with a greater profusion of ornament; but how far it added to the dignity of the whole, is a questionable matter. Whatever number of these structures were erected during the Roman domination, and wherever situated, the intestine broils and civil commotions, which distracted the Britons, after the abandonment of this island by the former people, together with the barbarous and gothic conduct of the Saxons, &c., soon so far demolished them, that scarce one stone was left upon another. After the Saxons became evangelized by the pure and wholesome doctrine of Jehovah, a disposition to re-establish and erect sacred edifices, soon became a ruling passion, and churches were built in almost every part of the British empire.

Notwithstanding that great numbers of parochial edifices were in being ere the commencement of the twelfth century, that era is generally considered to be the most prolific in erections of that nature; and although several are on record in the book of Domesday, and other ancient documents, the number there mentioned, does not constitute above one-sixth of what we now see dispersed over every part of the country. The few edifices that were raised in the days of Edgar, Edward, and other pious princes, were in a great measure pulled down, and rebuilt on a more substantial and enlarged plan. "The religious of every order, enjoying peace and prosperity, displayed the most astonishing ardour in every thing that might increase the splendour of divine worship. The fervent zeal of the faithful, prompted them to pull

down houses and churches everywhere, and rebuild them in a better manner," is the language of a contemporary historian.*

The style of architecture prevalent at that zealous period, did not much differ from that of the Anglo-Saxons, the churches being generally, "plain, low, strong, and dark," having arches of a semicircular make, and nearly devoid of ornamental appendages, examples of which are still extant in the Town-hall of the borough of Doncaster;† in the western door of Hatfield church; in the interior of Aston, Wombwell, &c., as will appear in the progress of our present work.

The difficulty of marking the distinguishing features of a Norman and Saxon church, is indeed very great: and it is to be lamented, that artists competent to the task should have wholly confined their researches to the larger and more popular edifices, without even bestowing the least attention on our more humble, but often not less interesting country structures, on which the busy hand of imaginary improvement, and the gothic innovations of modern architects, have not exercised their ingenuity, and mangled by their want of skill. This difficulty, however, it is necessary to remark, is applicable only to the latter Saxon and early Norman buildings. The near approach to the extremes of each are marked by characteristic lineaments, sufficiently prominent to denote the order to which they belong with tolerable accuracy.

The Saxon churches, observes the Rev. J. Bentham, "were often elegant fabrics, and well constructed, as has often been observed before, but generally of a moderate size, frequently begun and ended in five or six years, or less time. The works of the Normans were large, sumptuous, and magnificent; of great length and breadth, and carried up to a proportionate height, with two, and sometimes three ranges of pillars, one over another, of different dimensions, connected together by various arches, (all of them circular,) forming thereby a lower and upper portico, and over them a gallery; and on the outside, three tiers of windows. In the centre, was a lofty strong tower, and sometimes one or two more added at the west end, the front of which generally extended beyond the side aisles of the nave or body of the church."‡

* Orderic. Vital. Hist. Eccles. lib. x. p. 778, as cited by Dr. Henry. Edgar is said to have built about forty monasteries. *Ing. Hist.* p. 29.

† The Saxon edifices, observes Mr. Bentham, were, "so far as we can judge, mostly square, or rather, oblong buildings, and generally turned circular at the east end; in form, nearly, if not exactly resembling the *basilica*, or courts of justice, in great cities, throughout the Roman empire." The oblong make of the old desecrated church of St. Mary, in Doncaster, is yet strikingly manifest.

‡ Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 33.

This mode of definition, however, the attentive reader will not fail to observe, is not sufficient to serve our purpose in every case, as it entirely refers to buildings of the very first magnitude, and is therefore not universally applicable.

The Saxon and Norman orders are not so denominated, because that they were invented by those people, but in consequence of their exclusive prevalence during their dynasty in Britain. The style which they adhered to was the Grecian, or as ~~quite~~ a specimen of that system, as the declining state of the art amongst them would permit, and which was first brought hither by the Romans, about the time of the nativity of our Saviour.

Most of the churches in the wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill, present a mixed and motley species of architectural skill; and it is a singular fact, that the portals of several of them exhibit an earlier origin than any other portion of the sacred structure. Such, for instance, is the case at Austerfield, Bawtry, Finningley, Easington, Firbeck, St. John's, near Laughton, and several others.

Singular, however, as is this circumstance, it is not wholly without a parallel case. The Rev. John Milner, the able and eloquent historian of Winchester, remarks, "that it is not uncommon to meet with portals of churches, which, from their known dates, as well as from the manner of their building, may be pronounced Saxon. Such, for instance, is the door-way of Essenden church, near Stamford.

"These portals are generally round-headed, and contain rude carvings in the circular part, whilst the door itself is of a square form. In other respects, Saxon fabrics are known by their comparatively small dimensions; by the thickness of their walls, without buttresses, and the diminutive size of their windows, which have round heads, and are without mullions; by certain low cones, which frequently cover the towers, and flank the corners of the buildings; finally, by the coarseness of the work."*

The interior of Wickersley, Thorpe-Salvain, Blyth, Carlton, and several other churches in this district, display evident signs of either Saxon or early Norman architecture, in the arches which sustain the naves; while the churches of Rossington, Bramwith, &c. exhibit, in the arches under which we pass out of the naves into the chancels, fair specimens of the Saxon chevron.

Those of later date, present a rich display of Norman art, and command our attention by the grotesque figures which too frequently decorate the exterior and

* Milner's Essay, p. 28.

interior; this is particularly the case at Austerfield, Aston, Fishlake, St. John's, Edlington, &c.; while the grand and truly antique font, in the church of Thorpe-Salvayn, presents to our view a fine example of Saxon ornaments, the subjects of which are selected from Scripture.

In whatever science innovation may be admitted, its adoption, on a general scale, is often slowly available; and notwithstanding its advantages, in beauty or utility, it rarely makes rapid advances: hence it is, that a number of churches, and other edifices, erected in the twelfth century, exhibit, in the formation of their arches, the decoration of the capitals of their pillars, and in the general contour of the whole structure, a mixed system, referable to different ages and to different architects.

In the beginning of the above century, when the circular order had prevailed from the infancy of time, and had produced some of the most magnificent and gigantic buildings the world ever witnessed, a new era sprung from the ruins of time, well calculated to astonish posterity, and induce them to inquire, by what means so fine and delicate an art should arrive at the very acme of perfection, when every other science was comparatively on the verge of ruin. In this inquiry, however, it behoves us not to meddle, lest we should be involved in an investigation too prolix for our introductory pages, and too subtle for our limited powers. However, we would so far premise, that the leisure, the ambition, the riches, the influence, and the chaste architectural views of the first class of our early clergy, were the principal causes of that bold and successful departure from a system that was rendered venerable by time, and almost universal in its adoption.

A succession of ages, aided by a disposition to excel, produced a series of innovations, cognizable only by the eye of a judicious critic. Its first appearance was in the age of our second Henry, and is generally, but very erroneously, denominated the *latter Gothic*, but which, in fact, has nothing Gothic in its formation. It became generally prevalent in the reign of Henry III., and continued the unexceptionable order of building, until the era of the reformation; but we are willing to allow, that anterior to the time of Henry VIII., it had lost in grandeur and sublimity, what it gained in redundancy of decoration and superfluity of ornament.

In the early specimens of the old English, or cathedral order, the walls were much higher than they were during the prevalence of the circular mode of building, and less cumbersome; a practice which necessarily gave rise to the adoption of buttresses on the exterior of the wall, "the doors and windows were wider and loftier, and the arches of both were no longer semicircular, but pointed, and sometimes ornamented with clusters of pillars on each side, and a great variety of carvings; the large windows had mullions of stone, for ornament, and for the convenience of

fixing the glass. The pillars that supported the roof were lofty and slender, and frequently surrounded with small pillars, which made them appear like a cluster; the arches of the roof, like those of the doors and windows, were pointed; the roof was covered with lead, and the fabric ornamented on the top of each end with pinnacles, and with a tower over the middle of the cross," like those of Doncaster, Rotherham, Sheffield, and Hatfield; "on which, about the end of this period, very lofty spires of wood and stone began to be erected. This mode of building, which, with some variation, flourished more than three centuries, produced many stupendous edifices, which are still viewed with pleasure and admiration. Many of these magnificent structures were built with stone, brought from the quarries in Normandy, which very much enhanced the expence of their erection."*

With respect to the introduction, or rather invention, of the pointed style, much difference of opinion prevails. The great architect of St. Paul's, in London, and Mr. Evelyn, attribute its invention to the Goths and Vandals, who, "having demolished the Greek and Roman architecture, introduced in its stead, a certain fantastical and licentious manner of building, which we have since called modern or Gothic."†

In refutation of this opinion, we need only observe, that both the Goths and Vandals were driven from the civilized world in the early part of the eighth century; and it does not appear, that the pointed style, or this "fantastical and licentious manner of building," was adopted or known, until the reign of our Henry II.; and Sir Christopher, as if at variance with himself, says, that what we call the "Gothic, ought properly and truly to be named Saracenic architecture, refined by the Christians, which first of all began in the east, after the fall of the Greek empire." This, likewise, as is satisfactorily proved by the Rev. Mr. Milner, is a position equally untenable with the former, and may be overthrown by a mere view of the drawings, &c. made by travellers into the east.‡ Mr. Warburton, also, gives to the Goths the invention of this sublime mode, and imagines the order to have been first suggested by the intersecting position of the boughs and branches of trees, and, "that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well grown trees, intermixing their branches overhead; but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through a Gothic cathedral."§

* Henry's Hist. Gt. Britain, vol. vi. p. 185, and Milner's Essay on Gothic Architecture.

† Wren's Parentalia, cited by Evelyn.

‡ That industrious antiquary, the Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, asserts, that the pointed, or lancet style of building, originated in the east, passed through Italy and France to England, and that we owe the introduction of it here to Bishop De Lacy, some time about the year 1202. He also avers, on the authority of Clarke, that the pointed style may be seen in the arches of the aqueducts built by Trajan, and in the ruins of Pompeii, and that the Nilometer, built in 833, contains perfect pointed arches. See his Encyclopædia, vol. i. p. 89.

§ See his Notes on Pope's Epistles.

That the pointed, rather than the circular order, should not have generally prevailed, appears to us an enigma not unworthy of solution. That it was the first and most natural system of building, is evident; and although the narrow and confined domes of subterranean excavations, or the spacious concave of heaven, might suggest the semicircular mode to the minds of our early ancestors; the imperious mandate of necessity, and their ignorance of a necessary support for a well turned curve, compelled them to adopt the pyramidical figure in all their most early buildings; and it would be some time ere the entrance into their dwellings, or the aperture for the admission of light, &c. departed from a triangular and quadrangular, to that of any other form. Indeed, some of the most early specimens of the pointed order do not widely deviate in their arches from the two sides of a triangle; and we may probably not be accused of unreasonableness and inconsistency, in supposing, that its origin was rather the effect of accident or necessity, than the preconceived model of any individual.

The dreadful tempests which arose in the British nation, after the departure of the Romans, and the invasion of the Saxons, have been mournfully depicted by the pen of Gildas; and it is questionable, whether these desperate and heart-rending feuds left entire a single monument of Roman grandeur within the confines of the English nation.

The oldest specimen of an ecclesiastical edifice in the British empire, is, we presume, the one described by Smart Letheuillier, Esq. This unique structure is wholly "composed of the trunks of large oaks, split and roughly hewed on both sides. They are set upright, and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom, and a plate at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pins. This was the whole of the original fabric, which remains entire, though much corroded and worn by length of time. It is twenty-nine feet nine inches long, fourteen feet wide, and five feet six inches high on the sides, which support the primitive roof."* Antiquated, however, as is that pride of Greensted, we do not adduce it as claiming a British original, but because we regard it as a piece of architecture, approaching nearer to that species of building, than any other structure with which we are acquainted.

Mr. Milner, whose ideas on this subject ought, on every occasion, to be treated with respect, is of opinion, that the pointed, or lancet order, took its rise from the intersecting circular arches, so frequently prevalent in the dead walls of our Norman structures; and he brings forward, as an instance, a series of open and close intersecting arches, in support of his hypothesis. "It is probable," observes this able writer, "that the first open pointed arches in Europe, were the twenty windows constructed

* Works of the Society of Antiquarians, vol. ii. p. 7.

by that great patron of architecture, Henry de Blois, brother of King Stephen, and Bishop of Winchester, in the choir of the church of St. Cross, near that city, which structure he certainly raised, between the years 1132 and 1136. These consist of openings made in the intersecting parts of semicircular arches, which cross each other. The ocular evidence of this, taken along with the ascertained date of the work, is a sufficient proof, that to the accidental Norman ornaments of intersecting arcades, we are indebted for the invention of pointed arches and pointed architecture.

“If any man choose to dispute the proof, he cannot, at least, deny the fact, that open pointed arches, to the number of twenty, were seen together under intersecting arches, in an English church, between the years 1132 and 1136. As the above-mentioned prelate proceeded in his building from the east or choir end, (which, on all such occasions, was first erected and rendered fit for divine service,) to the transept, the tower, and the nave of the church, he made many other pointed arches, some of them obtusely, others accurately pointed; intermixed, however, with a still greater proportion of circular, and other Saxon work. In 1138, he built the castle of Farnham, where his pointed arches, resting on huge Saxon columns, are still to be seen.”*

As the building of churches, monasteries, &c. was esteemed a pious and laudable undertaking, the profession of an architect became an honourable avocation, and did not fail to command the attention of eminent characters in every walk of life. The monarch, the bishop, and the baron, vieing with each other through a succession of ages ultimately brought that sublime system to a degree of perfection, in no wise compatible with the age in which it so successfully flourished, or in unison with the general state of the arts at that early period. This is a curious and singular fact.

As a zeal to excel kept the mind in a continual state of tension, elegance and grandeur proportionably advanced, and was eventually the means of producing some of the most superb and majestic structures that the world had hitherto seen; some of which yet exist, and proudly defy comparison. In the latter part of the thirteenth century, the most fashionable pillars were composed of Purbeck marble, round, and much slenderer than those of more early date. These were generally encompassed with detached shafts of the same material, “having each a capital adorned with foliage, which joining formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar.”† About the middle of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, painting on glass became very prevalent; the windows were then made more lofty, but narrower, with a view to display that nice art in an advantageous manner; and on the introduction of

* Milner's Essay, p. 81. Fosbroke says, they occur in a Roman pavement found at Louth, com. Linc. See Britton vol. v. p. i.

† Henry, vol. viii, lib. v. cap. 5.

bells into sacred edifices, steeples, magnificently ornamented, were erected for their reception ;* which circumstance was again productive of a trifling innovation in the style and formation of ecclesiastical architecture. Those structures which owe their foundation, or rather rebuilding, to the latter part of the fourteenth century, may be distinguished from the earlier edifices, " by an assemblage of shafts, united," forming an elegant, tall, and slender, but strong and solid column, bearing fine and accurately pointed arches, as is fully and beautifully exemplified in what remains of the abbey of Roche. The western windows, in particular, occupied a great portion of that end of the building ; as is instanced in the church of Doncaster, where, from the slenderness of the mullions and transoms, and their fanciful and ramified compartments, they are calculated to throw a body of light into the interior of the building, which at once dispels the gloom and awe so frequent in more early erections.

To one unacquainted with the means by which these magnificent and stupendous fabrics were raised, a sensation of amazement is naturally created, when his eyes come in contact with the cathedral churches of York, Lincoln, &c. ; and more especially so, when he examines with attention the unity of design and consistency of decoration manifested throughout the whole edifice. In most of our country structures, this unity is wanting. In the church of Rotherham, which is unquestionably the most superb ecclesiastical building in the wapentake, some redundancies are observable. This admixture, however, is not difficult to be accounted for ; and all who are acquainted with the manner and means by which they were constructed, will not wonder at their uncouth, and frequently homonymous aspect. A great majority of our country churches are of Norman foundation, and were generally much contracted in their dimensions. Built by men, often deficient in skill and pecuniary means, especially the subordinate ones, they were but rarely calculated for the accommodation of large congregations ; and as population increased, and the science of architecture became better understood, alterations, and enlargements, by subsequent patrons, were often effected upon the old structure ; thus it is, that design, in most of them, is wholly absent, and a motley group of ill executed masonry classed in an indiscriminate manner with elegance and chastity of workmanship.

The gigantic and magnificent edifices reared in various parts of Britain, are admirably adapted to excite, not only religious awe and profound veneration, but an enthusiasm and sublimity of thought, far exceeding the tame and lifeless emotions created by buildings of modern date. On a view of the zeal of former ages, much of the wonder excited in the minds of the uninformed portion of mankind, as to

* It is uncertain, by whom the introduction of bells into churches was effected. It is generally supposed, that they were invented by the Italians, and made first at Campania. Originally, the ringing of them was confined to the priests ; afterwards, to persons incapable of other offices. Formerly, a ringer was deemed an honourable avocation. Sir Matthew Hale is said to have belonged to a set of bell-ringers, and Anthony Wood learned the same art. *Hawkins.*

the means whereby these proud memorials of our pious ancestors were built, will subside, if he would take the pains to inquire into the nature and origin of that association of ideas, which prevailed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We are informed by Ingulph, that when Joffred, abbot of Croyland monastery, determined upon rebuilding the church of that renowned convent, he resolved to do it upon as magnificent a scale, as the age in which he lived (A. D. 1106) would afford. To effect this, he obtained a bull from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, "dispensing with a third part of all the penances for sin, to those who contributed anything towards the building of that church. This bull was directed, not only to the Kings of France and Scotland, but to all other kings, earls, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, rectors, presbyters, and clerks, and to all true believers in Christ, rich and poor, in all Christian kingdoms. To make the best use of this bull, he sent two of his most eloquent monks to proclaim it all over France and Flanders, two other monks into Scotland, two into Denmark and Norway, two into Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland, and others into different parts of England." "By these means," says this historian, "the wonderful benefits granted to all the contributors to the building of this church, were published to the ends of the earth, and great heaps of treasure and yellow metal flowed in from all countries upon the venerable abbot, Joffred, and encouraged him to lay the foundation of his church."* Having spent about four years in collecting mountains of different kinds of marble, from quarries both at home and abroad, together with great quantities of lime, iron, brass, and other materials for building, he fixed a day for the great ceremony of laying the first stone, which he contrived to make a very effectual means of raising the superstructure; for on the long expected day, the feast of the holy virgins, *Felicitas* and *Perpetua*, an immense multitude of earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies and families; of abbots, priors, monks, nuns, clerks, and persons of all ranks, arrived at Croyland to assist at the ceremony. The pious abbot, Joffred, began by saying prayers, and shedding a flood of tears. Then each of the earls, barons, and knights, with their ladies, sons, and daughters, the abbots, clerks, and others, laid a stone, and upon it deposited a sum of money, a grant of lands, tithes or patronages, or a promise of stone, lime, wood, labour, or carriage, to assist in building the church.

"After the termination of the ceremony, the abbot entertained the whole company, amounting to 5,000 persons, at dinner. To this entertainment they were well entitled; for the money and grants of different kinds, which they had deposited upon the foundation stones, were alone sufficient to have raised a very noble fabric. By arts like these, the clergy inspired kings, nobles, and people of all ranks with so ardent a spirit for these pious works, that in the course of this period, almost all the

* P. Blesse's Cont. of Hist. of Ingulph, p. 112.

sacred edifices in England were rebuilt, and many hundreds of new ones raised from their foundations.”*

A similar appeal to the passions of the present generation, would not produce the same effect. Ignorance and superstition are not yet completely eradicated from the mind of man; their power is yet lamentably conspicuous, and rides triumphantly on the pinions of authority: but their density is less compact, and the progressive diffusion of knowledge amongst all ranks of people, offers fair to hurl them from their eminence, and substitute in their stead, sobriety of thought and consistency of action, becoming the character of an enlightened and prosperous people.

Our attention shall now be directed, for a short time, to the military order of the same periods.

In the infancy of the art of war, strength of fortification was not requisite in the same degree as modern practice in that destructive and hellish propensity has rendered it. The feeble efforts of a savage tribe, and the inefficient power of mere physical force, devoid of the aid of mechanical agency, required but little ingenuity, and as little time, to frustrate the best concerted scheme that could be formed in the councils of remote antiquity. “Knowledge is power.” The only or principal defensive earth-works or fortresses, decidedly British, consist in stupendous banks of earth, ditches, &c., as is palpably manifest by the entrenchments on Wincobank-hill, &c. Tacitus, it is true, informs us, that the free town of Verulamium received an overthrow, in consequence of the barbarians forsaking their castles and forts;† and the erudite Mr. King takes great pains to prove, that castles of no ordinary strength were in existence during the dynasty of our British princes.

That castellated structures had existence before the arrival of the Romans, is extremely questionable; and although a number of military edifices, dissimilar in their architectural features from Roman or Saxon models, are to be met with in Wales and elsewhere, it would, we should presume, be more safe to assign the era of their erection to the second or third century after Christ. The rude and barbarous manner in which the aborigines had constructed their ecclesiastical and domestic buildings, (if we be allowed so to denominate them,) imparts to us but a poor idea of their attainments in the masonic art.

“The opinions of Mr. King,” remarks a very intelligent writer, “in reference to a seeming imitation of the style of various early nations, observable in numerous

* Henry, on the authority of Ingulph, Spotswood, and Grosse. See also, Selden on Tythes, p. 324.

† Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 33; so rendered by Greenway; but Gordon, with greater propriety, has translated the passage somewhat different. See his Tacitus, vol. i. p. 372.

antiquities of England and Wales, are probably no more than fanciful pursuits of an argument, founded on the similarity to be ascertained in the rude works of nearly all countries. We may, however, with safety deem it likely, that there are still to be seen vestiges of fortified buildings, constructed by the Britons, while they preserved their national name and partial independence. We know that the skill of British workmen is much praised by ancient writers; and it is recorded, that many were taken to assist in foreign works, by Maximus and Honorius. To waive a consideration of earlier ages, it would appear probable, that the princes who obtained sway in different parts of the island, might call into exercise the useful talent so well attested, during the opposition to the progressive encroachments of the Saxons.*

The hints left us by Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. on this subject, as well as on many others, are of too general a character to be definite, and the quotation we have already made from the latter, would have been more correctly rendered as follows: "The inhabitants of the municipal town of Verulamium, were also put to the sword, and their places of strength abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, through the flight of the barbarians."† These places of strength are defined by Cæsar to be, "places situated in the midst of woods, strongly fortified both by nature and art, and encircled by a ditch and rampart."‡ In another part of his commentaries, he observes: "Ipse noctu progressus millia passuum circiter xii, hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere, et prælium committere cœperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti, egregie et natura et opera munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa jam ante præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis, omnes introitus erant præclusi."§ Hence we would conclude, that there is not within the confines of the British empire, a military structure that has any claim to an origin anterior to the Christian era, although it may not be an untenable position maintained by those antiquaries, who assert that such places of defence, were reared by our Cambrian brethren, before, or immediately after the departure of the Romans from Britain.

On the invasion of the Romans, however, military, like civil and ecclesiastical architecture, in this nation, assumed a new and imposing spectacle. Instead of the slight and inefficacious defence formed by either trees or chariots, those of more substantial form began to appear, and multiplied in number as their conquests were extended. "Wherever the Romans conquered, they civilized," is a proverb no less true of, than creditable to, that astonishing race of men. Towns were built,

* Brewer's Introduction, p. 238.

† The translation we have here given, agrees in substance with that of Murphy.

‡ Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. v. cap. 21; and Strabo, &c. as cited in the note. See the Delphin ed.

§ Ibid. lib. v. cap. 9.

enclosed by massy walls and deep ditches ; with temples, theatres, castles, and baths, which the lapse of seventeen centuries has not been able totally to destroy ; but it does not appear probable, that any Roman structure, of a castellated nature, had ever existence within the limits of the district under our review.

On the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and the arrival of the Saxons, together with the depredations of the Picts and Scots, a woful and destructive change ensued. Those savage and furious pagans had not been accustomed to the effeminate arts introduced and encouraged by the policy and habits of the ambitious Romans ; and not knowing their utility, they despised their culture. Accustomed to live in wretched and loathsome hovels, " built of wood and earth, and covered by boughs of trees, or straw and reeds," the elegance of Roman grandeur was not to them attractive. For two hundred years or more, a reckless demolition of the architecture of imperial Rome unceasingly prevailed, until at length, but very few edifices were left entire. On the full establishment of the heptarchy, and a restoration of peace, its several princes began to secure their possessions by the erection of a number of bulwarks of defence, in almost every part of Britain, some few proud memorials whereof yet exist. The few structures of Saxon original, are distinguished by being rudely imitative of the Roman or Grecian style, the walls were intolerably thick, the structure low and gloomy, with arches of contracted semicircular make, and plain unornamented pillars. The noble and imposing fortress at Conisbrough, exhibits, in some of its vestiges, the ensigns of a Saxon castle ; but the alterations wrought upon it by the Warren family, to which it was given by the Conqueror, have imparted to it the air of a Norman building. It is a singularly curious edifice, and the principal portal of the keep has scarcely an equal. But of this, more hereafter.

The interior of those edifices was divided into three apartments, or stories, with a vault or dungeon beneath. The ground-floor was truly a cheerless habitation, and solely adapted to security, having not the remotest claim to comfort or convenience ; such, indeed, has been the case with that interesting remain, which, in despite of the dilapidations of time, yet frowns over its vicinity, in dauntless and defying majesty.*

On the advent of the Conqueror, in A. D. 1066, castles soon became everywhere abundant. Kings at war with their nobles, and the nobles at war with each other ; " the people oppressed, attached to the soil, disposed of like cattle, and lying at the mercy of the great. The country everywhere crowded with castles, the nurseries of rebellion, the retreats of plunderers, the dens of the lazy and profligate, and the

* See our article on Conisbrough, where a full and circumstantial account of this interesting edifice is given.

seats of riot and debauchery;”* England was at that period one continued line of defence, and every town of note, or important pass, presented the towering battlements of a proud and lawless baronial residence.

In the delineation of the characteristic marks of a Norman fortress, the reader must not expect to find in this compendium, a long and detailed account. In that age of heroism and chivalry, it is true, the great traits of Norman art exhibit a prominent and obvious series of a system peculiarly featured, referable only to that eventful period. Nevertheless, their most early specimens approach so closely to the latter Saxon, that it requires a tolerable range of experimental knowledge to define, or distinguish the precise line that separates one from the other. In their earliest productions, a mixed order is generally prevalent, and was probably the joint efforts of Saxon and Norman artists; and it was not until the reign of the second William, or his successor, Stephen, that they began to assume a character truly national.

As the feudal system advanced in power, and the imperious effrontery of baronial insolence acquired strength, the number of castles greatly increased, until, eventually, it was found necessary to restrain their augmentation by a special act of parliament. The great Alfred complained, that there was scarcely a well fortified castle in his dominions; this deficiency, however, was amply remedied by the Normans, who, comparatively speaking, covered the earth with piles of stone. “The erection of many royal castles, built by means of public contributions, and defended by national soldiery, was evidently a felicitous step towards the independence and security of the island, William I. however, had an aim more selfish, blended with advancement of the national prosperity. In this course of policy, he was followed by his sons; and the barons, thus stimulated, produced an assemblage of fortresses, eventually dangerous to the reigning power, and most certainly injurious to the comforts and fair privileges of the inferior classes of society.”†

The concessions obtained by the barons from Kings John and Henry III. endued those potent tyrants with very considerable powers, which, together with the lax conditions of feudal tenures, and the insolence of low and cowardly ambition, had the effect of rendering that order of men a race of petty despots. “Secure in their fastnesses of stone, they often derided even the sovereign’s retributive threats; and the crown, too weak for the real good of the country, passed over their local tyranny and oppression; while assured of their loyalty, and calculating on the aid to be afforded by their castles in a day of need. The afflictions of the subordinate

* Bigland’s Letters on history, p. 393. It is said, that in the reign of Stephen, there were in being no fewer than eleven hundred castles.

† Brewer’s Introduction.

classes of society, when castles were so numerous, and their possessors so little restrained by legal maxims of justice and forbearance, are mentioned in emphatical terms by many ancient historians.”*

In viewing those castellated edifices in this repulsive light, we have, however, examined them only in their most vulnerable quarter. Castles, like monasteries, had their advantages, as well as their disadvantages; and we conceive that it is extremely problematical, whether, if the question were fully and fairly scrutinized, the former would not materially preponderate; and liberty in the one, as well as learning and science in the other, be found to have had a secure asylum, amidst the havoc of despotism, and the gloomy rage of ignorance and superstition, so generally prevalent in these inauspicious days. Castles were the schools of chivalry, the seminaries of courtesy, the theatres of wit and wisdom, and the stages whereon were exercised the festivities of the social hour. Within the walls of those baronial retreats, the day of liberty first dawned, and although, for a season, the lingering mists of tyranny and faction obscured its rays, it eventually burst through the clouds of error and cruelty, and shone forth in its native and effulgent glory. No loyal and patriotic scholar, we are persuaded, can view without emotion, the grey and sombre battlements of the crumbling and dilapidated castle of Conisbrough, without calling to remembrance the spirited reply of its noble owner, when Edward the first, by his commissioners, or in person, attempted an infringement upon his property, in virtue of the statute of *Quo warranto*. This noble and highly gifted peer, when asked, by what authority he held his lands and privileges, drew forth from its scabbard an old rusty sword, and said, By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same do I intend to defend them. Or, in the words of a faithful chronicler, “Our auncestours comminge into this realme with William Conquerour, conquered theyr lands with the sworde, and wyth the same will I defende me from all those that shall bee aboute to take them from me; he did not make a conqueste of this realme, owre progenitors were with him as participators and helpers with him.”†

* Brewers Introduction. To which is prefixed the following illustrative note:

“While noticing the injuries which the property and domestic peace of the laborious classes appear to have sustained from the tyranny of rapacious, sensual chieftains, who were indifferent to remonstrance, when shielded by massy lines of fortifications, it must be observed, that the castle of the baron afforded to the trader and artizan some occasional protection. Markets and fairs were exposed to considerable danger in these turbulent times, from open rapine, or covert but determinate injustice. By a law of William I., it was decreed, that all fairs and markets should be kept in ‘fortified cities, towns, or castles.’ Although this law had probably for its chief object, a careful collection of the royal tolls; the security afforded by the castle, and the redress to be there obtained in cases of dispute, were circumstances of great public advantage.”

These considerations we conceive to be the chief cause, why the Saxon towns, Tickhill, Doncaster, &c. removed from their old sites, with a view of availing themselves of the shelter their Norman fortresses afforded. *Vid. our article Tickhill.*

† Holinshed, p. 789.

The most prominent features of the castles, which owe their erection or re-edification to the era under our review, is, their being placed on eminences, and generally on the banks of rivers. The whole area of the fortifications was surrounded by deep and wide fosses, often filled with water. Before the great gates or principal entrances were out-works, called *barbicans* by Du Cange, and *antimurials* by some other glossarists; which consisted of high walls, of prodigious strength, and crowned by turreted parapets, designed for the protection of the draw-bridges and outer-gates. On the inner banks of the ditches, were erected the walls of the castles, which were generally from ten to twelve feet thick, and from fifteen to twenty feet high, upon which also were parapets, and a kind of embrasures, called *crennels*. "On these walls, at proper distances, square towers, of two or three stories high, were built, which served for lodging some of the principal officers of the proprietors of the castles, and for other purposes; and on the inside, were erected lodgings for the common servants or retainers, granaries, storehouses, and other necessary offices. On the tops of these walls, and on the flat roofs of the buildings, stood the defenders of the castles, when they were besieged, and from thence discharged arrows, darts, and stones upon the besiegers. The great gates of the castles stood in the course of these walls, and were strongly fortified with towers," on the sides and angles, "and rooms over the passages, which were closed with strong folding doors of oak, often plated with iron, and with iron portcullises, let down from above," as is yet observable in the gateway to the tower of London. "Within these outer walls, were large open places or courts, called in the largest and most perfect castles, the outer bayles or ballums, in which stood commonly churches or chapels," as was the case at Tick-hill. "On the inside of these outer bayles, were often ditches, walls, gates, and towers, inclosing the inner bayles or courts, within which stood the chief towers or keeps. These were very large fabrics, four or five stories high, having small windows in prodigiously thick walls, which rendered the apartments within dark and gloomy. These great towers or keeps, were the palaces of the nobles, or prelates, to whom the castles belonged; and the residences of the constables and governors. Underground, were dismally dark vaults, for the confinement of prisoners, which made them sometimes to be called *dungeons*. In these also were the great halls, in which the owners displayed their hospitality, by entertaining their numerous friends and followers. At one end of the great halls of castles, palaces, and monasteries, there was a place raised a little above the rest of the floor, called the *deis*, where the chief table stood, at which persons of the highest rank dined. Though there were unquestionably great variations in the structure of castles and palaces in this period, yet the most perfect and magnificent of them seem to have been constructed on the above plan."*

* Henry's *Gr. Britain*, vol. vi. p. 190.

The covering of castles, at this period, was generally of lead. The windows, contrary to the usual practice of the age, were glazed. The walls were of ashler stone. The doors were composed of oaken planks, and the floors laid with the same durable material.

On this plan was built the magnificent baronial residence of the Buillis at Tickhill, and although much of the interior has fallen a victim to the tooth of time, or that more summary enemy, the caprice of man, the outlines of it are yet, or were when we viewed it in 1819, cognizable. But of this edifice, more in a future page.

Previously to the present mode of warfare, a Norman fortress presented an aspect sufficiently horrific to paralyze the hardihood of the most determined bravery. Skill in tactics, and promptitude in execution, were but feeble means, when arrayed against such formidable piles of stone, as were frequently cemented together by the leisure of powerful and ambitious barons, when attacked only by Norman implements of war.

The fine remains of the castle of Conisbrough, and the one we have just named, are sufficiently perfect to impart a tolerably correct idea of their former condition and importance. To both a Saxon original has been ascribed; but to that of Conisbrough only, are we safe in the hazarding of such a conjecture, and even that, in but few of its present features, can the Saxon art be successfully pointed out.

Several other similar edifices formerly reared their frowning crests on the banks of the Don; but that at Conisbrough only has escaped destruction. The sites of all of them are traditionally pointed out, although not one stone of the structures can be now identified. Well might the poet sing:

“ The loftiest works of art
Must perish in oblivion, must be crush’d
To trackless ruin.—Yea, that mundane strength,
However mighty, will not, cannot stand!
But tottering from its base, sink in ruins.”

The domestic, next to the ecclesiastical, more than any species of building, demands the attention of the antiquary. In the earlier ages of society, the bulk of mankind were content that their bodies should be simply protected from the “ pelting of the pitiless storm.” Man, in his natural state, needed but little. Unpampered in his appetites and affections, he required not the stimulating spices of the east to render his victuals palatable, or the raiment of modern days, to screen from the effects of a healthy and bracing air, his robust limbs; and it was not until the age of Henry VIII. that our domestic edifices, on a general scale, were removed from the

very verge of wretchedness. Wretchedness and grandeur, however, are terms only of comparative import. The heroes and heroines of the Grecian poets, wallowed in luxury and amplitude of apartment; but it is doubtful, whether the most abject of mankind in modern Europe, are not as well fed, well clothed, and as well housed, as were those celebrated characters of poetic fiction.

On the gradual substitution of commerce, in the room of chivalric enterprise, the enlargement of the human mind, and the subversion of feudalism, progressively advanced, when the gloomy apartments of the castle were abandoned for more healthy and congenial places of residence. Still accustomed, however, to have their eye fixed on the scowling battlements of their turreted castles, it was some time ere they discontinued the castellated manner of building; hence, most of the structures reared in the age immediately succeeding that of our eighth Harry, were not far removed, in comfort and appearance, from the prison-like houses they had begun to desert.

In the quiet and ostentatious reign of Elizabeth, when the din of domestic discord had in some measure ceased to "rattle the welkin's ear, and mock the deep-mouthed thunder," our higher order of gentry began to be less solicitous about turreted walls and "foss-begirt mansions;" and from the frowning battlements of their "dread abode," they fled to the woods and lawns, and there reared those huge piles of stone, which are peculiarly characteristic of the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries. Heavy, however, as are the specimens of this age, it was to Inigo Jones and his pupils, that the way to beauty, consistency in decoration, and domestic comfort, was first paved. In the reign of King James I., or his successor, Charles I., was erected the hall of Great-Houghton, a spacious edifice belonging to the Rodes or Rhodes of that place. Disfigured and dilapidated as this venerable old mansion now is, sufficient remains in the outline, to give a tolerably correct idea of its former state. The great hall, in which the hospitable host dealt out his bounty, the easy-winding staircase, and cheerless, though healthy lodging-rooms, with plaster floors, are yet in being, together with the low and wide windows, and confined quadrangular court. To this era may also be attributed the erection of Balbrough-hall, the seat of the Rev. Cornelius Heathcote Reaston Rodés, M. A., and Wadworth-old-hall, the former residence of the Copleys and Batties, latterly destroyed by its owner, Godfrey Higgins, Esq., of Skellow-grange, may probably, also, have owed its original to the same period. To the old Manor-house at Sheffield, with some others in this neighbourhood, an earlier date is attributable, whilst the residence of the Cooke's at Wheatley, the Copleys at Nether-hall and Sprotbrough, with some others to be noticed hereafter, were built in the time of Kings Charles II. and James II. The principal part of the noble residence of the Earl Fitzwilliam at Wentworth, and that of the Earl of Scarbrough at Sandbeck-

park, are still more modern, and owe their origin to the early part of the eighteenth century.

Further notice will be taken of the domestic style, in the progress of our inquiry.

It now only remains that we should notice the monastic order; and in bringing before the public a question so long set at rest, in a work of this nature, some apology may be deemed necessary. Without stopping, however, to assign our reasons here, or to discuss the propriety or impropriety in a formal manner, we beg leave to be permitted briefly to treat for a short time on the rise, progress, orders, and dissolution of the ascetic system.

For a series of years, this order of men was in possession of the major part of the privileges common in the middle ages. To the profession of a monk, they, in a number of cases, added those of a lawyer, a diplomatist, and a senator, and were not unfrequently the confidants of kings and the commanders of armies; hence it is, that we conceive a short account of the ascetic institution cannot be uninteresting to the generality of our readers.

In this succinct review, however, it is needless to observe, that we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to the most prominent parts of their history, and without going back to the era of the prophets, or even of the apostles, we shall limit our survey to the commencement of the fourth century.

In the violent, bloody, and arbitrary reign of the infuriate Diocletian, and about the year of Christ 303,* an order of men arose, who, to avoid the sanguinary persecution at that time prevalent, withdrew themselves from the commerce of the world, and assumed a life of the most rigid and painful discipline.

The first on record that we shall commence with, were Anthony and Paul, two Egyptian hermits, who retired into the deserts of Thebais, in order quietly to exercise that mode of worship which they deemed most acceptable at the throne of an allwise and selfexistent being,† to whom alone they were amenable as dependent beings. In this wild and inhospitable seclusion, their voluntary selfdenial soon drew to their miserable cells a host of followers, whose fame for sanctity speedily spread both far and wide; and in something less than a century, they found themselves under the protection of the imperial throne, and securely seated in the metropolis of the world.

* Fuller's Ch. History, lib. i. p. 17. D'Emilienne says A. D. 260.

† Burton's Mon. Ebor. and Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 129.

From Rome, their spread became universal in extent, and all-powerful in influence; for we learn from Baronius, that they attracted the attention of the rich and potent in every situation, and swayed with justice the sceptre of Jove and the rod of Minerva. Dr. Inett, in the second volume of his Church History, accounts for their origin in the following manner: "The persecutions which attended the first ages of the gospel, forced some Christians to retire from the world, and live in deserts and places most private and unfrequented, in hopes to find the peace and comforts in deserts and among beasts, which were denied them amongst men. And this being the case of some very extraordinary persons, their example gave so much reputation to retirement, that the practice was continued, when the reason which first gave rise to it ceased. And after the empire became Christian, instances of this kind became numerous, and those whose security had obliged them to live separately and apart, were united into societies, and St. Basil in the east, and St. Martin and St. Benedict, in the west, formed rules for their better government and conduct."*

On their first retirement from the world, and for a great number of years afterwards, these hermits suffered, with Christian fortitude and exemplary patience, the most excruciating hardships. Without support, without friends, and without habitations, save the dens and caves formed by the inventive hand of plastic nature, they were exposed to every torment which the nature of man and the hostile elements could conjointly inflict, without even a ray of hope to better their condition; but so much is man the creature of circumstances and habit, that even those untoward and inhuman situations became, through their example, places, not only of calm retreat, during the struggles of intestine broils and civil commotions, but places of voluntary and frequent resort, and particularly so after Pachomius, in the quiet and successful reign of the famous Constantine, caused a few monasteries to be founded for the reception of the anchorites, in the wilds of Thebais, whose meritorious example was followed in every place to which the order had found access.†

Concerning the period of the arrival of this order of men in Britain, much dispute has arisen. Some are of opinion, amongst whom are Bale and Copgrave, that the arch and subtle heretic, Pelagius, was the first who brought them hither; but this opinion seems to be fully overruled by the judicious and learned Bishop Stillingfleet,‡ who contends, that the British churches are no older than the age of St. Patrick, the tutelar saint of Hibernia, who, after having established the Christian faith in Ireland, came over to Britain in A. D. 433; and according to William of Malmesbury, founded the monastery of Glastonbury.§ Others are of opinion, that Bangor

* Burton, p. 208. † Ibid. p. 66.

‡ Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, cap. iv.

§ De Regibus, lib. i. cap. 22. Fuller discredits his testimony. See his *Ch. Hist.* p. 34.

in Wales was founded much earlier, and Pelagius was abbot thereof. Mr. Wharton, in a note in the margin of his *Anglica Sacra*, as well as Stillingfleet, seems justly to think, that St. Patrick was no more at Glastonbury, than was Joseph of Arimathea. Our learned Camden supposes that Congellus was the first that brought the monastic mode of living into Britain; but such is the uncertainty relative to this question, that any attempt to clear up the matter at this protracted period, with such materials as now exist, would only be adding to the perplexity of, and throwing still farther into the shades of night, what is already too far lost to admit recovery. Camden, however, is very wide of the fact, in naming the year 530, as the era of their introduction; for most affirm, on the safest basis, that they were here long previously to that period.* Bale and Pitt bear witness, that Congellus effected some very important and salutary alterations in the monastery of Bangor, which circumstance may possibly have misled the authorities that Camden followed.†

Bishop Tanner, in his masterly preface prefixed to his *Notitia Monastica*, informs us, that Sir George Makensey, in his defence of the royal line of Scotland, thinks it very probable that some of the druids, having been converted from the pagan religion, (whereof they were priests,) became our first monks, being thereunto very much inclined by the severity of their former discipline. Let the era of their introduction, however, be when it might, on the conversion of the pagans to the Christian creed, monasteries were founded and very liberally endowed, in almost every part of Britain, and more especially so in the kingdom of Northumbria, by the Scotch bishops, aided by the effective zeal of the northern monks, which continued to flourish with amazing success, until the fatal and destructive incursions of the Danes, under the command of their fierce, warlike, and sanguinary leaders, Ingvar and Hubba, who, between the years 866 and 870, “plundered and burned the monasteries, stripped, wounded, and very often killed the poor defenceless monks, and almost put an end to their institutions.”‡ Such havoc and destruction were dealt amongst these harmless people, that scarce a vestige of their mansions was left to testify their existence, and the name of their profession became unknown amongst the common people. On the promotion of Dunstan to the see of Canterbury, in A. D. 960, the aspect of the order began to wear a more auspicious complexion. In him they found a very steady and active friend, ever ready to assist them in the re-establishment of their order, and the re-erection of their demolished edifices.§ But this, it should be remembered, is more applicable to the southern than to the northern district. “In the kingdom of Northumberland,” says Tanner, “monasteries were

* Camden's *Brit. art.* Bangor.

† Bale de Script. Cen. i No. 56. See also a dissertation on this subject in Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* vol. ii. pref. Steph. ed.

‡ Tanner's pref. to his *Not. Mon.*

§ Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* lib. iv, and Rymer's *App.*

more frequent, even from their first receiving Christianity. For the new converts here, being mightily taken with the powerful preaching and exemplary lives of Aidan and the Scotch monks, were very zealous in building and endowing religious houses, and they had so great an opinion of the sanctity of the monks and their way of living, that it was very usual for their nobles, and sometimes even for their kings and queens to renounce the world, (as they called it,) and put on religious habits.* As in the the south part, it was usual to send their children into France, to learn the monastic way of living; so in the north, they were sent into Ireland, to be instructed in the monasteries there. 'But,' as Simon Dunelmensis saith, 'after the devastation of that country by the Danes, in 867, who reduced the churches and monasteries to ashes, Christianity was almost extinct, very few churches (and these only built of hurdles and straw) were rebuilt, but no monasteries were refounded for almost two-hundred years after. The common people never heard of the name of a monk, and were frightened at the very habit, till some monks from Winchelcomb brought again the monastic way of living to Durham, York, and Whitby.' †

Concerning the nunneries before the conquest, but little is known. Leland, in his Collectanea, says, that Merlin's mother was a nun at Caermarthen; and other authorities, cited by Tanner, testify, that nuns were in being, both in Ireland and Scotland, previously to the mission of St. Austin; therefore, we may with a tolerable degree of certitude aver, that there were some in England soon after that time. ‡ "Whatever monastic rules St. Austin might introduce, we meet with none relating to religious virgins; yet, in the next century, we find them very frequent among the Saxons. King Eadbald founded, about A. D. 630, a nunnery at Folkstone in Kent, which was probable the first in England. It was therefore an error in Mr. Weever and Sir William Dugdale to say, that Berking in Essex was the first; for that was not founded till A. D. 675, about which time there seems to have been a great many nuns; § for St. Mildred, before that time, presided over seventy in one house, in the isle of Thanet, A. D. 694. Abbesses were in so great esteem for their sanctity and prudence, that they were summoned to the council at Baccafield, and the names of five (and not one abbot) are subscribed to the constitutions there made. Bishop Aidan made Hieu (who was afterwards foundress and abbess of Hartlepool) the first nun amongst the Northumbrians, A. D. 640. And it was a custom in Northumberland and Scotland, in ancient times, for monks and nuns to live together || in the same

* Speed, p. 243. Dug. Mon. Ang. pref. p. ix.

† Tanner's preface.

‡ Lelandi Coll. vol. iii. p. 29, Hearne's ed. 8vo. 1774.

§ Weever speaketh on the authority of John Copgrave, in his Life of Bishop Erkenwald. See his Fun. Mon. p. 699.

|| We may also gather from this portion of the history of Bede, that, although they lived in the same house, their dwellings were wholly distinct. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 7.

monastery, who were all subject to the government of the abbess. It was thus, particularly, at Whitby, Ripendon, Coldingham, Beverley, and Ely.”*

In the pages of ecclesiastical history, much is said about secular priests;† but as all the accounts which have descended down to us, are the partial compositions of their most inveterate enemies, it is difficult, if not totally impossible to arrive, by the most patient and laborious investigation, at any reasonable degree of truth respecting the character of these popular men; we shall therefore briefly observe, that the houses of the monks were called *Collegia*, whilst those of the secular canons bore the appellation of *monasteria*, which, instead of elucidating the matter, has in fact thrown it still farther into the clouds of obscurity. Mr. Wharton supposes,‡ that before the reformation by King Edgar and St. Dunstan, our monasteries were no other than convents of secular married priests. Nor is the marriage of monks and nuns, in those ages, unlikely. For Bede tells us, that in John of Beverley’s time, the abbess of a monastery, then called *Vetadun*, but now Watton, had a carnal daughter, who was a nun of that house.§ On the other hand, some of the seculars obliged themselves to a vow of chastity, and many of them observed some regular constitutions.”|| “So that, in all likelihood, the terms of monks and secular canons, were indifferently used, or with little distinction, till King Edgar’s time, when St. Dunstan enforced a stricter observation of St. Benedict’s rules; and those that were willing to retain their wives and parochial cures, were termed secular clerks; and those were called monks, or regulars, who quitted both, according to the constitutions of that order.”¶

In defiance, however, of the rigorous system adopted by Dunstan, to enforce a more strict adherence to the rules of St. Benedict, dissensions and schism again soon became manifest, and himself and his successors saw almost as many separate rules as monasteries; the leaders of each laying down, as a basis, the code of their founder, but reared on that basis a superstructure, more congenial to their own fancy, and consonant with the views and opinions of their associates; hence the many rules and orders universally prevalent. Several attempts were made, at various times, to effect an uniformity in these matters; but all appear to have failed in their object.

* Tanner’s preface, and Dug. Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 16.

† Mosheim’s Eccl. Hist.

‡ Ang. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 91, and vol. i. p. 602.

§ Upon the daughter of this abbess, whose name was Hereburgh, bishop John performed a very surprising miracle, which is circumstantially narrated by Bede, in lib. v. cap. 3. of his Ecclesiastical History. Dr. Inett says, that they were allowed to marry when they thought fit.

|| Tanner.

¶ The distinction here drawn, is most certainly strongly corroborated by ancient charters, and the least liable to objection of any that have been advanced.

The insolence of dominion, and the pride of presidence, are often not less apparent in the councils of the legates of heaven, than in the ambassadors of hell; in a cabinet of princes, than in a banditti of slaves.

On the conquest, those places partook of the sore afflictions so generally prevalent over the whole nation. Some of the richest monasteries were given to the favourites of the Conqueror, "their treasures rifled, and their liberties infringed by the insulting Normans," their missals altered, and several very grievous innovations introduced. Through motives of policy, at this period, some marked favours were shewn to the seculars; a circumstance which was productive of new disputes, and the breach, which the care and solicitude of Dunstan and his associates had formerly so assiduously laboured to close, was again broken open with augmented vehemence, and the rancour continued openly to prevail, until the third and last important regulation, effected by the talents of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.* In this council, the rules of Benedict seem to have been more scrupulously enforced, than on any other occasion.†

The rage for building and endowing monastic institutions in this nation, at that time, wonderfully prevailed. From the first of William I. to the first of Henry III. were founded and refounded no fewer than four-hundred and seventy-six abbeys and priories, exclusively of eighty-one alien priories; a circumstance that so alarmed the constituted authorities, that the statute, denominated the Mortmain Act, was passed, to prevent, or rather to regulate all future donations made to religious communities. In this enactment we are enabled to recognize a cessation in some measure of that active and efficient superstition, which prompted the hand of charity to bestow so profusely on the church, to the serious injury of their friends and relations. After the passing of this act, there were but very few houses for nuns or monks built, or endowments made; several communities of friars, and houses for hospitality, were, however, subsequently erected and instituted; several of which were well endowed. Of this description and character were the friaries, hospitals, &c. in Doncaster, Tickhill, &c.

Having this succinctly noticed the original of monastic institutions, and their first existence in this nation, we will, conformably with our design, proceed to treat on the various orders into which they were divided; commencing first with the most ancient.

The Benedictines were an order of men professing to follow the rules of St. Benedict, or Benett, who was born in the city of Norcia, in Italy, about the year

* Wilkins' Councils, vol. i. p. 266,

† This council was held in A. D. 1075.

480.* He was of honourable descent, being of the noble family of the Regards. He founded several monasteries, the chief of which was the one at Mount-Cassino, and composed a rule for their government. This rule, which consists of seventy-three chapters, may be seen in the monastic history of Gabriel D'Emillianne where an epitomised version is given. This celebrated code of hermitical jurisprudence, is the basis on which most, or all subsequent ones were founded. Notwithstanding the popularity of his name for sanctity of manners, his followers were not numerous, until his rule received the countenance and confirmation of pope Gregory the Great,† which did not occur until fifty-two years after its establishment. After this event, they rapidly increased in number. *Nulla Monasteria nisi Benedictina erant apud Anglos ab ætate Edgari usque ad regnum Gulielmi primi.*

In the canon law, the followers of this rule were denominated black monks, in consequence of their wearing over their bodies a long, wide, and loose piece of drapery, attached to their shoulders, and reaching down below their knees, having a hood of the same colour and material. Under this vestment they wore a white habit of flannel, made in a similar manner to the cloak, which also hung in the same loose way from their shoulders, but it reached unto the heels of the wearer. They wore boots, and to their shoulders were annexed scapularies.

This order is generally supposed to have been first brought into England by St. Augustine the monk, in the year 596.‡ On this subject, however, much dispute has arisen, and a reconciliation in this, like many other matters, which the lapse of time has obscured, is more to be desired than reasonably expected. Admitting the order to owe its introduction to St. Augustine, its spread was greatly limited, and its name but little known, until the age of King Edgar,§ in whose reign, the famous Dunstan and St. Oswald effected a reformation that brought them into general respect; so much so, indeed, that their rise in England is by some attributed to the latter person.||

“ For six hundred years after the erection of the Benedictine order, most of the European monks were followers of this rule, whatever name they went by, as Car-

* Dugdale's Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 5, pref. and page 164. We have commenced with this order, because that it was the first in England, but not in the world. See Emillianne, p. 57.

† Tanner's Preface.

‡ “ First came forth the Benedictines, or black monks, so called from St. Benedict, or Benett, an Italian priest, father and founder of that order. Augustine the monk first brought them over to England, and these blackbirds first nested in Canterbury, whence they have flown into all parts of the kingdom.” See Fuller's Hist. of the Abbeyes, p. 266.

§ Wharton's Ang. Sacr. vol. i. p. 604. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 164.

|| William de Malmesbury.

thusians, Cistercians, Grandimontenses, Præmonstratenses, Cluniacs, &c. &c. were but different branches of the Benedictines, till about the year 1220, when the Dominicans and Franciscans took new rules." "Hospinian reckons no less than twenty-three orders that sprang from this one, and according to their computation, there has been of this order twenty-four popes, two hundred cardinals, seven thousand archbishops, fifteen thousand bishops, fifteen thousand seven hundred abbots, four thousand saints, forty thousand confessors, above three thousand martyrs and apostles, who have converted thirty provinces to the Christian faith, besides emperors and kings."*

The immense riches of this fraternity, as recorded by ancient authors, would exceed belief, were we not in some measure acquainted with the superstition of early Christians. D'Emillianne informs us, that the monastery of Mount-Cassino alone possessed four bishoprics, two dukedoms, twenty counties, thirty-six cities, two hundred castles, three hundred territories, six hundred and forty villages, three hundred and six farms, twenty-three sea-ports, thirty-three isles, two hundred mills, and sixteen hundred and sixty-two churches. Riches, as is too frequently the case, created pride in dress and luxury in living, together with an haughtiness of soul, not much in unison with their profession or rule. St. Bernard complains heavily against their luxurious apparel, wearing, says he, "silk garments to shew their pride, but not of cloth to keep them warm;" and Hugo de Sancto Victore anathemizes their extravagance, in eating flesh meat, and dainties, and drinking profusely of wine.

The first and most numerous sect which emanated from the Benedictines, was the Cluniac, the origin whereof was from Bernon or Berno, Abbot of Gigni in Burgundy, in the diocese of Macon; "a man learned indeed, but a great hypocrite." This order, like the Benedictines, made at first but little progress, and was nearly stationary, until Odo, Abbot of Cluni, perfected and firmly established the rules, in A. D. 912.† In, or about the year 1077, William, Earl of Warren, son-in-law to the Conqueror, and owner of Conisbrough, Hatfield, &c. introduced them into England, and founded their first house at Lewis in Sussex. The Cluniacs were entirely subject to, and under the jurisdiction of, foreign authority. Their supreme governor was the abbot of Cluni, who often exercised a rapacious disposition, and drained from their coffers the last shilling, to the serious and incalculable injury of this kingdom. Of this injury, our kings were fully apprised; and whenever belligerent measures were resorted to, the first step taken was always a seizure of the revenues of all alien houses.

* Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 164, and Hospinian.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 158. Fuller, Weever, and Emillianne, all give to Odo the credit of founding this order, and name A. D. 913 for its institution; The latter names the year 912.

This, like its parent institution, soon became degenerate. Peter, one of the early abbots of the house at Cluni, writes, "Our brethren despise God, and having passed all shame, eat flesh now all the days of the week, except Friday, not only in secret, but in public also; boasting of their sin like those of Sodom. They run here and there, and as kites and vultures, fly to where most smoke of the kitchen is, or where they smell the best roasted and boiled. Those that will not do as the rest, them they mock, and treat as hypocrites and profane. Beans, cheese, eggs, and even fish itself, can no more please their nice palates; they only relish the flesh-pots of Egypt. Pieces of boiled and roasted pork, good fat veal, otters and hares, the best geese and pullets; and in a word, all sorts of flesh and fowl do now cover the tables of our holy monks. But what do I talk, those things are now grown too common, they are cloyed with them. They must have something more delicate. They would have got for them, kids, harts, boars, and wild-bears. One must for them beat the bushes with a great number of hunters, and by the help of birds of prey, must one chase the pheasants, and partridges, and ring-doves, for fear the servants of God (who are good monks) should perish with hunger."*

The Cistercians were also a branch of the Benedictines, who, quitting the Cluniac order, established themselves at Cistercium, or Cisteaux, under their leader, Robert, Abbot of Molesme, a town in Burgundy, in A. D. 1098.† This society came more generally into repute, through the zealous perseverance of Harding, an Englishman, who was the third abbot of Cisteaux, and in consequence of his activity and zeal, he has been often called the founder of the order. They were called white monks, from the colour of their habit, which consisted of a cassock and narrow scapulary: when abroad, and not attending to the sacred functions of the order, they were usually dressed in a black gown. In A. D. 1128, they were brought into England under the patronage of Ranulphus de Merlay;‡ their first house being at Waverley, which was founded in the above year. The situation of the monasteries belonging to this order, was generally in deep and recluse glens, rocky precipices, and solitary places, and always dedicated to the blessed virgin.§ Their liberties and privileges were confirmed by Alexander, the fourth bishop of Rome, about A. D. 1258.|| Rosse says, that they had a prior confirmation, viz., by Pope Urban II. in 1100. Like St. Benett,

* Rymer, p. 92.

† Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 695.

‡ Weever, on the authority of a MS. in the Cottonian Library, says, that they were first introduced by Walter Espeke, in 1131, and stationed at Rivall abbey, com. Ebor., in support of which, he cites the following distich:

Anglia millesimo centes. Anno quoque et uno
Christi et tricesimo, micuit Cistercius ordo.

Tanner, however, whom we have taken as our guide, says, that Waverley, Fumes, and some others, were founded previously to Rivall. Mr. Rastal, in his Chronicles, observes, "About this time (Wm. Rufus), the order of Cysteanx was first brought into England, by Walter Espeke, that founded the first abbey of that religion at Ryvall." It appears, however, to be the first of that fraternity founded in Yorkshire. Rosse ascribes their original to abbot Robert.

§ Stephens' Add. vol. ii. p. 254.

|| Weever gives a copy of this document.

they ordered "that their monastery should consist of but twelve monks and an abbot. They must keep silence, except it be to the abbot or prior. If any monk run away from the monastery, he must be forced back again by the bishop. They must be content with two coats and two hoods; they must work with their hands, and observe strictly their fasts; they must salute strangers by bowing their head and body, and in imitation of Christ, must wash their feet. No fugitive is to be received into the convent, after the third time. The abbot's table must be furnished for strangers."*

To this fraternity was united the Savigni, or *Fratres Grisei*, brought over by their founder, Vitales, in A. D. 1120. Their habit, previously to their incorporation with the Cistercians, was grey.† To these we may also add the Bernardines, who differed in nothing, save a more rigorous observance of the rules framed by Robert, and the adoption of a different dress. The founder of this order was nobly descended. The archbishoprics of Geneva and Milan were offered to him; but he refused them, preferring the rules of a cloister, and the privacy of seclusion, to the glittering trappings of an archiepiscopal chair. In his time, one hundred and six abbeys were established wholly through his instrumentality.

The Carthusians, also, were an order which branched from the Benedictines. This order was instituted by Bruno of Cologne, in Germany, in A. D. 1080, and was planted in Britain by Henry II., about a century afterwards.‡ The circumstances which led to the formation of this society, are of a curious character, and exhibit, in a striking manner, the influence of superstition and craft. We shall give the particulars in the words of Weever. "A doctor in Paris, famous for both his learning and godly life, being dead, and conveyed to the church to be buried, when they sang over his body the lesson which begins, *Responde mihi quot habes iniquitates*,§ the body rising up in the coffin, answered with a terrific voice, '*Justo Dei judicio accusatus sum.*'|| At which voice all the company being much amazed, they deferred the interment until the next day; at which time, upon the rehearsal of the same words, the body did rise in like manner, and said, '*Justo Dei judicio judicatus sum.*'¶ The third day, he raised himself up as before, saying, '*Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum.*'** Amongst the many doctors which assisted at these funerals, one Bruno, a German, born at Colleyn, of a rich and noble family, canon of the cathedral church of Rheimes, in Champaign, being stricken and fearfully affrighted at this strange and never-heard-of spectacle, began to consider with him-

* Ross's View, p. 287. † Stevens, vol. ii. p. 254. ‡ Brampton's Coll. p. 1142.

§ Answer me how many iniquities thou hast

|| I am accused by the just judgment of God.

¶ I am judged by the just judgment of God.

** I am condemned by the just judgment of God.

self, and to revolve and iterate very often these words following: '*Si justus viv salvabitur, impius et peccator ubi erit?*' If such a pious man, as he was in the opinion of the world, be damned by the just judgment of God, (thinks he,) what will become of me, and many thousands more, far worse and more wicked in the eye of the world than was this man? Upon this deep consideration, Bruno departed from Paris, and took his journey, together with six of his scholars, to live solitarily in some wilderness; and not long after, came to the province of Dolphine, in France, near to the city of Grenoble, where he obtained of Hugh, bishop of that city, a place to build him a monastery, on the top of a high stupendous hill, called Carthusia, whence the order took its name. They gave themselves to silence and reading, and separated themselves by little cells one from another, lest they should interrupt one another's quiet. They spent some hours in the labour of their hands, and some in the writing of godly books, both to relieve their wants, and to do service to the church of God. Many works of theirs are still extant, out of which, tending to mortification, the Jesuit, Parsons, collected the resolution."^{*}

Their rule, which was confirmed by Alexander III., was rigidly mortifying. They never ate flesh, and fasted on bread, water, and salt, one day in every week.[†] Next to their skin, they always wore a hair shirt, and otherwise humbled themselves to a greater degree of severity than any other order of the ascetic tribe.

The rigidity of the discipline of this order prevented the formation of any Carthusian nuns in this nation. Their dress consisted of a long loose black gown, similar to the surplice of modern times, but in it were no sleeves. On their head they wore a hood, which closely encircled the face, and fastened under the chin.[‡]

The houses of the Grandimont order were but thinly scattered in England. Dr. Tanner could only find three, viz., one at Abberbury, in Shropshire, one at Cresswell, in Herefordshire, and one at Grosmont, or Eskedale, in Yorkshire. This sect was first instituted at Grandimont, in the department Limosin, in France, by Stephen, a gentleman of Auvergne, and was brought into this nation in the reign of Henry I. & Peter, the first in succession from Stephen, contributed greatly to their fame. He prescribed the rule which governed the society, and exemplified its practicability in his own person. On his naked body he wore a coat of mail; his bed was made of a

^{*} Weever, p. 144. Lib. Job. v. 13, 22. [†] Ibid. p. 145. Tanner.

[‡] Rymer, vol. viii. p. 101. In the Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 949, is an engraving of a monk of this order, by which it would appear, that they wore a white long gown with sleeves. Tanner says, "Their habit was all white, except their outward plaited cloak, which was black."

[§] Fuller names the year 1233, as the period of their settlement in England. Lib. iv. p. 267, and Weever, p. 141: Fuller, however, supposes Abberbury to have been of that order, and it was founded in the time of our first Henry. See Tanner, art. Abberbury.

hard board, having neither straw nor coverlet; "with often kneeling, kissing of the ground, and beating it with his forehead and nose, he rendered his knees and hands hard like a *callus*, or horn, and his nose crooked." The severities enjoined by the rules of this order, were moderated by Pope Innocent IV., in 1247, and afterwards further eased by Clement V. in 1309.*

The Canons says Tanner, "were either religious or secular; the secular canons were clergymen, called secular, because they were conversant in the world, performed spiritual offices to the laity, and took upon themselves the care of souls, which the regulars could not do without dispensation. They scarcely differed anything from ordinary priests, save that they were under the government of some local statutes. For though they were, in some places, confined to live under one roof, as the monks and regular canons did; yet they generally lived apart, and were maintained by distinct prebends, almost in the same manner with the canons and prebendaries of our cathedral and collegiate churches of this day."†

Of the first origin of the chanons or canons, diversity of opinion prevails. To Pope Urban I. some attribute their institution, while others name Augustine to be their founder.‡ Bale and Atkins assert, that they were brought into England by St. Birinus, so early as the seventh century; but Bishop Tanner seems confident, that those whom Birinus brought over from Rome, were not regular, but secular canons, whom he places at Dorchester; and most appear to agree in the opinion, that we had no regular canons here until the eleventh century.§ The most probable opinion, however, is the one formed by John Rosse, who has with a tolerable degree of certainty proved, that their first house was at Colchester, which was founded in A. D. 1105.||

The principal rule or regulatory code that swayed the conduct of the regular canons, was that of St. Austin, who was constituted bishop of Hippo, in A. D. 395. Like that of the major part of the monks, their manner of living was at first rigidly severe and mortifying. They reposed upon mattresses, under a covering of wool, woven somewhat in the form of a blanket. They accustomed themselves to great

* Emillianne, p. 101.

† Tanner's Preface, with whom Weever agrees.

‡ Weever, p. 128. Urban, Bishop of Rome, lived about A. D. 230. Posidonius says, that they were established as a distinct order of men by St. Augustine. Other opinions also prevail.

§ Fuller, lib. iv. p. 268. Weever says, that "the first chanon regular in this kingdom, was one Norman, whom Matilda, wife to King Henry I., preferred to the government of her priory called Christ-Church, now the Duke's Place, within Aldgate, London. See p. 130. Regner also says, that they were first brought into England temp. Henry I., and that their earliest house was at Nosteale, com. Ebor.

|| Fuller, p. 268.

abstinence, and but seldom spoke. They had certain hours regularly appropriated to manual exercises, and lived in common, "having nothing proper to themselves." None were allowed to assume the habit, until he had attained the age of seventeen years, when he was entered as a novice. They addicted themselves to a rigid course of study, and frequently preached the word of God.*

The habit of this order consisted of a long black cassock, with a white rocket over it, and above that, a black cloak and hood. The monks always shaved their chins; but the regular canons wore their beards, and caps on their heads.†

For some years after their first establishment, regularity, order, and good discipline, were features pre-eminently prominent amongst them; but time and prosperity, more fatal than the severest stings of adverse fortune, corrupted their minds, and rendered them a prey to sloth, lasciviousness and luxury. Chaucer, who by the by was no friend to monastic institutions, thus characterizes them :

"They usen horedome and harlottrie,
Covetise, pompe and pride,
Sloth, wrath and eke envie,
And sewen sinne by every side.
Alas! where thinke such to abide,
How woll they accounts yelde:
From high God they mow hem not hide,
Such willers witte is not worthe a nelde."

The rule of St. Austin received several amendments, or rather alterations; and to the old and original code, we might add several particular clauses, especially such as those introduced by St. Nicholas of Arroasia; of Harewolde, of Nutley or Crendon, of Herteland, of Brunne, &c. &c. Together with the more scrupulous observance paid to this rule by several other houses; such as those placed at Kingsham, Wormesley, Woorspring, Buckenham, &c. &c., making a total of one hundred and seventy-five houses of canons and canonesses in England only, which had to a greater or less degree amended rules.

It is not to be expected, however, that in this compendium, we should enter into the particulars of this extensive class of regulars; we shall, therefore, refer our readers to the pages of the *Monasticon*, Weever, &c., where the subject is treated in detail, and content ourselves with a brief notice of two or three orders, which were situated more immediately in our own vicinity.

* One of their most important rules was, that they should have nothing of their own; that they should be chaste, and keep their cloisters. Weever, p. 129.

† Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.* vol. iii. p. 68.

The order of Præmonstratensians was converted into regular canons by Pope Honorius II. This society was first formed by St. Norbet, under a reformed code in the year 1120, at Præmonstratum, in the diocese of Laon, in Picardy. The site it is pretended, was miraculously pointed out by the blessed Virgin, and the house placed thereon ordered to be the head of the reformed order,* which in some measure it continued to be, until the period of their dissolution. The Præmonstratensians were brought into England by Peter de Gousla or Gousel, in A. D. 1140, just twenty years after their first establishment. Their first house was at Newhouse, in Lincolnshire. They had a kind of head or conservator of their order, resident in England; but he was subject to the original foundation at Præmonstratum, and was visited by delegates, armed with absolute authority from the foreign house. The appearance of an embassy from the *shewed meadow*, was always justly viewed with much jealousy by the monarchs of England; as they never came but with an intention to levy impositions to a serious amount on this fraternity. This evil, however, was at length restrained by an especial act of parliament, which had the effect of preventing the transmission of much specie to a foreign nation; a desideratum at all times worth effecting. The custody of all the houses of this order was conferred on the abbot of Welbeck, near Worksop, in Nottinghamshire.† The apparel of those canons was a white cassock, with a rocket over it, a long white cloak, and a cap of the same colour; hence the appellation of white canons.‡ Of this order there were about thirty-five houses.

Of the Sempringham, or Gilbertine canons, there were about twenty-five houses in England. Their habit, according to the Monasticon, was a black cassock, with a white cloak over it, and a hood lined with lamb-skins. This order differed from most others, inasmuch as it admitted both men and women into the same house; but so separated, that no communication whatever could be had with each other. The founder of this order was born at Sempringham, in the county of Lincoln. Emillianne says, that he was much deformed in body, “but he made up this defect by the excellency of his wit, and a great application to his studies.” In his house at Sempringham, which was founded in A. D. 1148, were seven hundred men and eleven hundred women. Bale, with more rancour than justice, is too lavish of his censure on this “hermaphrodite order.” He accuses them of crimes too horrid to be credited, and in language too indecent to find a place in the pages of our Introduction.§

The canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre were but little known, as only two of that denomination were in being in England, at the dissolution. The first house of this order was seated at Warwick, and founded by Henry de Newburgh, Earl of

* Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 789.

† Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 388.

‡ See a copper-plate in the Monasticon.

§ Cent. iii. cap. 25, De Script. Brit.

Warwick, about A. D. 1123; he dying previously to the full accomplishment of his design, left his son and successor to finish what he had so laudably begun; which, much to his credit, he generously performed. This order was distinguished in the costume of its members from the other canons, by wearing on their garments a double red cross, attached to the fore part of their outer cloak.

Amongst the religious orders that were established in this, and almost every other nation of the old world, the friars formed no inconsiderable part; amongst which, stood first in number and antiquity the Dominicans. Their founder, Dominick, was born at Calagueraga, in the diocese of Osma, in old Castile, about the year 1170.* They were called preaching friars from their office, Dominicans from their founder, and black friars from the colour of their habit; to which number of appellations, Dr. Fuller adds that of jacobine friars.† Their rule was a simple transcript from that of St. Augustine, which was verbally confirmed by Pope Innocent III., and afterwards by the bull of Pope Honorius III., in A. D. 1206.‡ They came into England in 1221, and founded their first house at Oxford. This order boasts of producing no fewer than eighty famous writers in England only. The fame of this sect was very great. In A. D. 1494, the number of houses belonging to them exceeded four thousand, but subsequently to this period, few were founded here.

The Franciscans were an order, instituted by St. Francis, a contemporary with St. Dominick. He was born at Assise, in the province of Umbria, in Italy, about A. D. 1181. He was of noble parentage, and very early in life conceived a high contempt of the world. They were called grey friars from their habit; and like the rest of their fraternity, friars from their humility. They were also sometimes denominated friars minors. When they were abroad, or without the precincts of their houses, they girded themselves with cords and travelled barefoot. Davenport says that they were brought into England in 1219; but others name A. D. 1224.§ In lapse of time, the rigid discipline of the original founder of the order, became much relaxed, and a reformation seemed indispensably necessary in order to save the society from impending ruin. To effect this desirable end, an inquiry was instituted, when the rules and discipline at first prescribed and exercised by their founder were brought back as closely as possible to their pristine purity. In this attempt, much

* Tanner states the year of his birth to be 1070, which is most probably a typographical error, as he cites Stevens, Weever, and Newcourt, any of whom would have taught him better.

† Ch. Hist. p. 270. lib. iv.

‡ Tanner names 1216, with whom Weever agrees. Emilliatine also says, that this confirmation took place in 1216.

§ Tanner. "The fryers minores first arrived at Dover 9 in number, five of them remained at Canterbury, and did there build the first convent of fryers Minores that ever was in England. The other four came to London, and lodged at the preaching fryers the space of fifteen days, and then hired an house in Cornhill." Stowe's ann. p. 180. sub ann. 1224. See also Boumer's Canterbury, p. 100, ed. 1640.

bickering and illnature ensued; pride, obstinacy, and interest, were ashamed to yield and averse to concession or conciliation, and a division eventually was the consequence. Such of the members as chose to adhere to the relaxed system, were called Conventuals; while those who adopted the new rules and regulations, were denominated Observants or Recollects. This dispute occurred about the year 1400, and seems to have originated with St. Bernard. The new rules were approved of and confirmed by the council of Constance, in 1414, and afterwards by the bulls of several successive popes.*

It is generally supposed, that they were brought into England by Edward IV.; but they were little known or countenanced here, until the age of Henry VII.; while of the conventuals, there were no less than fifty-five houses suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII., and of the observants, only five or six. "For their skill in school divinity, they beat all other orders quite out of distance, and had a curious library in London, (built by Richard Whittington,) costing in that age, five hundred and fifty pounds, which quickly might be made up, if (as is reported) an hundred marks were expended in transcribing the commentaries of Lyra."†

Of this order, the most miraculous tales are on record. Emillianne, who has been exceedingly industrious in collecting every thing calculated to darken their character, narrates, with scrupulous attention, the incredible particulars prevalent in their early history;‡ but we shall not follow him.

The Carmelites, or white friars, were an order of religious men, that adhered to the rules of St. Basil. Much controversy and warmth of zeal were displayed, some time since, relative to the antiquity of this holy order, which professed to be as old as the age of Elias the prophet. Their name is derived from the site of their first mansion, which was placed on Mount Carmel, in Palestine. From Palestine they were driven by the cruelty of the Saracens, in or about the year 1238, and reached England in 1240, under the protection of the lords John Vescy and Richard Gray.§ They assert, "that the Virgin Mary appeared unto one of their order, and presented

* St. Francis applied in person to Pope Innocent for the confirmation of his rules; but the rudeness of his dress and manner, together with the difficulty of reading his uncouth and barbarous composition, drew from that august prelate the following intemperate address. "Go, brother, and seek out for swine, to whom you are rather to be compared than to men; tumble with them on the dunghill, and, delivering the rule you have composed, bestow your preaching upon them."

† Fuller, p. 270. ‡ Ib. p. 167.

§ Weever, p. 139. Stevens, vol. ii. p. 153. Fuller says, that they were brought into England in the reign of King Richard I., by Ralph Freeborn, and placed at Alnwick in Northumberland. See his Ch. Hist. p. 271. Speed seems to suppose, that there were two houses of Carmelite friars in Alnwick; one of which was founded by Lord Vescy, ancestor of the Northumberlands, in the 25th Henry III.; and the other by Sir John Gray, in the 55th of the same reign. Chron. p. 1076. And therefore, Dr. Tanner is in error, when he says that Speed calls them Cistercians. Not. Mon. p. 393. Leland, in his Collectanea, says, "Hoc anno (1147) ordo Præmonstratensis venit ad Alnewick, ubi primus

unto him a scapulary, saying, 'Receive, my beloved, this scapulary, which I give unto thy order in sign of my fellowship.' Whereupon they usurp the title of '*Fratres ordinis beatæ Mariæ Virginis de monte Carmelo.*'" Of this order was the famous John Bale, who was a friar in one of their houses in the city of Norwich, and flourished in the reign of Henry VIII. He seems to have been an industrious and learned man, and preserved entire a list of their provincials, a circumstance that does not occur in the history of any other order.* Emillianne mentions another order which followed the rules of St. Basil. These he calls "unshod Carmelites," the head whereof was a woman of Avila, in Spain. Her amended rule was confirmed by Pope Pius IV. in 1562. She died in 1582, and was sainted by Gregory XV. in 1622. Their habit was the same as that of the last-mentioned sect of Carmelites, viz., "a cassock, a scapulary, a patience, and a hood of a brown colour, a white plaited cloak, and a black hat;" but of coarser materials, and they went barefoot, hence the name they sometimes bear.†

"The Augustine eremites lay last, of far later date than Augustinian monks, as who first entered England, A.D. 1252, and had (if not their first) their fairest habitation at St. Peter's the Poor, London; thence, probably, taking the denomination of poverty, because the said Augustinian eremites went under the notion of Begging Friars. Meantime, what a mockery was this, that these should pretend to be eremites, who, instead of a wild wilderness, lived in Broad Street, London, where their church at this day belongeth to the Dutch congregation."‡

The Trinitarians, or friars of the Holy Trinity, were instituted by St. John de Matha and St. Felix de Valois, in France, about A. D. 1199.§ Their rule was that of St. Austin, together with some trifling innovations introduced by the founder, which received confirmation at the hand of Pope Innocent III. He also allowed, or appointed, that they should wear white robes, with a red and blue cross on their breasts; and ordered their revenues to be distributed in the following manner: viz. one third for their own support, one to relieve the poor, and one to assist in the redemption of captives taken by the infidels in the holy wars; "a charitable employment," remarks quaint Fuller, "and God himself in some sort may seem sovereign of their order, who looseth the prisoner, and their sighing cometh before him."

abbas Baldewinus." In this matter, however, as Tanner justly remarks, Leland was misled, their first house being at Newhouse, Com. Linc. Dugdale has followed Leland; but Tanner thinks, that the house at Alnwick was of the Præmonstratensian order.

* The list is preserved by Fuller. Ch. Hist. p. 272. † Ibid. p. 166. Also Collier, ed. 1701.

‡ Fuller, p. 273. The origin of these friars in England does not appear to be accurately known. Rymer, Wood, and Dugdale, all put down different dates. This order was divided into several branches. Their habit was white.

§ Stevens says in 1198. Scarcely two writers agree on this matter. Weever says, that they came into England, about the year 1357. Reyner names 1224. See Tanner's Pref.

The origin of their name, it would seem, hath arisen from the circumstance of all their houses having been committed to the care of the Holy Trinity. On all of them, Weever says, was conspicuously placed as follows:

"Hic est ordo ordinatus,
Non a sancto fabricatus,
Sed a solo summo Deo."*

One of their rules ordered, that they must not ride on horseback, but on asses alone.

Of this order, also, were the Robertines, with which they were incorporated by Robert Flower, a hermit of Knaresbrough, in the county of York, who lived in the reign of King John. This Robert, according to Leland, was the son and heir of Tooke Flower, of the city of York, of which place he was twice mayor. His first bent for a monastic life seems to have been formed in consequence of his having been educated in an abbey at Morpeth, in Northumberland.† Forsaking, says Weever, the lands and goods of his father, to which he was heir, "he resorted to the rocks by the river Nid, and thither, upon opinion of his sanctity," and sufferings, "others resorted, for whom and himself he built a little monastery, and got institution and confirmation of order, about the year 1137."‡ In this cave, many miracles are said to have been performed, after the demise and interment of the founder; one of which was the voluntary and daily issuing out of medicinal oil from the grave of the hermit.§ The cave yet bears the appellation of St. Robert's cave, and is rendered fatally memorable by the discovery of the body of Daniel Clarke, who was murdered by Eugene Aram, a schoolmaster of Knaresbrough, for which offence he was tried, condemned, and executed at York, several years subsequently to the commission of the crime.||

The order of crossed, or crutched friars, came into England about the year 1244. Their first cloister was at Colchester, but their principal house was on Tower-hill, in the city of London. Originally, they carried a cross attached to a stick or

* This holy order first began
By God, and not by saint or man.

† The legendary story of his life makes no mention of his having been educated at Morpeth.

‡ He must have lived to a very great age, or this date is wrong.

§ See Matthew of Paris, (who was his contemporary,) in a note in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, where a reconciliation of the jarring accounts relative to this order is attempted, but not with that success which were desirable.

|| The ingenious defence made by the culprit on his trial at York, is worth perusal. It exhibits a mind abundantly prolific in invention; and although little doubt can exist as to the fact of his guilt, it may seem somewhat problematical, whether the discovered corpse was the remains of Clarke, or of the hermit who founded the cell.

staff; but in later times, it was customary to affix a cross on some part of their garments, and hence arose their name. Fuller says, that they had this unusual privilege, "that none should reprove their order, or upbraid them, under pain of excommunication." The number of houses of this order did not exceed six or seven.

Of the Bethlehemite friars, there appears to have been only one house in England, which was placed at Cambridge in 1257, the year following their arrival; but whence they came, or by whom they were first instituted, does not seem to be known. Their rule and habit resembled that of the Dominicans, except that on their outward habits they wore a star, in commemoration of that which was seen by the wise men of the east. This order did not survive until the general dissolution.

The friars of the sack, like the Bethlehemites, were of only short continuance. They came here at about the same period as the last, and disappeared on the *mandatum* of the council of Lyons, in A. D. 1307. Notwithstanding that they are generally known by the name of the friars of the sack, their real appellation was, "Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ." Their rude and uncouth habit aptly suggested their name, being clothed in sackcloth, coarse and rugged, and shaped in the manner of a bag bearing that name; presenting to the eye an aspect of misery and wretchedness, which the very acme of superstition, religious bigotry, and misguided enthusiasm only could invent.*

To these might be added several other orders of friars, &c. brought into or generated in England; such as those of St. Anthony, Friars de Pica, Bon-hommes or Good-men, &c.; but being of trifling consideration, no further notice will be taken of them here.

The orders of nuns, or convents of religious women, in England, were of three sorts. The first in order of time, were those who followed the rules instituted by Robert de Arbrissel, at Fonteveault, in Poitiers, about 1100. This fraternity consisted chiefly of women, and was nothing more than a society which followed the reformed rules of the Benedictines. On some occasions, men were admitted into their houses; but never into the apartments of the women, except on very urgent business and absolute necessity. The whole establishment was under the government of the abbess or prioress, in all matters, whether spiritual or temporal. To Robert Bosne, Earl of Leicester, we owe their introduction into this nation, which event occurred some short time before the year 1161. He founded a house at Nun-Eaton, and there established the first company of this holy sisterhood. There were only two other houses of this order in England, and in none of them was a monk

* Weaver, p. 146.

admitted.* They wore a kind of tunic, or cassock, of the natural colour of wool, and over that a large and wide black garment.†

The second were those that adhered to the improved rules of St. Benedict by St. Clare, who founded a convent of them in Italy, about the year 1212,‡ and they were brought into England by Blanch, Queen of Navarre, in 1293. Subsequently, owing to the laxity of the morals of some of the nuns, this order divided itself into two distinct sects. They were never rich, and therefore always bore the appellation of "Poor Clares," which designation was conferred upon them by Pope Innocent III. "This St. Clare," says her legendary history, "touching the world, was of right honourable lineage, and as touching the spirit, to the regard of the state of virtues and holy manners towards God, of right noble reputation."§ Of this description of religious persons, Fuller, who is rarely in charity with monks or nuns, remarks, "I am inclined to believe, that these were the least bad amongst all the professors of virginity."

The Bridgetines, or nuns of our Saviour, were instituted by St. Bridget, Queen of Sweden, in A. D. 1376.|| Of this order, Dr. Tanner finds only one house in England, which, Weever says, is now the goodly house at Sion, in Middlesex, belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl of Northumberland. "Men and women lived under the same roof; the women above, the men beneath, and one church common to both. By their order, their house was to be endowed plentifully at the first, whereon they might live without wanting or begging, as well in dear as cheap years, and after their first foundation, they were incapable of future benefactions."¶ The number of inmates in one house, consisted of sixty nuns and twenty-five monks, divided into classes, as follows: thirteen priests, according in number with the thirteen apostles of our Saviour, including St. Paul; four deacons, who were also priests, representative of the four doctors of the primitive church, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and St. Jerome; eight converts, whose offices were to labour for the affairs of the convent; so that the collective force of the house corresponded with the thirteen apostles and the seventy-two disciples.** "They gave away to the poor all that was left of their annual revenue, conceiving otherwise it would putrefy and corrupt when treasured up, and be as heinous an offence, as that of the Jews

* Tanner's Pref. It is said that there was a prior in the house at Nun-Eaton. † Stevens' Add.

‡ Emillianne names 1225, p. 253.

§ Weever, p. 151, and Tanner's Pref. This St. Clare was the first nun of the order of St. Francis. Her mother and sister took the same habit.

|| Tanner says, that she was either a princess or a duchess; and Stevens observes, that they were first established in 1344, but we have followed Weever.

¶ Fuller, p. 237. ** Weever, p. 149.

when preserving manna longer than the continuance of one day.”* Their habit was a russet, with a cloak of the same colour, having a red cross upon their breasts; but each class was distinguished by a particular badge, which they always wore. Weever reports, that “the priests carried a red crosse upon the left side of their cloak, under which cross they put a little piece of white cloth, as broad as a wafer, which they offered up in reverence of the holy sacrament. And the four deacons, for a difference from the priests, carried a round wreath of white cloth, which signified, as they gave out, the sapience of the four doctors whom they represented, and upon it they put four little pieces of red, made like unto tongues, to shew that the Holy Ghost inflamed their tongues to deliver the sacred mysteries of divinity. The converts wore a white cross upon their cloaks, to shew the innocence of their lives, upon which there were five pieces of red, in commemoration of the five wounds of our Saviour.”†

To this brief picture of religious women, several other shades might be added; but sufficient, we conceive, has been said, to enable the reader to form a tolerably just conception of the order in general.

Of the religious military orders, there were only two in England; the first of which, called the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or knights hospitallers, were instituted at the latter place, in A. D. 1092, to serve as a retreat for such zealous Christians as might feel compelled to visit the holy-sepulchre.‡ Being highly favoured by Godfrey of Bologne, duke of Lorrain, they soon began to prosper. They erected a church, and consigned it to the care of St. John the Baptist. None of a defamed life were to be admitted. They were to be gentlemen by blood, and in every way capable to sustain that character. The Kings of France were sovereigns, and, with many others, granted them great and valuable immunities and princely privileges. As a model of their rule, they adopted the code of St. Augustine, wearing a black habit, with a white cross upon it. On being driven out of the precincts of Jerusalem, they took up their residence principally in the island of Rhodes, and were afterwards denominated the knights of Rhodes, and on being dislodged from that place by the Turks, in A. D. 1552, they chiefly retired for shelter into the island of Malta, which was conferred on them by the Emperor Charles V., bearing henceforward the name of the knights of Malta.§ They came into England about the year 1100, and soon acquired great wealth and honour. “Their superior was the first lay baron, and had a seat amongst the lords in parliament, and some of their privileges were extended even to their tenants.|| Previously to the admission of any mem-

* Fuller, ut sup. † Weever, p. 149.

‡ Weever, p. 148, who, for the period of their institution, names the year 1099; so also does Emilienne.

§ Stevens' ed. Mon. vol. i. p. 8, and a note in Tanner's Pref. || Burton's Mon. Ebor. Pref.

bers into the ranks of those holy warriors, they were obliged to subscribe to the following essentials. "They took the sacrament, to hear every day a mass, if they might conveniently; if wars were commenced against the infidels, to serve there in person, or to send others in their stead, no less serviceable; to oppugn the persecutors of the church, to shun unjust wars, dishonest gain, and private duels; lastly, to be reconcilers of dissensions; to advance the common good; to defend the widow and orphan, to refrain from swearing, perjury, blasphemy, rapine, usury, sacrilege, murder, and drunkenness; to avoid suspected places, the company of infamous persons; to live chastly, irreproveably, and in word and deed, to shew themselves worthy of such a dignity."*

The knights Templars were instituted in A. D. 1118,† and were so called, in consequence of having their first residence in some rooms adjoining to the Temple at Jerusalem. Their business was to guard the roads for the security of pilgrims to the holy land, and their rule that of canons regular of St Austin. Their habit was white, with a red cross on their left shoulders. Their arrival in England is thought to have been very early, probably in the reign of King Stephen. Their first house was in Holborn. Their multiplication was very rapid, and to their houses were speedily added extensive possessions.‡ In less than two centuries, however, their wealth and power were thought too great. Envy, that most direful scourge of the human breast, raised against them its appalling front, and dignitaries in every religious order, together with the potentates, &c. of several kingdoms, conspired to make them subjects of a general plunder. Philip, King of France, and Pope Clement V. were the most active in this unprincipled robbery. They were charged with horrid crimes, but none were proved against them. Not content with simply seizing their property, the persons of their masters were cruelly used. James of Morlai, grand-master of the order was burnt to a cinder at Paris. Two other knights were also consigned to the same element in the year 1313, and others were executed in other provinces. The order was totally abolished by the council of Vienna, in A. D. 1312. The superior of this fraternity was styled, "Master of the Temple," and was a member of the upper house.

The order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, (of which were a few houses in England,) appears to have been founded for the relief and support of leprous and impotent people of the military houses.§

* Weever, p. 147, where are given many other particulars.

† Matthew Paris, p. 56. Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 517. Emilianne, p. 229.

‡ See their large rental in England, which is given in the Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 526, and several subsequent pages. This survey refers to A. D. 1186. In A. D. 1244, Matthew Paris says, they had nine thousand manors in Christendom, and Heylin remarks, that at their suppression, sixteen thousand lordships, besides other lands, &c. belonged to them. See also Rapin, vol. i. p. 403.

§ Tanner's Pref. p. xxv.

In this delineation of the religious orders we have been as brief as possible, but at the same time sufficiently copious, we presume, to convey a tolerably correct idea of their nature and consequence in society. Some few orders have been omitted which had houses in England, and several that were generally prevalent abroad, but none of the former, of much consequence, have been left unnoticed. The monastic order itself, its nature and importance in society, together with the various members, &c. of which it was composed, shall next, for a short period, occupy our attention—a theme we enter upon with some degree of pleasure, because we hope to be enabled to remove, in some measure, the odium which has been cast upon them by their uncharitable and most inveterate enemies, and to exhibit the ascetic institution in a light more consonant with truth and justice. Commencing first with the members thereof.

An abbot was the chief or head member of a community, connected by one common rule, and cemented by one common interest. His office was to govern and regulate the observance, discipline, privileges and revenues of the house, over which he presided. These, in many cases, were important in number, value, and extent. The character of an abbot was in many cases exceedingly popular and imposing; several of them had seats, and voted in the great assembly of the nation in virtue of their office. Some were addressed “My Lord Abbot,” and assumed the titles of “universal abbots, abbots sovereign,” &c. During the dark ages, when the sable mantle of superstition threw its baneful shadow over the human intellect, riches, honours, and immunities, were heaped upon them with lavish hands. Emperors and empresses, kings and queens, dukes and duchesses, exchanged the sceptre and the ducal coronet for the crosier, deserted their thrones and honours in order to assume their titles and wear their habits, and instead of labouring to conquer the world, forsook it, and thereby gained a greater trophy—a victory over themselves.* Places of the greatest trust, and functions of the first importance were conferred upon them, which their talents, learning, and virtues, enabled them to fill with credit and ability. Most of them had the authority of bishops, “gave the solemn benediction, conferred the lesser orders, wore mitres, sandals, &c. and carried crosses and pastorals

* Eleven emperors and nine empresses, twenty kings and ten queens, exclusive of a great number of eminent characters, are said by Stevens to have resigned their crowns, empires, and honours, to join the Benedictine order only.

In addition to the above number, Peter Culzolatus names—

Emperors and kings	.. .. .	19
Sons of kings and emperors	.. .. .	8
Dukes	.. .. 15	} Stevens 26
Earls	.. .. 13	

The above-named Peter mentions many more dukes, earls, &c.

Empresses that have been nuns	.. .. 9	} 19
Queens	.. .. 10	
Women eminent for learning	.. .. .	6

in their hands," on all grave occasions;* and in many instances, their houses were exempted from the jurisdiction of any superior, save the pope or his delegates.† The manner in which the bishops and abbots bore their respective ensigns, however, was somewhat dissimilar, a regulation, indeed, that cost much trouble in its accomplishment. The abbots carried their crosiers in the left hand, while the bishops sustained their staves in the right. In the 49th Henry III., sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors were summoned to parliament, in which number were the Abbot of Roche, the Prior of Worksop, &c.;‡ but that number throwing too great a weight into the clerical scale, it was reduced to twenty-five abbots and two priors, in the reign of Edward III.; to which, at a subsequent period, two other abbots were added; so that the total number of monastic representatives amounted to twenty-nine.§

The office and character of a prior were in many cases equal in importance with those of an abbot; while in others, they were subordinate. When the priory was a cell, founded by or attached to the revenues of a larger establishment, as were those at Hatfield, Sandtoft, &c., he was generally subject to the will and pleasure of the superior to whom the cell or priory belonged; in other cases, although the cell was liable to the control and jurisdiction of the chief of its respective abbey, the guardian or head thereof was in some measure more independent, and exercised the functions of a free and absolute protector; rendering a given sum of money at appointed periods, as a compensation or rent, and appropriating the overplus to the use of the house over which he presided; while the more dependent, like stewards, rendered regularly a correct account to his superior, at whose will or caprice he might be removed.

All alien priors were subject to the control of foreign houses, and may rather be esteemed as the guardians of their property in this country, over which they watched in the capacity of keepers. These also materially differed as it respected their dependence or independence of the houses that placed them here. Some were obliged to render up just accounts to the institutions whereto they belonged; while others paid a given sum per annum.|| These priories often experienced the lawless will of right by force, being generally seized by the King, during a belligerent system, and again restored on the return of peace.

Friaries were houses for the reception of friars, but not often endowed, being of the profession of mendicants, and having no property. Many of their houses were

* Tanner's Preface.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. and Speed. ‡ Fuller, lib. iv. p. 292. Others say one hundred and two.

§ Authors are not agreed on this question. The number here stated, however, we conceive to be the least. Roche abbey and a number of others discontinued to sit in the upper house, in the reign of Richard II.

|| Rymer, vol. viii. p. 100.

large and stately buildings, having within their walls, noble churches and magnificent apartments, in the former of which were frequently interred the bodies of eminent persons, as was the case at Doncaster, Tickhill. &c. Over these establishments a prior always presided.

Hospitals were originally founded for the benefit of the poor and impotent, whom necessity might compel to seek relief, when on a journey or from home; and in order to render them universally useful, they were always situate contiguous to highways, as is manifest from such as were placed at Doncaster, Tickhill, &c.

Priests, or incumbents, were an order of men, whose office it was to officiate at the altars placed in parochial or cathedral churches, denominated chantries. These places were generally endowed with lands and rents for the maintenance of one or more priests, to say mass, at stated periods, for the souls of the founder and his relatives.* On their dissolution, in the time of Edward VI., there were no fewer than forty-seven such institutions in St. Paul's church, London. In the church of St. George, Doncaster, there were four or six, and in that of St. Mary-in-the-Magdalens, three; and in most of the churches in the wapentake, there was one or more. "True it is," says Fuller, "the courtiers were more rapacious to catch and voraciously to swallow these chantries than abbey lands. For at the first, many were scrupulous in mind, or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of abbey lands, though offered unto them, till profit and custom, two very able confessors, had by degrees satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples removed, chantry lands went down without any regret. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the king carved for them out of the abbey lands, scrambled for themselves out of chantry revenues, as knowing that this was the last dish of the last course, and after chantries, as after cheese, nothing to be expected. As for those who fairly purchased them of the King, they had such good bargains therein, that thereby all enriched, and some ennobled both themselves and posterity. But for satisfaction therein, I refer the reader to his pen,† who never spared any that came under its lash, and seldom any that came near it, and who speaks with more bitterness than falsehood in this particular."‡

* Repert. p. 329. Fuller, lib. iv. p. 350. Sir Henry Spelman says, "*Cantaria est sedes sacra: ideo instituta et dotata prædiis, ut missa ibidem cantaretur pro anima fundatoris, et propinquorum ejus.*" Pegge supposes the term *chantry* to be derived from *cancelli*, or lattice-work, "by which the chancel was formerly parted from the body of the church. Hence, too, the Court of Chancery and the Lord Chancellor derive their names; that court being enclosed with open work of that kind. And to cancel a writing, is to cross out with a pen, which naturally makes something like the figure of a lattice." See Pegge's Anonym. p. 8.

† Sir J. Hayward, in Edw. VI. p. 155.

‡ Fuller. The number of chantries and free chapels given to the King, appear to have been in number 2374.

In taking a retrospective view of the period, wherein monastic life was in the zenith of its power, and at the very acme of its glory, a mass of ideas crowds upon the mind, and impels the inquisitive to ask, of what utility and advantage those institutions were to society, and what benefit nations or individuals derived from the existence of such associations.

To these queries, various answers might be, and indeed have been given. By some, they have been condemned with the keenest acrimony, and the most malignant rancour; while others, less severe and more judicious, have pointed out their advantages and disadvantages with impartial scrutiny, and presented to posterity this useful, but calumniated order of men, in colours less distorted, and with nicer discrimination.

That a body of men, consisting of at least thirty thousand souls, should continue to be all virtuous, is more to be desired than reasonably expected, so long as human nature sustains its present character. The assumption of the monastic habit did not divest them of their humanity; therefore, it still left them subject to fall, or liable to perish; but that all, or even many of them were guilty of that black catalogue of crimes, of which the envenomed tongues of malevolent slander, and cowardly interest, have accused them, is a most diabolical falsehood, and a charge that richly deserves the scorn and contempt of every reasonable and impartial man.

In Speed's *Chronicles of England*, D'Emillianne's *History of the Monastic Orders*, and some other authors, a string of aspersions and calumnies is exhibited against the monks and nuns, as a body, charging them with offences grossly indecent, and with deeds that are repugnant to the order and law of nature.* With this false and distorted picture, Fuller, also, in part agrees; but he does not go to the same length in its most objectionable lineaments. Biased and uncharitable, however, as are the three last named writers, Bishop Burnet far outvies them in strength and substance of colouring. "In some, they (the visitors) found the instruments and other tools for multiplying and coining; but for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found with child, or principally so; for the dissoluteness of abbots and other monks and friars, not only with harlots, but married women, and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices; these," says Burnet, "are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this nature." The full report of this visitation is lost; but the bishop saw an extract from it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houses, which contained abominations equal to any that were in Sodom.†

* Speed, p. 1042, and D'Emillianne.

† Rapin's *England*, p. 606.

D'Emillianne, emulous of immortal fame, in almost every page, levels the artillery of his intemperate enmity against this order of men. In one of his citations from Bale, are the following verses, which he applies to the Gilbertines, one of the few orders that had their rise in England. We shall leave them in the language in which we find them.

" Harum sunt quædam steriles, quædam parentes,
Virgineoque tamen nomine cuncta tegunt.
Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore,
Illa quidem melius fertilisq; parit.
Vix etiam quævis sterilis reperitur in illis,
Donec ejus ætas talia posse negat."

The reports of the visitors of the monasteries, will be received with much caution by every friend of truth. Interested as they were in exaggeration and hyperbolical amplification, we withhold our wonder when we see, to use a vulgar expression, mole-hills magnified into mountains. Actuated by a thirst for private emolument, and desirous to please their employers, every thing was exhibited in sombre colours; a smile was attributed to an unwarrantable levity, ill becoming their sacred functions; and a frown, or look of sanctity was deemed an infallible indication of an haughty and imperious spirit, not less objectionable in a legate of heaven. "Doth any man resolve to enrich himself by violence," says the author of a Defence of English History, "inquire how the possessor came by what he wants? Whether by honest means or otherwise? If that would serve him for excuse, he would find out enough to load the bilked owner with, and engage, like Henry VIII., to employ the treasure better;" adding, "There seems nothing wanting to set the design in a proper light, than this, viz., that the hospitals, which could not be charged with any of these immoralities, underwent the same fate."

The enemies to monastic institutions aver, that on the accession of Mary to the throne of England, orders were given to Bonner and others, "to raze out of the public records, all that had been done by Henry VIII. against the monks and the people, and particularly the accounts of the visitation of the monasteries, and the renunciation of the papal authority by the monks;"* but it would have been well, if the author of the above passage had first convinced us, that the reports of the visitors were put on record. The only register, we conceive, which was made of those documents, consisted in the letters sent to Cromwell, the King's vicegerent, numbers of which, as we might reasonably expect, yet remain to confirm their innocence, as well as to testify their guilt.

* Rapin, p. 106. This document may be seen in Burnet's App. p. 301.

In addition to the letters penned by the visitors, we have also a number of documents denominated "surrenders," which are adduced in proof of the profligacy of monkish manners and habits; but it is right to remember, that those who could so far violate the principles of honesty and honour, as grossly to libel the characters of the monks and nuns, would not hesitate to forge the articles of surrender. In fact, the whole proceeding was a farce and gross fraud; for the occupiers of monastic property had no more right to surrender, than the King an equitable power to see it.

Within the circle of our survey, we see one instance of a shameful want of veracity, in the visitors of the monasteries. In a letter dated the 15th December, 1537, which was transmitted to Cromwell by the commissioners, Geo. Lawson, Rich. Belases, &c. it is observed, "We have qwyetly taken the surrender, and dissolved the monasteries of Wyerscope, Monk-breton, St. Andrews in Yorke, Byland, Ryvalle, Kirksum and Ellerton. The fryers att Tykhill, Doncaster, Pontefract, and the city of York, where we p'ceized no murmers or ——— in any whay, bot were thankfully received."* Whereas Laurence, an elder brother of William, one of the ancestors of Sir W. B. Cooke, Bart., of Wheatley, manfully opposed those sacrilegious proceedings, and for the offence, suffered on the scaffold at Tybourne, on the 4th of August, 1540.

As a further proof of the impious falsehoods propagated by the visitors, we need only advert to the large pensions that were allowed out of the revenues of the abbey lands, &c. to several of the accused, which is justly regarded as one of the weightiest proofs that it is possible to adduce in support of their innocence. Every one who is acquainted with the character of Henry VIII. must be satisfied, that a cause, far less criminal than impiety and incontinence, would have been sufficient to induce that prodigal potentate to disallow a pension which would so materially conduce to the enriching of his exhausted coffers. Incontinence and cruelty were not the sole monarchs that reigned in the mind of that capricious king: avarice, a passion the least worthy of a place in the human breast, benumbed the finest feelings of his soul, and rendered him a tyrant to himself and to his subjects. This, it must be acknowledged, was no feeble *stimulus* in tending to effect a dissolution of the monasteries, and the whole system of the ascetic life—a system which the piety of ages had rendered sacred, and lapse of time, an evil that judicious management might have converted into a perpetual benefit to mankind at large.†

* Dods. Coll. vol. xxvi. No. 4168. Bodl. Bib.

† Christ Church in Canterbury was one of those unfortunate institutions, the members whereof, prior to the general suppression, were accused of unnatural crimes; but the learned historian of that city has completely refuted the charge.

That a number of monks and nuns were vicious characters, their warmest advocates are willing to admit, and the disallowance of marriage contributed not a little to render breaches of continence less rare. But the charge of incontinence was not the only crime of which they were accused: some were charged with remissness in their functions, as heads of convents; while others were represented as conniving at the most wanton wickedness, and encouraging by their example a series of offences at variance with nature. To these we may likewise add, their unconquerable opposition to the King's divorce from his legal wife, and his espousal of the beautiful, but unfortunate Anne Bullen.* This was a vital offence, and not to be pardoned easily, by a disposition so irritable and unrelenting as was that of Henry.

Amidst the most prominent abuses of a monastic life and manners, that of acquiring property by means of threats, superstitious rites, and ceremonies, appears to be the most objectionable, and the worthiest of abrogation. In this remark, however, we would not be thought to allude to the various donations of land, &c. for certain specific and laudable purposes; but in holding up to the ignorant and superstitious, objects of worship and adoration, the most unworthy of such divine honours, and thereby riveting on, instead of eradicating from the human mind, a bane so dreadfully derogatory and debasing.

The introduction of images into the temple of God, had its origin in a very remote age. The device was a judicious and skilful manœuvre, suggested by a thorough acquaintance with the mind of man in its dark and infant state. Unaccustomed to

* Friar Peyto preached against it before the King himself, at Greenwich, and friar Elstow defended him. *Stow's Annals*, p. 651. To shew the spirit of the age, we will here transcribe the passage from honest Stow. "Fryer Peto, a simple man, yet very devout, of the order of the Observants: this man preaching at Greenwich, upon the two and twentieth chapter of the third book of Kings, viz. the last part of the storie of Achab, saying, where the dogges licked the bloud of Naboth, even there shall the dogges licke thy bloud also O King, and therewithall spake of the lying Prophets, which abused the King, &c. I am, quoth he, that Micheas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee trulie that this marryage is unlawfull, and I know I shall eate the bread of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow, yet because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak it, and when he hadde strongly inuoyd against the king's second marryage, to disswade him from it, he also sayd, there are many other preachers, yea too many, which preach and perswade thee otherwise, feeding thy folly and frail affections upon hope of their own worldlie promotion and by that means they betray thy soul, thy honor, and posteritie, to obtaine fat benefices, to become rich abbots, and get episcopall jurisdiction, and other ecclesiastical dignities, these I say are the foure hundreth Prophets, who in the spirit of lying, seeke to deceiue thee, but take good heed lest being seduced, you find Achabs punishment; which was to haue his bloud licked up of the dogs, saying, it was one of the greatest miseries in Princes to bee dayly abused by flatterers, &c. The King being thus reprooued, endured it patiently, and did no violence to Peto, but the next Sunday being the eight of May, doctor Curwin preached in the same place, who most sharply reprehended Peto, and his preaching, and called him dogge, slanderer, base beggerly Fryer, Close man, Rebell, and trayter, saying, that no subject should speak so audaciously to Princes, and hauing spoke much to that effect, and in commendation of the Kings Marryage, thereby to establish his seed in his seate for euer, &c. Hee then supposing to haue vterly suppress Peto, and his partakers, he lift up his voice and sayde, I speake to thee Peto which makest thyself Micheas, that thou mayest speak euil offkings, but now thou art not to be found, being fledde for fear and shame, being vnable to answere my argument: and whilst he thus spake, there was one Elstow, a fellow Fryer to Peto, standing in the Roodeloft, who with a bolde voice sayd to doct. Curwin, good sir you know that Father Peto, as he was commaunded, is now gone to a prouinciall Councell holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for

think, the great bulk of mankind, before the general spread of the gospel, was in a state of worse than mental nudity. Duped by the designing priest, and held in jeopardy by a general depravity of intellect, the lower classes of people were not far removed in the world of mind from "the beast that perisheth;" and every attempt to impress on them ideas of an abstract character, was found extremely difficult: hence it was found necessary to call in the assistance of visible objects, and by the aid thereof, as by a ladder, their views were directed to the self-existent being. The relics of saints and confessors, were of a different nature, and originated from a different and dishonourable motive, tending rather to darken than illumine the understanding—to debase, rather than to ennoble the faculties of the human mind. "Amongst the relicks we fownde moche vanitie and superstition, as the coles that seint Laurence was roasted withall; the paring of seint Edmondes nayles; seint Thomas of Cant. pennekniffe, and his bootes; and diversesculls for the headache; pieces of the holie crosse, able to make a hole crosse. Of other reliques for rane, and certayne other superstitious usages for avoydinge wedes in corne, wythe such others."*

The charges made by the visitors on this head, notwithstanding their exaggeration, are not wholly unfounded. A number of these relics are yet to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. But the age was a credulous one.

Enthusiasm is a noble, generous, and requisite passion of the mind; and when restrained within proper bounds, and directed to a proper object, it accomplishes wonders in both the moral and physical world; but in this, as well as in many other cases, it has outstepped the bounds of reason and equity; and instead of reforming, it has extirpated an establishment, which, by a more just and judicious arrangement, might have been made subservient to the best of purposes, and productive of advantages, incalculable in amount, and universal in extent.

tomorrowe he will retorne againe, in the meane time I am here as another Micheas, and will lay down my life to prooue all those things true which he hath taught out of the holy scripture: and to this Combat I challenge thee before God and all equall iudges, euen vnto thee Curwin I say, which art one of the foure hundreth Prophets into whome the Spirit of lying is entred, and seekest by adulterie to establish Succession, betraying the king vnto endlesse perdition, more for thy vaine glorie and hope of promotion, then for discharge of thy clogged conscience, and the kings Saluation. This Elstow waxed hot and spake very earnestly, so as they could not make him cease his speech vntill the king himselfe had him hold his peace, and gaue order that he and Peto should be conuented before the counsel, which was done the next daie, and when the Lords hadde rebuked them, then the Earle of Essex tolde them, that they had diserned to be put into a Sacke and cast into the Thames, whereunto Elstow smyling sayd, threaten these things to rich and dayntie folke, which are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and haue their cheifest hope in thisworld, for wee esteeme them not, but are joyfull that for the discharge of our duties wee are dryuen hence, and with thanks to God wee know the way to heauen, to be ready by water as by land, and therefore we care not which way we goe. These Fryers and all the rest of their order were banished shortly after, and after that none durst openly oppose themselues against the king's affections, doctor Carwin was made Deane of Hereford, and after that Archbishop of Dublyn in Ireland, and after that Bishoppe of Oxford in Queen Maries time."

* Willis' App. vol. i. p. 58. The original letter is in the Cottonian Library. It was sent by the visitors to Cromwell, from Bury St. Edmunds, and refers to the monks of that place.

"I would not be thought," as Hearne says to Browne Willis, "from what I have said, to be an enemy to the Reformation. That is certainly to be commended so far as it was carried on with a design to shake off and extirpate those gross errors that had, by degrees, crept into the church; and so far the King himself is to be commended as he proposed that, in his opposing the Pope.* But then, whereas the Reformation was carried on with a design also to destroy all the Abbeyes, and to take from them those lands that were conferred in the most solemn manner, this, certainly, ought to be condemned, and to be looked upon as the highest instance of sacrilege. And by it the King hath left behind him such a blemish, as will never be wiped off; and therefore my Lord Herbert might well conclude his history with a wish *that he could leave him in his grave*, which is a very excellent conclusion, notwithstanding very short, he having by his demolishing the religious houses, and by giving and selling the lands to lay persons, exceeded in sacrilege any particular prince that ever went before him. Nay, I question whether he did not exceed all the princes of any one single kingdom put together. I am very unwilling to speak ill of crowned heads; but what I have mentioned is so very notorious, that it is no secret, and therefore there can be no harm in speaking of it, even in the most public manner. When Christianity was first planted in Britain, the Reformers discovered plainly that what they did was out of a true principle of piety and devotion, and with a design only to propagate the Christian Doctrines, and not with an intent to enrich themselves. They therefore did not destroy the Heathen temples, and other places of worship, but only converted them to a Christian use. Nether did they employ any of these things that had been appropriated to religion to a profane use; but decreed in a synod that they should continue for religious purposes, to which they were originally designed, though, with this caution, that under the severest penalties, they should not be (as before) made use of upon any account, in promoting and advancing the Heathen, but only in carrying on and establishing the Christian discipline. Had King H. 8th imitated them, he had left, in this point, a very great and glorious character behind him. But in this he very unhappily failed, and the nation groans to this day for the sins that were at that time committed, not only by himself, but by the agents employed by him, particularly by the Visitors, who proceeded with the utmost rigour and violence against the monks, and stuck at nothing that they thought would expose them, and would serve as an argument to the King for dissolving the Abbeyes, and seizing on their lands and revenues, and afterwards employing them to such purposes as himself, by the advice of those Visitors and other enemies to the monks, should judge proper."†

* Query. Was it not rather for the sake of Anne Bullew? Had the Pope and the monks favoured his views on that subject, it is probable that his power in England might have existed for some time longer.

† Letters from the Bodleian Lib. vol. i. p. 273. The editor remarks, "On the necessity of the Reformation there can be but one opinion; but the overthrow of every monastic institution, the barbarous cruelty inflicted upon the professors of religion, and the destruction of every valuable monument of art, every splendid relic of literature, cannot but

If Spelman may be credited, or rather, if his deductions be fairly inferred, scarce one of the individuals that partook of the plundered property, added eventually to his stock, either of happiness, honour, or wealth.*

The irreconcilable enmity and illnature which almost always subsisted between the monks, and the secular and parochial clergy, seem to have been chiefly founded and fomented by the avarice of the former, and the disappointed pride and envy of the latter. The engrossment of the prebends, and the benefices of the establishment; their holding, and the appropriating to themselves the advowson of so great a number of churches; their exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and from the payment of tithes; all proved a continual source of animosity, and an inexhaustible fund of discontent and augmenting rancour. To the community at large, they were injurious in some respects, and in none more so, than in their unfair, narrow-minded, and ungenerous mode of trading with those of a different community;† and to the course of justice, by their churches being a sanctuary for offenders of the most notorious character.‡ In this particular, they were a pest to society. For the

impress us with a disgust and abhorrence, which even the great benefits we have received from the change can scarcely allay." Moreover, after passing the act, the king promised in a speech to the members of the upper house, that he would "Order them to the glory of God, and profit of the commonwealth." "Surely," says he, "if I, contrary to your expectations, should suffer the ministers of the churches to decay, or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished, or the poor and miserable to be unrelieved, you might well say, that I, being put in such a special trust, as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable to my Emne-Christen, neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings; doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive."!!! Hist Sacrilege, p. 185. How were these promises fulfilled? Ask Spelman.

* See Spelman on Sacrilege; also his "De non temerandis Ecclesiis."

† See the Beggar's Petition, Harl. Misc. vol. i. p. 218; and Fuller, p. 288. In the former, is a series of extortions truly lamentable.

‡ This evil, however, is not a singular trait in the character of the monks, and ought not, therefore, to be adduced as an evil exclusively chargeable upon that body. They are thus defined by Weever: "Sanctuaries were places of refuge, to which offenders fled to escape the hands of justice, and were so called of an old Mosaical rite used amongst the Israelites, among whom, every tribe had certain cities and places of refuge, to which malefactors might repair, and be protected for a time from the rigour of the law. Of which you may read in the sacred writ: Exod. xxi. 13, Numbers xxxv. 1, Deut. iv. 41, and Josh. xx. 2. And so likewise in Great Britain, churches, church-yards, cities, ploughs, and highways had many privileges of this kind anciently granted and confirmed to them. I will first speak of the latter out of a late writer, who makes old Watling Street thus to sing his verse:

'Since vs his kinglie waies Mulmutius first began
From Sea againe to Sea, that through the Island ran.
Which that in mynd to keep Posteritie might haue,
Appointing first his cource, this priuiledge he gaue,
That no man might arrest, or debtors' goods might seize
In any of vs foure his militarie waies.'

DRAYTON's Polyol.

"Near five hundred years before, this King Mulmutius (take it upon the credit of British story) constituted diuers laws; especially, that churches, ploughs, and highways, should have liberty of sanctuary, by no authority violable. In the laws of William the Conqueror, this custom was somewhat abridged; but it continued to gain ground through the influence of the monks, until it was wholly abolished by Henry VIII."

sake of a trifle, they would screen from the operation of the law, rogues and vagabonds of every description, and afterwards absolve them from the obligation which their consciences imposed.

The injury sustained by society, in consequence of so great a number of useful members being unemployed, in the estimation of some, did justify their abolition;* but how far their surmises are correctly formed, subsequent events have sufficiently developed. Great numbers, although confined within the precincts of a monastery, were not idle, but on the contrary, usefully and beneficially employed. Useless and unproductive, however, as the monks, &c. were supposed to be to the commonwealth, doubtless as great a number was, and is, as unprofitably retained, and as uselessly employed, in the families of the great, as was ever immured within the walls of the convent, in the zenith of their power and greatness.

In the commencement of the last century, Mr. King, an able and intelligent political calculator, stated the total number of inhabitants of Great Britain to be about five millions and a half. Out of this number, he assigned to the first seven classes in society, eighty-five thousand five hundred and twenty, as being retained by that description of men. His statement is as follows :—

Spiritual lords - - -	26 families.	20 heads each.	520
Temporal do. - - -	160 do.	40 do.	6,400
Knights - - - - -	600 do.	13 do.	7,800
Baronets - - - - -	800 do.	16 do.	12,800
Eminent clergy - - -	2,000 do.	6 do.	12,000
Eminent merchants -	2,000 do.	8 do.	16,000
Esquires - - - - -	3,000 do.	10 do.	30,000
	<u>8,586</u>	<u>113</u>	Total <u>85,520</u>

Admitting this calculation to approximate anything near to the truth, we see at one view, a number much greater than was ever cloistered up in caves and convents, even in the most splendid era of monastic power; and we are more than afraid, not so beneficially employed, nor more productive to the wealth and energy of the nation. It is more than doubtful, also, whether the same remark will not apply with equal accuracy to the population of the present period.

From the evils, let us turn to the benefits of monastic institutions.

In all the principal, and in many of the lesser abbeys, was a large room, called the *Scriptorium*, wherein a number of writers were daily employed in transcribing

* Fuller and Brady both attribute our easy submission to the Danes and Normans, to the disproportionate number of monks to that of military men, and affirm, that had the number of the former been less, and of the latter greater,

and composing books, which were afterwards deposited in the library, for the use of the convent. Nor was their time solely employed in the office of transcribing from books on almost every subject; they also noted down all occurrences, both of a public and private nature, that came to their knowledge; which, at the end of each year, were digested, and arranged into history, chronicles, annals, &c. Some of their productions, however, it must be acknowledged, are of a fabulous nature and flimsy texture, calculated rather to mislead, than to inform the reader—to amuse, rather than to instruct the mind, by a prodigal use of eulogy and abuse, unskilfully arranged and intemperately blended; but there are others, whose works are of a very different character, which do credit to the order, and at once exhibit minds fertile in invention, and facile in execution.*

To the custody of the superiors of these establishments were often committed some of the choicest records of the nation, as well as those belonging to eminent individuals; even acts of parliament were in some cases sent to the abbeys, in order that they might be recorded.† Exemplifications of various charters, also, were sent thither, to be securely preserved, amongst which were, the Charter of Liberty granted by Henry I., Magna Charta, Charta de Forestæ, &c. King Edward I. caused a minute search to be made into the libraries of all the great abbeys, as being the most likely depositories in which records could be found to prove his right to the Scottish diadem; and on the recognition of his legal title to that dignity, he ordered it to be inserted in the lieger books and chronicles of Winchombe abbey, &c.‡ The money, plate, jewels, writings, &c. of opulent individuals, found within their walls an honest and safe depository; while the deeds, &c. of the rich frequently rested there, until the owners thereof returned from an expedition to the Holy Land, or some other hazardous enterprise. These facts prove, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the order was not only respected as a body, but that it was also esteemed as pre-eminently worthy of trust.§

To the character of learned, we may also add that of teachers. Knowing the importance of education, they were ready to communicate it to others. “Our monasteries,” says Archbishop Usher, “were the seminaries of the ministry, being as it were colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people did usually resort for instruction, and whence the churches are wont to be continually supplied with able ministers.” In almost every monastery, one or two of its members were daily occupied for some few hours in teaching, *gratis*, all that chose to repair to the abbey for

Inguar and Hubba would not have succeeded in dealing spoliation so liberally, nor the Norman tyrant have so easily ascended the English throne, nor kept it with such impunity. See Beggar's Petition.

* Gent. Mag. vol. xlv. p. 372.

† Tanner's Preface.

‡ Madox's Exch. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 550.

§ Inett's Ch. Hist. vol. i. p. 277.

that purpose. In the nunneries, also, similar order prevailed, and young women were taught needlework, the English language, and Latin, without fee or reward.*

The early annals, &c. of the dark ages, were principally the productions of the convent; and to the works of Augustine, we may add the luminous writings of St. Bernard, St. Thomas, Venerable Bede, Alcuine, Roger de Hovedene, Malmsbury, Matthew of Paris, Ingulph, Richard of Cirencester, &c. &c.; all of whom do honour to the profession of a monk. The celebrated Cardinal Ximenes was brought up and educated in a convent of grey friars, of whom the learned Leibnitz said, "If great men could be bought, Spain would not have paid too dear for Ximenes, if she had bought him with the gift of one of her kingdoms;" and to his connexion with them, it is not improbable, but our great Alfred owed half his glory and renown; for it is well known, that his advisers were wholly chosen from this order of men.

"Are they censured as illiterate?" asks the learned Batteley. "In those times, there was but little learning in the world. That age is commonly styled the dark, or illiterate age; but most of the learning that then was, was to be found in the cloisters of the monks, where some did attain to such a proficiency of knowledge, as in those times was to be esteemed high and great;" and it is judiciously observed by Sir John Markham, that had it not been for the labours of the monks, the English would be still but children in the history of their own country. Scholars, in almost every department of literature, have flourished within these cenobitical communities; poets, historians, critics, astronomers, politicians, moralists, metaphysicians, mathematicians, orators, divines, &c.; who, by their profound researches, industry, and perseverance, have trod the paths of science, and snatched from the gulph of profound oblivion, the celebrated productions of Greece and Rome.

Public inns, also, being at that time thinly placed, monasteries became the general resort of travellers of every denomination; and even such as could well afford to pay for their accommodation, often repaired to those places for entertainment. Indeed, every monastery was, in effect, a large and expensive hospital, which yearly spent large sums in deeds of charity, and relieved the poor during the pressure of want, the decrepitude of age, or the malignancy of disease.

To the aged and infirm, in particular, the hospitable portals of the abbeys were ever open, and to the needy, they dealt of their store with liberal and bountiful hands. In the abbey of St. Albans, "there was a large room, having beds, &c. on each side, for the reception of strangers and pilgrims, where they had lodging and diet for three days, without question made, whence they came, or whither they went;

* Fuller, lib. iv. p. 297. See also Dodsworth's MSS. vol. cxlvi. Bib. Bodl.

but after that time, they stayed not, without rendering an account of both.”* This was the meritorious mode of discipline that was exercised, according to its ability, in every monastery in the kingdom.

The charitable and benevolent disposition of the inmates of monasteries, as exercised in the fifteenth century here, is practised in some parts of the world at the present day ; unless the cruel proscriptions of revolutionary France have subverted their order, and like our ferocious and insatiable Henry VIII., laid them and their houses in “ desolation’s wretched hand.”†

In the immediate vicinity of their residences, they were also of considerable service, by causing a great and continual influx of strangers frequently to assemble, on various occasions, and for various purposes ; by preserving the neighbourhood from the influence and injustice of the oppressive and offensive forest laws ; by letting out their vast estates on reasonable terms ;‡ and by procuring, through their powerful interest, grants for fairs, markets, &c., to be held in such places, and at such times, as were likely to be of benefit to themselves and to the neighbourhood.§

Independently of the manifold and valuable privileges accruing from those establishments, their houses and churches were ornaments to the country ; especially the latter, which, in many cases, were truly grand, spacious, and commanding edifices, eminently calculated to inspire awe, and to create a reverence for religion, more profound, permanent, and efficacious, than many of the barn-like structures of the present day. The number of monastic churches that have survived the general wreck, is but small, compared with what had existence on the commencement of the fifteenth century ; but ruins, more or less, are spread from one end of the kingdom to the other, all of which impart to the well organized mind, the most exalted ideas of their former magnificent and sublime appearance, befitting the temples dedicated to the service of the one, true, and only God, whose precepts correspond with the nature of their great author, and whose attributes are majesty, mercy, wisdom, and strength.

However plausible the annihilation of the order may seem, the demolition of their houses, and the seizure of their property, with the application of the latter to secular

* In the Priory of Norwich, were consumed annually, 1,500 quarters of malt, and above 800 quarters of wheat, with other things in proportion.

† See Saussure’s *Voyages des Alpes*, vol. ii. where the reader may find much information on this subject, highly creditable to the order of monks. Fuller observes, in reference to those of England, “ Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a patent for his welcome, till he pleased to depart. This was the method ; where he brake his fast, there he dined ; where he dined, there he supped ; where he supped, there he brake his fast next morning ; and so on in a circle.”

‡ Ibid. p. 298. § *Angl. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 288, and *Dugd.* vol. ii. p. 601.

purposes, stamp an indelible blemish on the character of the reformers, erasable only by the action of time. Well may we exclaim with Denham—

“ Who sees these dismal heaps, but would demand,
What barbarous invader sack'd the land;
But when he hears, no Goth, no Turk, did bring
This desolation, but a Christian King;
When nothing, but the name of zeal appears,
'Twixt our best actions, and the worst of theirs,
What does he think our sacrilege would spare,
When such the effects of our devotion are ?”

To dwell longer on this portion of our subject, would be to trespass too far on the pages of this Introduction ; we will, therefore, after concisely adverting to the utility which these establishments were of to the crown, proceed onward with our design.

In Madox's History of the Exchequer, very many instances are on record, which specify the amount that the King demanded and generally obtained, for the confirmation of their liberties and privileges.* Suspending the due election of new abbots, priors, &c.†—granting confirmation of lands, &c.—dispensing with certain services—and obtaining pensions for the clerks and chaplains, belonging to the court, which collectively realized no inconsiderable sum. “ For sometimes,” says Madox, “ both abbeyes and bishoprics have been kept void for several years together. But I do not remember that they used to call in question the King's right of seizing the temporalities on a voidance, providing he filled the see or abbey again within reasonable time, and thereupon restored the temporalities to the succeeding prelate. However, let this matter be as it will, in fact, the crown was wont to take into its hands, in the cases before mentioned, the temporalities of bishoprics and abbeyes becoming vacant. Which temporalities were generally, during the first period, committed to a *custos*, who accounted to the crown for the same, and afterwards, when the office of escheatry was instituted and settled, the respective escheators used, upon an avoidance, to seize the temporalities for the King, and to answer and account for the same as part of their escheatry.”‡ The length of time for which some of the abbeyes and bishoprics were kept void by the avaricious duplicity of the crown, would exceed belief, were it not confirmed by unquestionable authority. The bishopric of Lincoln was once kept vacant for the term of eighteen years, and the revenues thereof, during the whole of that period, were regularly paid to the crown. In or about the 19th Henry III., there were in the King's hands, the abbey of Battle, the

* “ The abbot of Battle, a royal institution, paid fourteen hundred marks to King John, for the confirmation of his liberties. The abbot of Furness, in the 11th Henry III., paid four thousand marks for a regrant of the privileges, &c. formerly conceded to him and his house.”—Madox, p. 283.

† During this suspension, the revenues of the abbey came into the coffers of the crown. ‡ Madox' Exch. p. 209.

bishopric of Chichester, the abbey of Thorney, the bishopric of Ely, the abbeys of Muchelney, Glastonbury, Hulme, Hyde, &c., the annual income of each of which was at that time very considerable.*

For a number of years prior to the general dissolution, the clamours of the people had been loud and impatient. The celebrated Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, is reported to have been one of the most urgent on that melancholy occasion,† in order, as is charitably supposed, the more effectually to promote the reformation. The disallowance of the Pope's supremacy; the decay of superstition, by the rapid but progressive advancement of knowledge; the fears of the Pope and his adherents; together with a thirst for novelty—ever a prominent passion in the mind of man—and a desire to rule, combined eventually to bear down, like a mighty torrent, every thing opposing their progress. To these we may also add, as no ordinary causes, the inapplication of the revenues to the purposes for which they were originally granted; the discovery of a number of false images and 'feigned relics; the friars' opposition to the King's divorce, and his consequent espousal of Anne Bullen;‡ the immediate want of a large supply of money,§ and the people's solicitude to throw the burthen from off their shoulders, careless on whose it might alight;|| and above all, the reports of the visitors, which seemed to seal their fate with the signet of destruction, and lay prostrate, without exception, the guilty and the guiltless, the poor mendicant and the rich abbot, the enlightened senator and the gloomy monk, the continent and the incontinent, the saint and the sinner, male and female, with every description of religious houses, of what nature or quality soever, whether founded by prince or peasant, lord or lady.

In the period intervening between the time of Edgar and Henry VIII., several minor dissolutions occurred, which it would be too tedious to particularize, and too uninteresting to notice in this preliminary discourse. In March 1535, an act passed with but little opposition, ordaining, that all houses which could not spend clearly £200. *per annum*, should be given to the King. In virtue of this enactment, together with the persuasions and threats of the visitors, about three hundred and eighty houses were dissolved,¶ and a revenue of full £32,000. pounds *per annum*,

* Madox's Exch. p. 211. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 190. Beggar's Petition, Harleian Misc. vol. i. p. 218.

‡ Stow, as before cited.

§ Lord Herbert's Com. Hist. vol. ii. p. 191.

|| This, it is to be lamented, is a natural evil, pregnant with consequences of the greatest magnitude. To this cause, principally, may be traced the present hue and cry raised against ecclesiastical property in general.

¶ Some name only three hundred and seventy-five; but Tanner, who took great pains to ascertain the correct total, names three hundred and eighty. Spelman says three hundred and seventy-six.

came into the coffers of the crown,* exclusive of £100,000. in other valuables, such as jewels, plate, &c. found in the suppressed convents.

The consequences of this dissolution were, that ten thousand souls were turned loose into the world, having neither shelter nor provisions. Want, that powerful stimulant to action, roused the drowsy energies of those monastic inmates, who soon apprised the King, that the peace of his realm would not long continue undisturbed. In the latter part of the year 1530, a rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, under the guidance of the prior of Barlings, who, in the disguise of a cordwainer, drew to his standard a vast body of men. However, on being promptly opposed by the Duke of Suffolk, and pardon offered them, they dispersed. In six days after the suppression of this rebellious portion of the community, one of a more formidable character, made its appearance in Yorkshire, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. This also, after many attempts at compromise, was, as we have already noted, quietly dissolved.

Although, by the authority of the act passed in the year 1535, the smaller houses only were obnoxious to suppression, it is generally thought that the greater, also, were secretly doomed to the same fate, though not openly avowed by the King and his commissioners.† However, in the year 1537, a new visitation was appointed, and visitants were forthwith dispatched to every part of the empire. Their orders were strict, and peculiarly calculated to serve the sacrilegious purposes of the court. They were to examine every thing with a jealous and scrutinizing eye, especially the conversation of the monks; their affection to the King, and his supremacy; their cheats, impostures, and superstitions; their view of recent transactions, and opinion of present measures; with every other thing in anywise adapted to bring into discredit the monastic system, for the purpose of hastening the general demolition of the order; and to make their reports regularly to the vicegerent. This appointment had the desired effect; some of them could not stand the test of a rigid examination, as touching the late commotions; they therefore rendered up their houses, to save their lives. Some were favourable to the reformation, and others that had the sagacity to foresee the impending storm, so far embezzled the portable property of the house, that they were unable to sustain the expenses, incidental to the institutions. A number of petitions were laid at the foot of the throne, in behalf of several abbeys; but as their fate had been predetermined, they were of course not complied with. The law to enforce their surrender had not as yet passed the great

* Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. Weever says, that the value of their lands yearly, as then easily rated, was £29,041. 0s. 3½d. Others name the amount to be £32,000. old. The moveable goods, as they were sold, "Robin Hood's pennyworths," realized more than one thousand pounds. The religious persons thus thrown upon the public, exceeded 10,000.—Vid. his Monuments, p. 104.

† Weever, p. 105.

seal, but by some means or other, several establishments were induced to transfer the rights, &c. of the institutions into the power of the commissioners, without any formal precept, or compulsory mandate.* On the 28th of April, 1539, the act passed that was destined to lay in ruins the rest of the monasteries which the late act, and the obstinacy of their respective members, had yet left entire. Several of the abbots, &c. of the monasteries in being on the agitation of this question, were members of, and had votes in the upper house of parliament, and from seventeen to twenty were present at each reading, who, during the whole of its progress, did not offer a dissenting voice.† This silence, however, is no proof that they acquiesced in the deeds done by the house on that occasion. Successfully to stem the torrent of Henry's ambition, or the cupidity and avarice of the lords spiritual and temporal, was a task the abbots, &c. cared not to meddle with. Some, however, dared to do their duty, and opposed, by every means in their power, the officers of the King; for which they were accused of treason, and speedily afterwards brought to the scaffold. Amongst these were the abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, and Cooke, the Carmelite prior of Doncaster. The clear sum realized by the crown, on that occasion, exceeded £100,000. *per annum*, exclusive of an immense amount in other valuables.‡

The germ of destruction having now assumed the vigour of maturity, nothing reputed sacred could withstand its barbaric sway. The abbeys, priories, &c. being prostrate, the military order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem—the religious institutions, consisting of colleges, chantries, hospitals, free chapels, &c. were the objects of its next attack, and, like the former, were soon subdued, and appropriated to temporal uses. On a letter being forwarded to the colleges, narrating to them the proceedings of the house, the members thereof became fully and officially acquainted with the true nature of their situation, which induced them immediately to petition for that mercy which they ultimately obtained.

The danger and impolicy of turning loose into the world so great a number of persons, wholly unprovided for, could not but be apparent to every observing and reflecting mind. Notwithstanding the allowance of pensions to the former inmates of the abbeys, numbers, totally dependent upon their bounty, had not now “where to lay their heads.” This was the principal impulse that gave rise to that dreadful system of vagrancy, which the politic act of Elizabeth was framed to assuage; but which, in fact, has entailed upon the present generation, a tax the most burthensome and grievous of any that press upon the shoulders of the middle class of society.

* Weever, p. 106.

† Tanner's Preface.

‡ Vid. Stevens' ed. Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 10. This valuation included the military orders also. On this occasion, six hundred and forty-five houses of the monks, capable of spending more than £200. per. annum, together with ninety colleges, and one hundred and ten religious hospitals, fell into the hands of the king; making, with the chantries, free-chapels and lesser monasteries, the immense number of three thousand five hundred religious establishments.

The misinterpretation of this statute, has given origin to a scheme, not only miserably oppressive to a great and useful body of men, but a pre-eminent calculation to degrade and stifle the generous feelings so characteristically prominent in human nature, when unsophisticated by a bad or erroneous policy; and to which degenerate complexion, the lame alterations of the present age have rather added than taken away.

The state of society in the age of Elizabeth, presented an aspect materially different from that of the present day; added to which, the alterations produced in local districts, by the enterprising spirit of commercial pursuits, and other adventitious causes, have in many cases rendered that act, which was founded on the basis of wisdom and humanity, an engine of sore oppression, and as applicable to the territories of the Sultan, as to several districts in Britain, over which its provisions now extend. Such, in particular, is the situation of the parish of Sheffield, as well as several other large manufacturing places, which can only be relieved, by either a radical amendment of the old act, or the procuration of a local one, wisely framed to meet the peculiar state of places and circumstances exclusively singular.

The *primum mobile* of human action, never appeared in a more disgusting shape than on this occasion. The King, to gratify a wicked, unbridled, and unruly passion; and the people, to ward off a levy likely to fall upon themselves, consented to, and expedited a violation of justice, unparalleled in the annals of savage or civilized nations. The monastic, like every other species of ecclesiastical property, was given to the monks, by those who had as great a right to bestow it upon them and the poor, as hath any individual of the present day. Wherefore do we dispute the justice of Builli's donations to the abbey of Roche, or the Warrens' power to bequeath to the monks of Lewes, the churches of Conisbrough, Hatfield, Fishlake, &c. with their appendages, and allow the chapels of Bolsterstone and Worsbrough, legally to retain the endowments of the Rockleys, or the bountiful donations of Queen Anne. The possessions of the former were as lawfully their own, as was any portion of the vast patrimony that descended to the heirs of the latter, or enjoyed by the posterity or assignees of either; therefore, they were as much at liberty to give to the one, or devise to the other; and the reigning power, in after ages, could not, without a sacrifice of principle, seize either. The same authority that confirmed the cenobitical, established the lay possession, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove.

Nothing is more common or less justifiable in the present age, than to complain against the patrimony of the church; but ere the sacrilegious hand of power again subvert the first principles of honesty, it would be well first to shew their authority. Of what utility to the present generation was the suppression of the monasteries, and the seizure of their lands, &c.? Are our taxes fewer, our labours less, our poor rates easier, or our lands more productive? These are questions which it would be

easy to answer. We are not enemies to reformation, but, on the contrary, we are solicitous that abuses should be rectified, and the interest of the commonwealth effectually promoted—but not at the exclusive expense of any body of men, lay or ecclesiastical.

Into the monasteries, most certainly, much abuse had crept, and a reformation seemed absolutely necessary ; but reformation and desolation, are terms of very different import ; and it is questionable, which of the two would apply to that memorable event with greater justice. All monastic donations were made, either by implication or expression, for charitable purposes, *in liberam, puram, et perpetuam eleemosynam* ; and the maintenance of a number of men, set apart to perform the divine ordinances of our holy religion. Had Henry VIII., therefore, reformed the abuses of these institutions, instead of annihilating them, he would have conferred a benefit on mankind, never to be forgotten : but that was not his object. The keen and acrimonious feuds now so generally prevalent between the clergyman and his parishioners, might have been obviated ; the poor and necessitous, whom age, decease, or casualty had rendered impotent, might have found a sure asylum, without appealing to the feelings of his neighbours ; and the ordinances of religion would have found a guarantee, in the competency of the living, and the respectability of the incumbent. But the die is cast, and a second opportunity is not likely to occur.

Doncaster.

IN commencing our survey of the particular places in the wapentake, we have thought it requisite first to notice the borough of **DONCASTER**, as being one of the principal towns within the circuit of our district. It is pleasingly situated upon the southern bank of the river Don, which here, in playful sinuosity, meanders round, and limits, northwardly, the ancient and present soke of this popular town.*

Notwithstanding the great number of names which this place has borne, in the different periods of its history, most of them seem to have reference to one original. By Ninius, it is called *Caer-Daun*, and *Caer-Carry*; by Antoninus, *Danum*; by the Saxons, *Dongeceastre*; by Bede and Polydore, *Camelodunum*; by Richard of Cirencester, *Twangcaster*;† by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Saxo-Grammaticus, and Hector Boethius, *Thongecaster* and *Thwangcaster*; “by occasion,” says Lambarde, “that so much ground was begged to build it, as the hide of a beast, cut into thongs, might compass; much like that of Virgil’s—

Mercatique solum
Taurino posset quantum circumdare tergo;”

and by the early Scotch writers, *Donacastle*. It is not noticed by either Ptolemy, or the geographer of Ravenna; unless the *δενος κολλη* of the former be suffered to apply to this place, as is intimated by the learned Talbot.‡

* A little beyond the village of Bentley, is a small portion of property, yet esteemed within the jurisdiction of the Lords of Doncaster. It is wholly divided from the boundaries of the soke, by an entire parish. It will be hereafter noticed.

† So says Lambarde; but we have not been able to satisfy ourselves as to the accuracy of the citation, and we are persuaded, that some others of them do not refer to Doncaster. They are on Lambarde’s authority.

‡ Burton’s Itin. p. 206; and Talbot, in Leland’s Itin. vol. iii. p. 146.

Leland, in his collections out of the "*Chronico Jorevallens.*" says, that "Tunstallus, episcopus Dunelmensis, in hac opinione est, ut putet Dancastrum antiquitus Duana castra dictum, quod secunda legio illic hyemaverat. Ego, tamen, videor mihi videre nomen oppido inditum a Duno fluvio;" from which it is probable, that the "Devana" of the "*Bibliotheca Eliotæ*" may have been derived.

In our account of the early owners of this place, we must confine our retrospective view to a period immediately preceding the conquest. Beyond that era, all is in darkness and oblivion. Anterior to that event, Doncaster, and so much of its southern vicinity as was comprised within the Northumbrian district, was the property of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland,* of whom it was held on the Saxon tenure, by Nigel Fossard. On the conquest, the manor of Hexthorpe, to which the *soccage* of Doncaster partly belonged, was given by William the First to his uterine brother, Robert, Earl of Mortaign. On the survey, it was found that Earl Tosti had in Hexthorpe, "one manor of three carucates† to be taxed, where there might be four

* Tosti, or, as sometimes spelt, Tostig, was brother to King Harold, in Doomsday-book, always called Earl Harold, and the second son of the famous Earl Godwin, chief minister of state to Edward the Confessor, and successor in the earldom of Northumberland to the brave Siward. His disposition was vile and brutal, cruel and unrelenting. He was slain in the battle of Stamford-bridge, in A. D. 1066, while contending against his brother, who also experienced a similar fate. About two-thirds of the whole kingdom was at that time in the possession of the Godwin family.—*Henry's Brit.* vol. iii. p. 147.

† A carucate of land, *carucata terra*, is, in this part of the country, synonymous with the hide of some other parts, and was of uncertain and irregular contents. It has been esteemed to contain as much land as could be tilled by one plough, with pasture, meadow, &c. sufficient for the maintenance of the horses, &c. that were requisite for the management of that portion of land, with houses, &c. to lodge the men in.—*Thoroton's Preface*. Every plough-land, or carucate, was of the annual value of five nobles, £1. 13s. 4d.; and this was the living of a ploughman or yeoman.—*Fragmenta Antiquitatis*. In a deed of Thomas de Arden, temp. Edw. II. a carucate of land is asserted to consist of one hundred acres, and Dr. Thoroton names one hundred and twenty.

The uncertain extent of an hide or carucate of land, is greatly to be lamented; had this been known with any tolerable degree of certainty, the extent of each man's possessions, might in many cases have been easily ascertained. Of this dubious nature, also, are *virgates*, four of which were equivalent to a carucate or hide; while the *bovates* likewise partake of the same unequal and unknown dimensions; eight whereof made a carucate. To arrive at a knowledge of its real contents, the etymology of the term has been assiduously sought after. Mr. Bawdwen, and Sir Henry Spelman, have both exercised their ingenuity; other glossarists, also, have used much industry, and shewn great learning and research on the same occasion. The word *carpo*, to cut, divide, separate, &c. did not exactly suit their purpose; which induced the former to pick out the Saxon *Keonpan*, as being likely to unravel this intricate and perplexing question. The learned and venerable Bede, calls a carucate a *familia*; intimating thereby, that it comprised as much land as would maintain a family; while Sir Edward Coke, and the ingenious Mr. Agard, after a very learned and laborious investigation, acknowledged their inability to decide the matter.

In a MS. law book, written by Ambrose Cowper, Esq., a student in one of the inns of court, in the year 1579, and lately belonging to F. F. Foljambe, Esq., late of Aldwark, near Rotherham, it is laid down as a rule, that a hide of land consisted of one hundred and sixty acres, and was made of the following parts, viz., ten acres made a *ferundel* or *farding-deal*; four ferundels made a *yard-land*, and four yard-lands a hide; so four hides, it is said, or six hundred and forty acres, made a knight's fee; and that when a knight's fee was taxed at, or paid forty shillings, then a hide and yard-land were assessed accordingly. So six hundred and forty acres of land made one great knight's fee, which paid for relief, one hundred shillings. *Frag. Ant.* p. 102. Of whatever number of acres of land a knight's fee consisted in some parts of the country, in this it contained many more than six hundred and forty, as may be learnt from the grant of Alice, Countess of Ewe or Angi.—See our article *Tickhill*, and *Madox's Exch.* p. 220.

ploughs. Nigel has of Earl Robert in demesne, one plough and three villanes,* and two borders, with two ploughs. There is a church and a priest there, having five borders and one plough, and two mills of thirty shillings. Meadow four acres. Pasturable wood, one mile and a half long and one broad. The whole manor two miles and a half long, and one mile and a half broad. Value in King Edward's time, eighteen pounds, but now twelve.

"To the manor of Hexthorpe, pertained the soke of the following places: in Doncaster, two carucates; in Warmsworth, one carucate; in Ballby, two carucates; and Loversall, two carucates; Shuttleworth (*Scitelesuorde*), four carucates; Austerfield, two carucates; Awkley, two carucates to be taxed, together making fifteen carucates, where there may be eighteen ploughs. In the demesne is now one plough, and twenty-four villanes, and twenty-seven borders, and forty sokemen. These have twenty-seven ploughs. Pasturable woods here and there, some parts yielding no profit." We also learn from the same authority, that the manor of Wheatley had soke in Doncaster.†

The Domesday account of this place, is most certainly loaded with difficulties not easy to be unravelled. On this question, however, more in a future page.

Extensive as were the possessions of this fortunate Norman, and ancient owner of Doncaster—the liberality of his prince, and the ties of blood, were insufficient to

Synonymous with the term carucate, &c. is the word *oxgang*, which also is of the like uncertain contents. In Madox is the following passage, "unam bovatom terræ de decem acris;" and in a plea before the King, *temp.* Edw. I., it is commanded, that Turkill of Doncaster, and her heirs, hold eight acres of laud, which make an oxgang in the fields of Doncaster.—*Miller*, p. 59.

* Villane, *villanus*, according to the testimony of Bracton, was a man of base and servile condition, a bondsman or slave. Of this miserable class of human beings, there were two sorts in England, both of which were heirs to the most vexatious and degrading offices; the one, which was deemed villane in *grosse*, was immediately bound to the person of his master and his heirs; while the other was a villane *regardant* to a manor, possessed as a member belonging and appendant to the soil, like the trees and vegetables belonging to the fee. Children born of servile parents, were also inheritors of their father's fortune. Villanes could not acquire any property, either in lands or goods. If any of them were found to be possessed of any property whatever, the lord could seize it at pleasure, and appropriate it to his own use.—See *Spelman*, *Bracton*, *Jacob*, &c. They could not leave the employment of their lord, without his permission; and if they also absconded, or were stolen, they might be claimed or recovered by process of law, in the same manner as debts, or any other personal property. Thoroton appears to have assigned to them a condition less humiliating, and thinks that they occupied a station similar to that of our husbandmen.—See his *Pref. to his Notts*. It is true, that these members of society, according to most of our glossarists, were principally engaged in tilling the lands of their lords, carrying out manure, hedging and ditching, framing roads, &c.; and had their degradation arisen from no other cause, we might with justice have subscribed to his creed. But on an impartial survey of the wretched condition of this order of men, as delineated by the pen of some of our most accurate and judicious antiquaries, we cannot avoid differing from that respectable author, and congratulating that useful class of men, our labouring poor, on the happy change which the revolution of time, and the benign influence of the gospel of Jesus, have effected on their, and every other condition, but especially that of the slave, the most wretched of creation's progeny.

† Domesday-book, 86 and 90.

bind his posterity firmly to the crown. William, his son and successor, regardless of his duty and filial affection, joined the standard of revolt against Henry I., and amply partook of the disastrous fate of his ally, Robert Cuthose. Blameable and imprudent, however, as he may seem to have been on this occasion, the punishment inflicted upon him for the offence, was cruel and unmanly. Not content with depriving him of his princely fortune, his sanguinary and enraged master plucked out his eyes. This event, so completely ruinous to the Mortaign interest here, proved a fortunate occurrence to the Fossards; for instead of holding at the will of a jealous and arrogant peer, they became tenants of the King, *sine medio*. Thus it was, that the Fossards became reseized of the manors of Doncaster, Hexthorpe, &c. on nearly the same terms as they were held before the advent of William the First.

The history of the Fossards, and their connection with the town of Doncaster and its soke, immediately succeeding the conquest, is clouded by the mist of much uncertainty. The earliest authentic account, (with the exception of Domesday,) with which we have met on this head, is to be found in the following transcript: "In Magno Rotulo anni noni R. Ricardi I. memoriæ proditum est, manerium de Danecastria, in agro Eboracensi situm, invadiatum fuisse R. Hen. I. pro marcis monetæ quingentis. Istius autem manerii invadiatio in hoc veteri nostro rotulo memoratur disertis verbis, sicut hic in margine patet.* Manerium illud Regi traditum erat in vadio ad debitum prædictum securum præstandum. Et quidem tempore procedente, debitum ipsum sive Finis in magnis rotulis annuatim scribi desiit; postmodumque Regi continuo responsum est in Magnis Rotulis Henrici II. de exitibus sive fructibus Danecastriæ, tanquamsi Rex tenuisset in dominio.† Sic ergo se res habuit. Robertus Fossardus finem fecit (uti vocarunt) cum R. Hen. I. in quingentis marcis argenteis pro saisina terrarum suarum habenda. Et summæ illius cavendæ gratia, tradidit Regi manerium Danecastriam; redimendum scilicet, simulatque Robertus pecuniam illam una integraque summa solverit. Pensatis autem recordi citati verbis, fas est credere, conventionem hanc inter Regem et Robertum Fossard tunc recenter fuisse initam. Robertus finem fecit pro nova et recenti saisina terræ suæ (pro recuperanda terra sua primitus). Deinde concessit Danecastriam Regi: id est, Regi jamtum regnanti. Si enim ista conventio continuaretur ad usque tempora R. Stephani, et in ejus magnis rotulis inventa esset probabiliter dictum fuisset, non Regi simpliciter, sed Regi Henrico I.; ut fit in magno rotulo supra laudato R. Ricardi I. Quocirca,

* Robertus Fossardus reddit computum de xliis. viiij. pro recuperanda terra sua primitus. In thesanro xxs. Et debet xxis. viiij.

Et idem debet D. marcas argenti, ut iterum rebeat terram suam, &c. [See the text.]

† Danecstra. Eudo Præpositus reddit computum de lxvij. xiiis. ijd. numero de firma de Danecstra.—*Mag. Rot.* 17th Hen. II. Ro. 5. a. In the 27th and 28th of the same reign, two similar payments are on record. Thus then we see, that the borough of Doncaster was governed by a mayor, *prapōsitus*, or chief overseer, in the reign of Hen. II.

rebus collatis, minime dubitemus, quin Rex in hac conventione memoratus, fuerit Henricus I.”*

From the above extract, and the documents to which it refers, it would seem that the manors of Doncaster, &c. were conveyed by Robert Fossard to King Henry I., to secure the repayment of fifty marks of money, owing to the said King by the same Robert, and that the fruits or proceeds thereof were regularly answered at the usual office, in the same manner as though they had been *bona fide* the property of the said King. Subsequently, however, some disputes seem to have arisen, when the same Robert averred, that the full sum for which the manors of Doncaster, &c. were mortgaged, had been discharged; but on a reference to the records, it was discovered, that an agreement of a more recent date had been made with the king then on the throne, and that the said Robert was still liable to “debet D. marcas argenti, ut iterum rehabeat terram suam, excepta Donecastra, quam concessit Regi tenere in manu sua usque ad xx annos. Et si tunc reddiderit D. marcas argenti insimul, rehabebit Donecastram.”† The authenticity of this document is rendered more clearly evident, by an extract from the great rolls of the 5th of King Stephen, which asserts, that Robert Fossard, “reddit compotum de lx. marcis argenti, ut resaisiatur de terra sua;”‡ and in the 9th Richard I., Robert de Turnham, who had married the heiress of the Fossards, gave five hundred marks for quittance of the manor of Doncaster, which was mortgaged to the crown for the above sum, and that he might have it and its appurtenances, as fully and entirely as before it was mortgaged.§ The minutiae of this transaction are not so clear as it were desirable; but it is manifest, that the manors of Doncaster, &c. were in the hands of the crown, until they were finally redeemed by Robert de Turnham, as above noted.|| In the great suit between the abbot of St. Mary’s of York, and Robert de Turnham, in the second year of King John, concerning the advowson of the church of Doncaster and its appurtenances, the latter pleads, that he held them in right of his wife, a descendant of Robt. Fossard, her greatgrandfather, who was seized of the manors of Doncaster, &c. in the time of King Henry, “avi, ut de jure et qui Rob. p’d’co. Hen. Regi tota’ villa’ de Doncastr’ cum advocac’e p’d’c eccl’ie, et cum omnibus aliis p’tin’ invadiavit pro 500 marc’ argenti, quas idem Rob. de Turnham solvit D’no Regi, ut dicit qui ei reddidit villa’ illa’ de Doncastr’ ut jus uxoris sue, cum omnibus pertin’.”

* Disceptatio Epistolaris, p. 73, Madox. † Ibid. in a note just before cited.

‡ Madox, p. 333.

§ Madox, p. 335. Here it will be observed, that the record assigns the whole transaction to Hen. I., although we have seen that the whole mortgage was only for fifty marks of money, which were repaid in the 5th of King Stephen.

|| Henricus primus scripsit Osberno vicec. de Everwikhir, ut redderet Robertus Fossardus consuetudines Ranulpho episcopo pro terris in Hoveden. Teste, &c.—*Lelandi Coll.* vol. i. fol. 389. His property there consisted of one knight’s fee.—*Liber Niger*, p. 321.

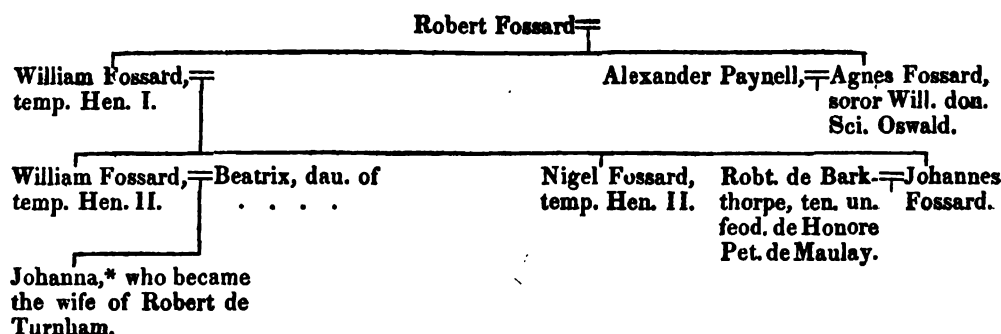
The history of the Fossards, the ancient owners of the town of Doncaster, has not been much illustrated by any of our genealogists; but that they were of the first importance in their "day and generation," is deducible from the pages of monastic, and other equally authentic documents. Nigel de Fossard gave the church of Doncaster, with its appurtenances, to the abbey of St. Mary, at York; and Robert, his grandson, gave the advowson of the church of Bramham to the monks of Nostel, with fourteen oxgangs of land belonging thereto.* He likewise gave out of his patrimony at Lythe, by the hands of Archbishop Thurstin, ten oxgangs of land, with the church of the same village, to the priory of St. Oswald; which were confirmed by Pope Alexander III.;† together with the church of Wharrom-in-le-street, and four oxgangs of land. We also find him to have been a considerable benefactor to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem;‡ to the priory of Hode, in the county of York; and a subscribing witness to a number of grants made to religious foundations, by various individuals. This Robert was the second in descent from the Nigel Fossard, who was found in possession of the manor of Hexthorpe, at the great survey, and father of his successor,

WILLIAM FOSSARD,

who was acknowledged to hold his extensive possessions of the King, *in capite*, when the aid for marrying Maud, daughter of Henry II. to the Duke of Saxony, was levied by the sheriff of Yorkshire. On that occasion, he paid twenty-one pounds.§ Before we proceed any further with this portion of our narrative, it may be necessary to observe, that although Banks and Dugdale mention only one William Fossard, it is manifest, according to Dodsworth, that there were two of that name immediately succeeding Robert, one of whom was living in the latter part of the reign of Henry I. It is possible, however, that Dodsworth may have erred, as we are assured that Robert Fossard lived nearly to the close of the reign of the first Henry. The daughter of William Fossard was espoused to Robert de Turnham, in the reign of Richard I. In the interim which elapsed between the reigns of Richard and Henry, two generations, it is true, might have passed away, and left the daughter and heiress of the second William of a marriageable age, in the reign of the former monarch. The individual reigns of the kings of England, from the advent of the Normans, to the termination of the reign of George III., averaged only twenty-three years each; and between the demise of Henry I. and the accession of Richard I. fifty years elapsed. The following is from Dodsworth, and according to a writ of *Quo warranto*, to be noticed presently, proves to be right:—

* Burton's Mon. Ebor. p. 302. † Ibid. ‡ Dugdale's Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 555.

§ Madox's Exch. p. 399.



The family, about this period, had become greatly multiplied. According to the red book of the exchequer, and the Testa de Nevill, they held much property in the north of England, as well as in other districts; but in what manner, or whether at all related, does not appear. In the former is the following charter:—

Hoc abbreviatum de feodo Willelmi Fossard de veteri fefamento, tempore H. Regis.

Willelmus de Vesei tenet feod. VII. militum.
 Galfridus de Valoniis feod. IIII. militum.
 Robertus de Briddehale. III. milit.
 Durant, filius Willelmi. II. milit.
 Rogerus, filius Rogeri. II. mil.
 Rogerus de Midleres. I. m.
 Otuel. I. milit.
 Robertus de Meisnill. I. milit.
 Adam de Bruis. I. m.
 Willelmus, filius Godefridi. I. milit.
 Galfridus Fossard. I. mil.
 Radulfus, filius Wimundi. I. milit.
 Hugo de Langetunt dim. milit.
 Rogerus de Scinetorp dim. milit.
 Willelmus Aguillum dim. milit.
 Gervasius, filius Godefridi, dim. f. milit.

Isti sunt de antiquo feodo de tempore H. Regis.

De novo feodo Everardus de Ros tenet nonam feodum, et super Dominium suum. V. feoda milit. et dim. †

William Fossard was also among the northern barons who opposed the Empress Maud, at the battle of Northallerton, where he greatly signalized himself in deeds of valour. On the imprisonment of Richard I. on his way home from one of those wild expeditions to the Holy Land, he paid £8. towards the sum demanded for his

* Dods. M. S. vol. cxxix. fol. 96, Bib. Bodl. Her pedigree is confirmed by a writ of *Quo warranto*, temp. Edw. I. hereafter noticed.

† Hearne's *Liber Niger*, p. 296.

ransom;* and upon the presence of every baron, who held immediately of the crown, being required in Ireland, rather than obey the summons, he commuted with the Sheriff for £32. He was also amerced £10. for taking an unjust mortgage.† In the period of his minority, William le Grosse, Earl of Albemarle, was by the King appointed his guardian; whose sister being seduced by young Fossard, his protector was so enraged, that William was obliged to abscond from his country. During his absence, Le Grosse, out of a spiteful revenge, laid in ruins Montferrent, the lordly residence of his ancestors.‡ The implacable animosity which this misfortune engendered in the breast of Le Grosse, prevented the return of Fossard to his native country, until the death of his greatly injured guardian. After the demise of the Earl, Fossard returned from his exile, and on the payment of his relief, and doing the necessary homage, he was duly invested with the ample possessions of his ancestors. On his death, which happened in the latter part of the reign of Richard I., his only daughter became his heiress, who was bestowed in marriage on

ROBERT DE TURNHAM,

a valiant and heroic knight, whose deeds in Palestine stand memorably conspicuous in the annals of the crusades. In the 9th Richard I. he was seneschal of Anjou. Soon after his union with the heiress of the Fossards, a demand of £60. 14s. was made upon him by the officers of the exchequer, on account of Aaron, a Jew; but it being made to appear to the barons thereof, that William Fossard and his ancestor had been excused the payment of that debt, by a deed of the said Aaron, then and there exhibited, it was adjudged, that Robert de Turnham should be wholly exonerated from that obligation.§ He also immediately liberated the manors of Doncaster, &c. from the burthen which had been imposed upon them by Robert Fossard, in the reign of Stephen, or of Henry his father, by the payment of five hundred marks, for the full redemption of all the lands that were included in the deed of mortgage, as we have before noted.

In the 1st John, he procured a charter of the King, to add one day to the annual fair held at this place; which heretofore was held for two days only, viz., on the vigil of St. James, and the day following, but subsequently was holden on the above and two following days.|| In the fourth year of the same reign, a demand of eighty-two shillings was made upon this proprietor, as arrears, which his predecessor, William Fossard, ought to have discharged; but after a mature and patient investi-

* Madox's Hist. Exch. p. 411.

† Ibid. an. 16 Hen. II.

‡ Montferrent was seated on the banks of the Derwent. See *Camd. Brit.* Leland, it should be remarked, differs from Camden in this matter. We have followed the latter.

§ Madox, p. 689.

|| Rotu. Chart. 1 Joh. pt. ii. no. 1.

gation, he was acquitted thereof by the barons, because the land out of which the escuage arose, was then in the King's hands.* In the 13th of John, on the collection of scutage for Scotland, he paid for thirty-one knights' fees and a half, £31. 10s. In the reign of Henry III., or that of Edward I., the jury reported, "q'd Robertus de Turneham, tempore R. Joh. dedit teolon' ville de Donceastr' quibus de Radulpho Kade et Hugo de Balleby ad firmam qui tempore suo cep'unt de quibus pistore vid. et qual. braciatrice vid. per ann. quod semp. postea duravit s. nug. ante illud temp. f'em fuit.

"Item Rog's de Aula et Robertus de Schenthorp, tribus annis elapsis, cep'unt teolon' de m'catoribus ducentibus macremiu' usq' Sand' quod nug' plus fait."†

The manners of the age, as is reasonable to be expected, had a material influence on the disposition and will of this ancient chieftain. He confirmed the foundation grant made by his father to the priory of Crumbwell, in the county of Kent, and enriched it by a great number of donations from himself. He was also a considerable benefactor to the abbey of Bingham, in the county of Sussex, and confirmed all the grants made by his wife, Joan, to the priory of Grosmont, in Yorkshire, adding thereto a further gift of one hundred acres of land to the same establishment.‡ In one of those mad and enthusiastic expeditions to the Holy Land, so frequently performed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find this zealous partizan a candidate for immortal fame on the plains of Palestine, whither he accompanied the chivalrous monarch, Richard-cœur-de-lion. Concerning Turuham, the chronicler Gloucester sings—

"Kyng Richard wyth gud entent
To yat cite of Jafes went ;
On morn he sent astur Sir Robert Sakvill,
Sir William Wateruill
Sir Hubert, and Sir Robert of Turneham,
Sir Bertram Brandes, and John de St. John."

From this disastrous enterprise, Robert de Turnham never returned. Too anxious to display his zeal for the cause in which he had embarked, he became a victim to mistaken views, and died a martyr in the cause of error.

"Robert de Turneham with his fauchion
Gan to crack many a crun:"

but, as it is observed by Weever, amidst this scene of blood and carnage, he could not save his own head from the frenzy of an army of enraged and justly offended Saracens.

* Madox, p. 408. † Hund. Rolls, Wap. de Strafford, Villa de Dencast. p. 110. ‡ Dugdale's Mon. Ang.

In the 14th of John, the manor of Doncaster was in the King's hands, occasioned, it is probable, by the death of its owner, who expired in the previous year.* Robert de Turnham, like his predecessor, William Fossard, left no male issue; all his vast patrimony, therefore, devolved on his daughter Isabel, for whose hand and possessions,

PETER DE MALO-LACU, OR MAULAY,

gave seven thousand marks, payable in the following manner:—in the first year, (16th John,) two thousand marks; in the second, one thousand marks; and a similar sum to the latter, in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of their union. For the due performance of the contract, he found the following sureties: Ranulph, Earl of Chester, for one thousand marks; Reginald de Pontibus, for one thousand; William, Earl of Ferrers, for one thousand; Savaricus de Malliun, for one thousand; William, Earl of Salisbury, for five hundred; Hubert de Burgo, for one hundred; Arnold de Avelent, for one hundred; and Walter, Bishop of Winchester, for two hundred. For the residue of the seven thousand marks, he put the said lands in counter pledge, engaging, that if the terms of payment were not punctually observed, he was to lose all that he had paid in any former year.†

This Peter was a native of Poictou, in France,‡ and was brought over by that weak and insignificant monarch, John, King of England, whose tool in the perpetration of some of the vilest actions, he was ever ready to become. In the disputes which occurred between John and the barons, he was on all occasions his bosom counsellor, a circumstance exciting no wonder, when we call to recollection, that it was to John he owed all his wealth and honours. After the termination of the unhappy contentions, and the execution of the great charter at Runnede, he rebuilt, on an extended and magnificent plan, the demolished castle of “Duc Wada,” which, after the conquest, had been given to Nigel Fossard, and which, after the French fashion, he named Moul-Gracc; “but being a grievous yoke to the neighbourhood, the inhabitants, by the change of a single letter, called it Moul-Grave, a name which it bears at the present day.” His pliant and accommodating temper did not forsake him, when Henry III. ascended the British throne. On the coronation of that prince, amongst others, he was ordered “ut omni occasione et excusatione remotis veniat London ad coronationem domini Regis;” and well knowing that the dead can neither do harm, nor grant any favours, he soon became a favourite with his sovereign, and on many occasions, the principal counsellor of the crown. In return for these services, he was rewarded with the custody of the castle of Sherbourne, in

* Leland, on the authority of an old chronicle, places his death two years earlier.—*Collect. tom. iii. p. 490.*

† Madox's Exch. note b. Mag. Rot. 16 Joh. rot. 8, 6.

‡ Lelandi Coll. tom. i. p. 206.

the county of Dorset, and other immunities. His death took place in the 6th Henry III., and he was succeeded by*

PETER DE MAULAY THE SECOND,

between whom and William, son of Hugh de Rossington, was a fine of land in Rossington.† On the payment of relief, and doing homage, he had livery of his father's lands. Whether it was during the ownership of this manorial proprietor of Doncaster, or that of his son and successor, that the inquisition denominated "Testa de Nevill" was taken, does not seem so clear as it is desirable it should do; but the introduction of the result of that investigation here may not be irrelevant, as it exhibits, not only the extent of their honour or barony, but also where the major part of it lay, and by whom it was held. We shall transcribe it *verbatim*.

Feoda de honore Petri de Malo Lacu.

Rog'us Hay tenet in Acton de eodem honore di' feodu.

Idem Rog'rus tenet in Hav'torp et Cave dim' feodu'.

Rob'tus de Anlaceby et p'ticipes sui tene't in Riplingh'm unu' feod'.

Rob'tus de Hothum tenet in eadem et Crancewyk, Seton et Estorp duo feoda.

Prior de Watton et Joh'a Bastard' tenent in Killingwyk unu' feod'.

Rog's de Frivyill' tenet in Ecton unu' feodu'.

Rad's fil' Will'i et Will's de Langthayt tene't in Beynton q'tuor caruc' terre un' dece' caruc' faciunt unu' feodu'.

Petrus de Percy tenet in Sutton dim' feodu'.

Idem tenet in Lokington sed nescit quantu'.

Galfr. Aguiloun et Rog'us de Turkelby tenent in Kyrkeby Crendale unu' feodum.

Joh'es de Barketorp' tenet in Brudeshal' unu' feodu', et in Varru' dimidiu' feodum.

Rob'tus de Nevill' tenet in Northcr' de eod' honore qui'q' feoda.

Rob'tus Chaumbard tenet in Stutton unu' feodu'.

Joh'es de Bulmer tenet in eadem et Welbru' unu' feodu'.

Anketinus Malore tenet in Huntington di' feodu.

Walt'us de Thoutorp tenet in eade' q'ta' parte' unius feodi.

Ric's de Barneby tenet in eade' di' feodu'.

Rob'tus de Ripar' tenet in Lim'eshal' quarta' p'te' unius feodi.

Custancia Livet tenet in Pykeburn et Hoton Livet duo feoda.

* In the 4th Henry III. was levied a fine, "int' Idoneam Fossard pl't. et Petru' de Malolacu et Isabellam uxor' ejus def. et de medietate totius Baronie de Doncastr' cum p'tin. — mediet' omni' terr' ten' et pertin' ad Baroniam Fossardi q' medietatem ip'a Idonea clamavit versus eos ut rac'nabilem. — sua de hereditate que fuit Willel' Fossard, — Petri et — Isabell' p' 200 marcas, et si Isabella sine hered' obieret, tunc hered' Idonea.—*Dods. vol. cxxix. Bib. Bodl.*

† To this Peter de Maulay it was, that the mandate of King John was sent, ordering that the bailiffs of the said Peter do "cause the towne of Doncaster to be enclosed with hertstone and pale, according to the ditch that is made doth require; and that ye make a light breast or barbican upon the bridge, to defend the towne, if need shall be." Dated at Nottingham, March 30th, 1215.

† *Dods. Coll. MSS. vol. cxxix.*

Will's de Vescy tenet in Roderh'm unu' feodū',
 Will's de Skintorp tenet in eadem de eodem honore di' feodū'.
 S'm' xxj feod' q'rt' xs et xxma.

The ascendancy which Peter, the immediate ancestor of this lord of Doncaster, had over the mind of his sovereign, does not seem to have been lessened in that of his successor, the second Peter. In the 23d Henry III. we find him officiating at the font, as sponsor to Edward, the eldest son of the King, and ultimately King of England, bearing the appellation of Edw. I.* In the 25th of the same King's reign, a demand was made upon him for some arrears of escuage, of which his father had been acquitted by the barons; but on the question being reheard before the Archbishop of York, and the Kings council, it was adjudged, that the heir of the first Peter de Maulay should answer to the King certain debts, whereof the said Peter de Maulay the first had been discharged, as appears by the Great Rolls, the particulars whereof are as follows: "*Hæres Petri de Malo-Lacu debet cs. pro Roberto de Turnham, quos idem Robertus recepit de Abbate de Fiscampo; et lxxiii. xs. de scutagio Walliæ et Scotiæ; et xl. pro ii. palfridis, pro habenda feria iii. dierum apud Donecastriam. Et viii. xs. de firma de Stok de iii. partibus anni quinti Regis Ricardi. Quæ omnia requirebantur de Petro de Malo-Lacu in rotulo xvi. in Ebor.; et unde per recordum ibidem fuit quietus; et modo per archiepiscopum Eboracensem . . . et consiliarios Regis consideratum est, quod hæres prædictus respondebit: sed non debet inde summoneri usque ad legitimam ætatem ejusdem hæredis.*"† He married Joan, daughter of Peter de Brus, of Skelton, by whom he had, amongst other children,

PETER DE MAULAY THE THIRD,

who, in consequence of his minority, did not enter into the full enjoyment of his property, until the 31st Henry III., when, on doing homage, &c., he had livery of his inheritance. During the nonage of the young heir, and immediately after the demise of his father, the lands were let to farm to Gerard la Grue, "*p' quingentis marc' R. solvendis annuatim. Ita tamen q'd p'd'us G. castr. de Mulegrive custodiet sum'tib' suis, &c. et matri p'fati Pet' omnia necessaria inveniet et om's domos t'ra illa' in bono statu conservabit, nullam vendic'nem de boscis nec destruct'o'em hominum vel vinarior' faciet salvis Regis wardis escaetis maritagii relevis de t'ris illis p'venientibus et advocac'o'ibus eccl'ia'bus.*"‡ In the 38th Hen. III. he obtained a grant of free warren over no fewer than twenty-three manors, amongst which are mentioned, Doncaster, Sandal, Hexthorpe, Ballby, Wheatley, &c.§

* Banks' Extinct Peerage, vol. ii. p. 342. † Mag. Rot. 25 Hen. III. Madox, p. 505.

‡ Abbr. Rot. 26 Hen. III. rot. 9. Greaves calls him Gerard de Grice. See his Hist. of Cleveland.

§ Chart. Rot. 37 & 38 Hen. III. m. vii. pars prima.

From a verdict recorded at the city of York, it would seem that this proprietor of the manors of Doncaster, &c. alienated a portion of his patrimony in this neighbourhood to his brother Robert, for the term of his life, "by the service of the eighth part of two great serjeanties, which serjeanties are to find to the King two men in arms in his Welsh wars for forty days."*

Amongst the *Quo warranto* writs issued at the command of Edward I., one seems to have been directed, in the ninth year of his reign, to John de Vallibus and his associates, justices itinerant, directing them to inquire before a jury, by what authority certain barons held their possessions. Touching the manors of Doncaster, &c. "Petrus de Malolacu et Nichola uxor ejus sum. fue'u't ad respond. d'no Regi de pl'ito quo war'o tene't q'nq. tofta, octo caruc. t're viginti et duas acr. p'ti decem libratas et decem et octo denar. reddit. cum p'tin. in Doncastre, que sunt de antiquo d'nico corone d'ni Regis," &c. Also, "Idem Petrus sum. fuit ad r., &c. quo war'o tenet man'iu' de Donecastre, exceptis quinq. toftis octo caruc. t're viginti et duabus acr. p'ti decem libr. et decem et octo denar. redd. cum p'tin. q'd est de antiquo d'nico corone, &c.

"Et Petrus et Nichola p. attorn. ipsius Nich. ven. et dicunt q'd ipsi tene't pred'ca ten. v'sus eos petit. tali war'o quidam Nigellus Fossard temp'e conquestus Angl. tenuit p'd'ca ten. Et de eodem Nigello descend'unt cuidam Rob'to fil. suo, et de ip'o Rob'o cuidam Will'o fil. ejusdem Rob'ti, et de ipso cuidam Will'o fil. ejusdem Will'i, et de ipso Will'o cuidam Joh'e fil. ejusdem Will'i, qui fuit in custod. Regis Ricardi r'one minoris ætatis, et p. eunde' Reg. maritata fuit cuida' Rob'o de Thornham, qui ex ea p'creavit quanda. Isabella. que successit in p'd'cis ten. ut fil. et her. p'd'ce Joh'e. Et de ipsa Is. descend'runt p'd'ce ten. cuidam Petro ut fil. et her. p'ri ipsius Pet. qui quidam Petrus feoffavit ips. Petrum et Nicholam de p'd'tis q'nq. toftis octo caruc. t're viginti et duabus acr. p'ti decem librat. et decem et octo denar. redd. cum p'tin. in Doncastre, et residuum p'd'ci manerii tenet idem Petrus jure hereditar. p. descensum de p'd'co Petro p'tre suo, &c. unde bene defendunt q'd d'us Rex qui nunc est, nec aliquis predecessor. suor. post conquestum Angl. nunq'm fuit in seis. de pred'cis ten. nisi fuit tempore custod. vel temp'e guerre.

"Et q'd ita sit pon. se sup. priam, &c.

"Dies datus est eis apud Westm. ad Parliamentum a die Pasch. in quinq. septimanas, &c."—*Rot. 9.*

* Miller's Doncaster, p. 42. The term rendered "great serjeanty," or serjeanties, should have been "grand serjeanties," a tenure in great repute in early times, importing in law, "a service that cannot be due from a tenant to any lord, but to the king only."—*Vid. Dr. Cowell.*

Iniquitous and unjust as were the motive and intent of these writs, on this occasion, they had, at all events, one good effect, viz., that of enabling posterity to derive a pedigree in many cases, which, without their aid, would have been difficult to accomplish; and in this instance, as we have before noted, the account of Banks is proved to be erroneous. He married Nichola, daughter of Gilbert, son of Gilbert de Gant or Gaunt, Earl of Lincoln. The precise era of his death does not appear to be correctly known, but it is manifest that it occurred in the early part of the reign of Edward I., as, according to Dugdale,

PETER DE MAULAY THE FOURTH,

his son and heir, did homage, and paid for his relief £100. in the 7th of that reign. But it must be here observed, that some confusion rests on this portion of their pedigree, which it may be found difficult to clear up. We have followed the account of Banks, who copied from Dugdale; but Dodsworth says, "*fuit ætat. 27 ann. 30 Edw. I. et nepos et unu. hæ. Gilb. de Gant;*"* which seems to correspond with the time in which he was called to the upper house, viz., in the 23d Edward I. That he could not have had livery of his lands in the 7th Edward I., is beyond question, as his father seems to have been living in the ninth of the same reign,† and probably expired in the following year; for we find an inquisition *post mortem* recorded in the tenth year of Edward I.‡

In the person of this Peter, the honours of the family were considerably augmented, by being raised to the rank of a peer of the realm, in which capacity he sat in parliament in the 23d, 27th, 28th, 30th, 32d, 33d, 34th, and 35th years of Edward I., and the 1st, 2d, and 3d of Edward II.§ He was also one of the many noble barons who were summoned to attend their sovereign, Edward I., to the wars in Wales; on which occasion, he was to furnish ten horses, completely armed, viz., "One black, with a white foot, price sixty marks; another black, price forty marks; another black, with two white feet, price thirty marks; one dun, price twenty marks; one bay, price eighteen marks; one iron-grey, price forty marks; one sorrel, price eighteen marks; one grey, price fourteen marks; and one colt, price one hundred shillings; and to be paid for in money, according to those prices, for every one that he might lose in that service."|| He also served in the wars in Scotland, where he signally distinguished himself.

From an inquisition before referred to, taken A. D. 1363, we learn, that the third Peter de Maulay, father of the proprietor under our review, "held of the lord the

* Dods. Coll. vol. cxxix. fol. 1. † Placita de Quo Warr. 2 Ed. I. Oct. Sci. Hil. ‡ Esch. Rot. 10 Ed. I. No. 30.

§ Dugdale's Sum. || Banks, vol. ii. p. 342. See also Rymer's Fed. vol. i. pts. 1 & 2.

king, *in capite*, or in chief, the manors of Rossington, Hexthorpe, and Ballby, by military or knight's service, who granted them to Robert, his brother, a chevalier or knight, to be held for his life; and afterwards Peter de Maulay the fourth, who held of the King, *in capite*, the manor of Doncaster, by knight's service, alienated that in fee to Benedict de Scallby, without licence of the King, as it is understood; which Benedict, indeed, granted that manor to John de Warren, late Earl of Surrey, deceased, for the term of the life of the said earl. And they say, that the same Peter de Maulay the fourth afterwards granted to John de Maulay, the castle of Mulgrave or Mulgreve, together with the reversion of the said manors of Rossington, Hexthorpe, and Ballby, after the death of the said Robert; to which John, indeed, the aforesaid Robert, being tenant for life, did not attorn himself.* And afterwards, the aforesaid John, by a fine levied, gave and granted the aforesaid castle and manor of Mulgrave, &c., together with the reversion, after the death of the said Robert, to the aforesaid Peter de Maulay the fourth; so that, after his death, they should remain to Peter de Maulay the fifth, and to Margaret his wife, as yet surviving in fee tail; to whom the aforesaid Robert did not attorn himself in his life, which Robert, indeed, afterwards died. And they say, that after the death of the said Robert, the aforesaid Peter de Maulay the fourth, granted to Robert de Maulay the bastard, the manors of Hexthorpe and Ballby, for the whole life of the said Robert de Maulay and Joan his wife; as also to the said Robert, all the right and claim which he had in the same manors of Rossington, Hexthorpe, and Ballby, without the licence of the King, which Robert the bastard, indeed, died without heir to himself. The King, therefore, in consequence of a verdict given in chancery, restored and confirmed to the said Margaret the manors in question, and the escheator to make restitution for the forcible entry of the said manors."† According to a deed in Miller's Doncaster, Peter de Maulay the fourth, confirmed the grant of Benedict, made to the Earl of Surrey, otherwise, made a regrant of the same property. In the 12th Edward I., Roger de Leybourn died, holding the manors of Doncaster, Kimbworth, Bawtry, Austerfield, &c. The whole was held immediately of the De Maulays, and a part, together with much other property, he acquired by right of his wife, Idonea, one of the daughters and coheirresses of Robert de Vipont, as will be hereafter shewn.‡ In the 30th Edward I., this Peter was aged twenty-seven years, and was found to be one of the heirs of his grandfather, Gilbert de Gaunt, *jure uxoris*. His

* Attornment "signifies the tenant's acknowledgement of a new lord, on the sale of lands, &c. As where there is a tenant for life, and he in reversion grants his right to another, it is necessary the tenant for life agree thereto, which is called *Attornment*. It gives no interest, but only perfects the grant of another. And tenant in tail is not compellable to attorn, on the reversion being granted, he having an estate of inheritance. By *seoffment* of a manor, the services do not pass without atonement."—*Jacob*.

† Miller's App. ‡ Esch. Rot. 12 Ed. I. No. 17.

alliance by marriage to the family of the Furnivals, lords of Worksop, Sheffield, &c. high as he was prior to that event, imparted to him a consideration of more than ordinary note. After having issue by his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Thomas de Furnival, he expired in the 3d Edward II., leaving his son and heir,

PETER DE MAULAY THE FIFTH,

to succeed him, No sooner had this noble chieftain acquired the patrimony of his ancestors, by performing the usual conditions, but he had summons to be at Roxburgh, "with horse and arms, to march against the Scots;" in which service, himself and his tenants had subsequently occasion frequently to enlist themselves. In the 15th Edward II., he "*finem fecit cum R. p. dimid. marc. p. p'don, &c. adquirendo, &c. man'ia de Lokyngton, Ecton, et Bramham,*"* without the necessary licence. In the early part of the reign of the third Edward, this Peter de Maulay made several alienations from the ancient inheritance of the family, and in the room thereof, it is probable, purchased other property. The seat in the upper house of the national council assigned to his ancestors, was filled by this nobleman, with credit and ability, from the 5th Edward II. to the 29th Edward III., a period but rarely exceeded. In company with Prince Edward, subsequently King of England, he received the honour of knighthood. He married Margaret, daughter of Robert, Lord Clifford, and died in the 29th Edward III., leaving his son,

PETER DE MAULAY THE SIXTH,

to succeed him. Previously, however, to his entry into the full enjoyment of his inheritance, he had to wait until the death of his mother, who, as we have already remarked, took such steps as were necessary for the recovery of such portion of her husband's property, as was unjustly litigated. In the 46th Edward III., she gave one hundred pounds for licence to enfeoff Henry de Percy, and others, of the manors of Doncaster, Mulgrave, Baynton, Bridesale, Rossington, Helagh, Lockington, Bramham, Bergh, and Hexthorpe, with their appurtenances, and all other lands and tenements, in the county of York, to hold under certain forms. To Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and others, she conveyed for the term of her life, the manors of "Heighthorp, Ballby, and Sandal," parcel of the manor of Doncaster, with some other property,† excepted in the former grant, or of which she had become reseized. Much of the property here enumerated, was unquestionably part of the dower or jointure of Margaret, and might be awarded to her by the barons of the exchequer; but that other portions of it were under the immediate control of

* *Ex Gross. Fin. 15 Edw. II. Ro. 32.* † *Abb. Rota. Orig. 46 Edw. III. reddisseis.*

her son Peter, is rendered manifest, by a grant executed by the said Peter, to Margaret his mother, in the previous year. This document mentions, in particular, some of the places that were conveyed to Henry de Percy and others. The precise era at which the death of the said Margaret took place, we have not been able to ascertain, but in 47th Edward III., we find her son Peter giving “xx. marcas p. licenc. concedendi Henric. de Percy, et aliis q’d ipsi de man’iis de Hexthorpe, Ballby, Sandale, Bramham, et Lokyngton, ac viginti libratas redditus, cum p’tin. in Bridsale, q. &c. feoffare possint Henr. de Barton canonic. ecclesie b’e Marie Linc. et alios h’end. sub c’ta forma.”* This document, it is observable, is rather in the form of a regrant, than of a confirmation; it is probable, therefore, that she expired, sometime about this period.

Peter de Maulay the sixth, at the death of his Father, was aged twenty-four years, and, as was usual in those days, we find, that in the 29th Edward III., the King issued his precept to “Miloni de Stapelton, esc. R. in com. Ebor. q’d accepta securitate ab Petro de Malo Lacu le sysme fil. et her. Petri de Malo Lacu le quynt def. de r’onabile relevio suo, &c. quartam partem man’ii de Killingwyk juxta Watton, cum p’tin. q. de R. tenet in capite p. servicium quarte partis feodi unius militis Petro fil. Petri, lib’et,” &c.† In the 30th of the same king, he was at the celebrated battle of Poitiers, where the English veterans signalized themselves in deeds of valour, and—which redounds much more to their credit—in acts of mercy. In the 3d Edward III., he espoused for his first wife, Elizabeth, widow of John, Lord Darcy, daughter and heiress of Nicholas de Meynel, which he ventured to do without licence from the King. For this offence, he was fined in the sum of one hundred pounds. “Petrus de Malo Lacu, dat centum libras solut. f’ri Johanni de Woderove confessori Reg. ad opus priorisse et soro. de ordine p’dicato’bus de Dertforde p. t’nsgr. quam fecit ducendo in uxorem Elizabetham q. fuit ux. Johannis Darcy def. q. &c. lic. Regis sup. hoc non optenta.”‡ With this widow of noble extraction, he was not long united; for being somewhat advanced in the vale of years when he married her, she was ill calculated for the race in life with a husband young enough to have been her son.

For his second wife, he took Constance, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas de Sutton, of Sutton in Holderness, who survived him. “In the 43d Edward III., he was constituted a commissioner, with the Bishop of Durham and others, for the guarding of the east marches. So also in the 3d Richard II., with the Earl of Northumberland.”

* Abb. Rotu. Orig. 47 Edw. III. Rot. 30. Gross. fines.

† Abb. Rotu. In Orig. de Ann. r. r. Edwardi, t’cii post Conquestum, xxix. Ro.

‡ Ibid. 31 Edw. III. Ro. 27. Gross. fines.

Notwithstanding, as we have just observed, that his first wife was much older than himself it was by her that the Maulay family was continued. By her he had two sons, Peter and John, the former of whom, after having a son by his wife, Margaret, daughter and coheiress of Sir Thomas Sutton, Knt., died in the lifetime of his father, Peter de Maulay the sixth; by which son, the latter was succeeded at his death, in the 4th Richard II. This Peter lies interred within the precincts of the Infirmary, the site of the house of Grey Friars, "north of the Friars' Bridge."*

PETER DE MAULAY THE SEVENTH,

grandson of the last proprietor, was aged only five years, in the 6th Richard II., he was, therefore, a ward, until the 22d of that king's reign, when, on doing homage, &c., he had livery of his lands, &c. He was called to parliament in the 23d Richard II., the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and 14th Henry IV., and the 1st, 2d, and 3d Henry V. He espoused Maud, the eldest daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, by Margaret, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford; but dying without issue, in the 3d Henry V., his vast estates were divided between his two sisters, Constance and Elizabeth; his brother John having only female issue. Constance became the wife of Sir John Bigod, Knt., of Settrington, com. Ebor., whose share, on the partition of her brother's property, consisted of the castle of Mulgrave, "with eight tounelettes ther about the se cost longging to it, wherof Seton therby was one. He had also Mountferrete, with Birdeshaule and Suadale lordshippe in Richmontshire, with others."† Elizabeth, the other sister, and coheiress of Peter de Maulay the seventh, was espoused to

GEORGE SALVAYN,

of North Duffield, com. Ebor., whose share of her brother's patrimony consisted of the "barony of Eggeston on Eske, not far from Whitby; also Lokyngton and Barugh, not far from Walton on Hulle river, Nessewik, and the lordschippe of Doncastre."‡

Here however, we must stop, to notice a material difference which exists in this part of the Maulay pedigree.

In the genealogical account of this family, by William Radclyff, Esq., printed in Graves's History of Cleveland, Peter de Maulay the seventh, lord of Mulgrave and Doncaster, is said to have died in the 2d Henry IV., leaving issue by his wife,

* Dodsworth's Collect. vol. cxxix. where the issue is made to come from his second wife. She was the second wife of John, Lord Darcy.

† Leland's Itin. vol. i. p. 64. ‡ Ibid. See Miller, p. 53, where some little difference may be seen.

Jane, daughter of Sir William Wyer, Knt., of, Peter de Maulay the eighth, who, after having married Matilda, daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, died, leaving no issue, in the 3d Henry V. The pedigree here is certainly much confused; and notwithstanding the source from which our learned and industrious Rouge Croix Poursuivant has extracted his materials, we must beg leave to question its accuracy.

That Peter de Maulay the seventh was in his minority until the 22d Richard II., and that he was only five years of age in the sixth year of that King's reign, as we have before noted, is further deducible from the non-appearance of the Maulays in the upper house, from the sixth to the 23d of the same reign, when he first took his seat. From the 23d Richard II. to the 3d Henry V. inclusive, we find a De Maulay regularly at his post, or rather having summons,* after which they cease to appear on the list. This fact, we humbly conceive, is sufficient to invalidate the pedigree given in Graves's history. For if, as the account asserts, Peter de Maulay the seventh died in the 2d Henry IV., and was not born until the 1st Richard II., it is scarcely probable, that he should have a son sufficiently old to occupy his place in the house of peers, in the nine succeeding parliaments, viz., from the 3d Henry IV. to the 3d Henry V., since at his death, he had only attained his twenty-fifth year. Banks, who has in a great measure followed Dugdale, in his account of this family, does not give countenance to the pedigree of the heralds; and Camden was of opinion, that there were only seven Peters de Maulay who succeeded to the barony. His learned editor, however, Bishop Gibson, has followed the Fairfax evidence, which, we conceive, is on this occasion inaccurate.†

How long the Salvayns enjoyed the possession of this ample moiety, does not fully appear. George Salvayn, Esq., of North Duffield, living in the 3d Henry V., was succeeded in the ownership of Doncaster, &c. by his son,

SIR JOHN SALVAYN, KNIGHT,

of Newbiggin. He married Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Gray, of Heton, com. Northumb., and died about 1471. Previously to his decease, however, it would appear, that he sold the lordship of Doncaster, &c. to Henry Percy, the second earl of Northumberland, who already owned much property in the immediate neighbourhood of the place. This noble and magnanimous veteran was at the battle of

* See Prynne's edition of Cotton's Abridgment of the Tower Records; and Rymer's Fœd.

† Camden, vol. li. pp. 102, 113.

Agincourt, where he gallantly distinguished himself. Henry VI. constituted him constable of England, and for "the better confirmation of the dignity of the Earl of Northumberland, he obtained a charter of creation thereto." He married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by whom he had a very numerous issue. He died in A. D. 1455, and was succeeded by his son,

HENRY, THIRD EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

who was made governor of Berwick and warden of the east and middle marches. This earl had better luck in the second battle of St. Albans, than his father had in the first; but was slain in the bloody conflict near Towton, on the 29th March, 1461. "At this action, the Earl commanded the vanguard; but there being a snow direct in his men's faces, whereby they could not discern how they shot, he led them on to charge, sword in hand, in which bloody onset, it is supposed he fell." Hall says, "he was in lusty youth, and of frank courage." In November following, he was attainted, and the earldom of Northumberland was conferred upon John Nevile, Lord Montague; but it and his lands were restored to his son, in 1472. From this restoration, however, the lordship of Doncaster, and its dependencies, seem to have been excepted;* hence it is, that we again find this place in the hands of the crown, in which it most probably continued, until the reign of Henry VII., when the whole of the ample property of the Salvayns in this neighbourhood, was granted by that king to the

BURGESSES OF DONCASTER,

together with an extension of their privileges, and a confirmation of all former donations made by his predecessors. The charter of Henry VII. thus proceeds:—"Know ye, that We, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and meer motion, have given and granted, and for us, our heirs and successors, We do give and grant, by these presents, to the town, lordship, mayor and commonalty of our town of Doncaster, and to their successors, the manor and soke of Doncaster, with all the towns, villages, hamlets, and their members whatsoever, and all and singular the messuages, marshes, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services, advowson of churches, chantries, and chapels, possessions, and all hereditaments whatsoever, within the aforesaid manor, lordship, town, and soke of Doncaster, and within the aforesaid other towns, villages, and members existing, together with the courts-leet, view of frank pledges, courts, waters, mills, entry and discharge of waters, (channels and water-courses) in the same place (or there), fairs, markets, tolls,

* Leland.

picages,* stallages,† pontages,‡ passages,§ and all and singular profits, commodities, and emoluments whatsoever, to the aforesaid manor, lordship, towns and villages, and the rest of the premises, or any of them, howsoever appertaining or belonging, or within the precinct of the same, or any of them, wheresoever being, or to us, our heirs and successors howsoever appertaining or lately belonging; as well all and singular of those premises, or any of them, have, or we, our progenitors, or predecessors at any time elapsed hitherto have had, or of right we ought to have. And all and singular the issues, revenues and profits of the aforesaid courts, view of frank-pledge, waters, mills, fairs, markets, tolls, picages, stallages, pontages, passages, and the rest of the premises, or any of the premises in what manner soever accruing or arising.

“To have and to hold the aforesaid manor, lordship, soke, towns, villages, and the rest of the premises with all their members, and appurtenances whatsoever, from the feast of Easter, last past, to the aforesaid mayor and community, and to their successors, of us and our heirs at fee-farm for ever. Yielding therefore for all and singular things in these presents specified to the aforesaid present mayor and community, granted yearly to us, our heirs and successors, seventy and four pounds, thirteen shillings, eleven-pence and an halfpenny, at our exchequer, at the feast of St. Michael the arch-angel, and Easter, to be paid by equal portions, without fee or any other charge, or rent, or any other thing therefore to us, our heirs, or successors, by them the mayor and community, or their successors, in any manner to be rendered, paid or made.”|| This and the preceding charters, were confirmed by Queen Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign.

Notwithstanding this act of royal bounty, the burgesses did not long continue in quiet possession of their new acquisition. In the reign of Edward VI. some demur occurred relative to a portion of their property in the parish of Rossington, which under that head will be fully shewn. In the reign of James I., or his predecessor Elizabeth, Ralph, a descendant of Sir John Salvayn, Knt., found strong cause to question the legality of the possession of the burgesses, founded on a real or pretended

* Picage or Picage is, according to Dr. Cowell, money paid in fairs for breaking the ground, to set up booths, or standings, for the exposition of goods, &c.

† Stallage, imports in our common law, money paid for the pitching of stalls in fairs and markets.—See *Blount and Cowell*, verb. *Stallage*.

‡ Pontage, or *Pontagium*, is a contribution towards the maintenance or re-edifying of bridges. It may also imply toll taken for the same purpose of those that pass over bridges, as a remuneration to those who may have built bridges for the use of the public.—*Vide the Statute, Ann. 22 Henry VIII. cap. 5.*

§ Passage, or *passagium*, is supposed to be derived from the French language, importing *transitum, transitionem, meatum*, and signifieth in our common law, the hire that a man payeth for his conveyance over the sea or river.—*Cowell*.

|| See Miller's Appendix.

intail; he therefore commenced a suit against the corporation, which he prosecuted with all the zeal and dispatch that the uttermost rigour of the law, in its most grievous and exceptionable character, would allow, when the litigants agreed upon terms of compromise. Brian Cooke, one of the ancestors of the present family at Wheatley, and Robert Roiston, were constituted attorneys for the corporation. In A. D. 1622, a petition was presented to the King, praying that he would be pleased to accept of a surrender of their charter; which was done with a view of having a regrant, on terms more safe and decisive. This petition, after specifying the nature and extent of the former grant made by Hen. VII. and confirmed by Elizabeth, thus proceeds: "According to which grant, the said manor of Doncaster, with the manors, lordships, and towns of Rossington, Hexthorp, Ballby, and Sandall, and the advowson of the church of Rossington, and other messuages, lands, and tenements lying within the said townes, and members of the saide soke, and lying within the same, having been quietly enjoyed ever since by your petitioners, and their predecessors, paying the said yearly fee-farm, until of late one Ralph Salvain, Esq. by pretence of some ancient title, endeavoured to have avoided, if he could, as well your Majestie's said fee-farm, as your petitioners' said estates. For defence of both which, your petitioners having endured the charge of many great and tedious suits; have now of late time, for a great sum of money compounded the said pretended title, for better upholding of your said fee-farm, together with their own estates. For the better assuring and confirming of both which, their most humble petition is, that-your Majesty would be graciously pleased to accept from your petitioners, a surrender of their said estates in the premises which they humbly offer unto your Majestie. And also the assurance of the tytle of the said Salvain, which your petitioners shall procure to your highness at their own charges, and that thereupon, your Majestie by your highness's new grante and gift, under your great seal, would bee graciously pleased to assure and convey the said manors and premises unto them and theyre successors, paying unto your highness, your heirs and successors, the like fee-farm, as formerly hath been soe reserved or yielded for the premises. And the said manors and premises to be holden, as in and by the said former letters patent is limited or reserved."*

In conformity with this request, His Majesty King James I., and the said Ralph Salvayn, entered into a contract, covenanting, that he the said Ralph Salvayn, having received the sum of £. should enfeoff and convey the said manor of Doncaster and its appurtenances, to the King, his heirs and successors, with warrantry for ever. This deed being fully and satisfactorily executed, his son and heir, William Salvayn, who married for his first wife, Dorothy, daughter of John Garlington, Esq., and for his second, Anna, daughter of Launcelot Carneby, of Halton, com. Northumberland, Esq., executed a deed of release to the burgesses of Doncaster, by which he

* Miller's Appendix.

“remized, released and for ever quite claimed unto the maior, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Doncaster, in the county of York, all his estate, right, title, interest, clayme and demand which he hath, or can have of anie in the manors of Doncaster aforesaid, Rossington, Hexthorpe, Balbie and Long-Sandall,” &c. And in the same year, viz. 1627, the same Wm. Salvayn, gave a bond to the corporation, binding himself in the sum of £3,000, “to be paid to the said mayor, aldermen and burgesses, or their successors. For which payment indeed, well and faithfully to be made, I bind myself, my heirs, executors and administrators,” &c. The condition of this obligation was such, that, “whereas Ralph Salvin, Esq. father of the above bounden William Salvin hath heretofore made title and clayme by pretence of an intail, unto the manors of Doncastre, Rossington, Hexthorpe, Ballby and Long-Sandall, in the county of York, and to the water corn mill of Doncastre, the advowson of the church and parsonage of Rossington aforesaid, and to diverse messuages, cottages, landes, tenements, and hereditaments, lieinge and beinge within the said several manors, and within the manors of Bentley and Wheatley, all, or the most of which said premises, the saied mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, doe holde in fee-farm of his majestie. Yf therefore the said William Salvin doe at all tymes hereafter, upon request or demande made, make, doe, acknowledge, execute, and suffer all and anie acte and actes, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances in the lawe whatsoever, either for the absolute conveyinge and assuriage of all and singular the saied manors and premises unto the saied maior, aldermen, and burgesses, and their successors, or unto such other person or persons, and his or their heirs, as they shall nominate or name by writing under their common seale, as for the releasinge, extinguishinge, and destroyinge such righte, intereste, and tyle of intale, as the said William Salvin can anie way hereafter pretend to make, unto the said manors, landes, tenements and premises, or any part thereof, by the names above mentioned, or by such other particular names, as by them or their council shall be devised, advised, or required, with warrantrie against the saied William Salvin and his heirs, or without warrantrie; that then this present obligation to be void, and of none effect, or else to abide and remaine in full power, strengthe, and virtue.”

Matters being thus fully adjusted, and differences reconciled, the corporation became legally re-invested with the manor and soke of Doncaster, with their appurtenances, all of which were confirmed to them by the charter of King Charles II.

Whether, between the years 1627, and the 2d Charles II., the period at which the last named charter was ratified, the burgesses of Doncaster had a regrant, according to the intent and meaning of the deed of surrender, made to James I.; or that the unsettled times, which immediately succeeded the accession of the first Charles to the throne of Britain frustrated the design, we are not informed. Miller, who, it would seem, had access to the muniments, &c. of the body corporate, and published his history under their friendly patronage, is silent on the occasion, and

the contents of his appendix do not exhibit any deed or instrument executed in the interim of the two periods named above.

On the mad and impolitic seizure of a number of franchises, &c. by James II., those of the burgesses of Doncaster were probably amongst the number; as we find that a charter of restitution and confirmation was executed by that monarch, in the fourth year of his reign. This transaction, it would appear, greatly mortified the burgesses, and induced them to murmur under their unmerited afflictions. The King, however, resolute, imperious, and indiscreet, punished their arrogance by removing the mayor from his office, and appointing in his stead, Ralph Hansby, Esq., of Tickhill.* He also displaced five of the aldermen, and put others into their room. On the restoration of the charter in the same year, the old mayor and the five aldermen were re-appointed to their functions; the bearer of the new charter being met on the road by three hundred horsemen, and escorted to the mansion-house in a pompous and ostentatious manner.†

Having now brought down the history and pedigree of the lords of Doncaster, &c., from the era of the conquest, to the period in which the present proprietors became firmly secure in their possession, we will close this part of our subject with a tabular view of the same noble line of chieftains.

PEDIGREE OF THE LORDS OF THE MANOR OF DONCASTER.



FOSSARD.

Nigel Fossard, Saxon—
owner of Doncaster,
Hexthorpe, &c. temp.
William the Conq.

Nigel Fossard, subte—
nant of the Mortaigns

MORTAIGN.

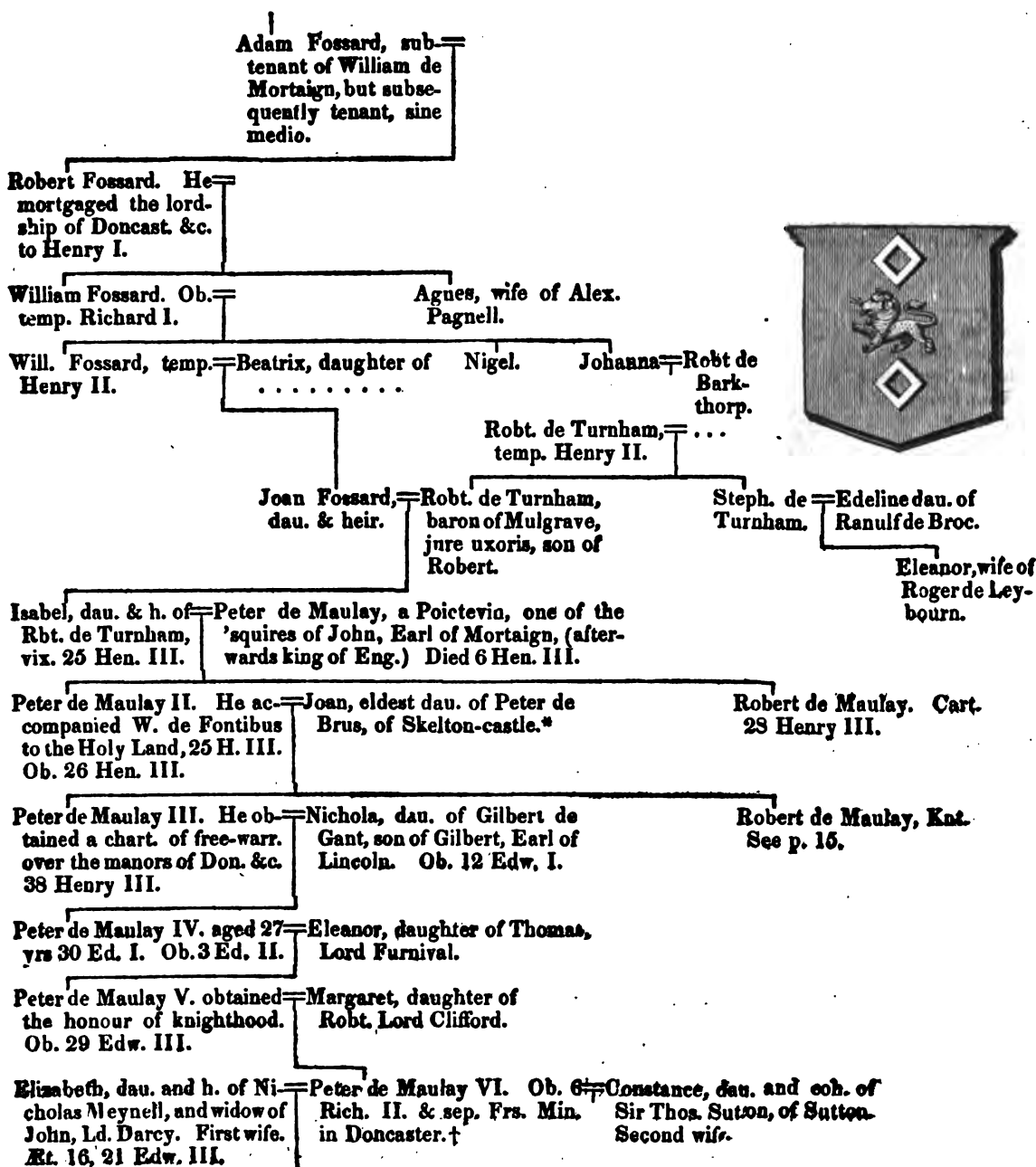
Robert de Mortaign, to— Maud, daughter of
whom the manors of Robert de Mont-
Hexthorpe, Doncast. gomery.
&c. were given by the
Conqueror.

William de Mortaign. He took part with—
R. Carthorse, in his rebellion, for which
he forfeited his patrimony.

* Hugh Hansby or Hauby, Esq., of London, was one of the faithful adherents to King James I., and was in his employ. He purchased the castle of Tickhill, with the lands, &c. thereto belonging, together with the bailiwick of the same place, in fee-farm. Leaving no issue, he settled and confirmed the major part of his property upon his kinsman, Sir Ralph Hansby, Knt., who was a commissioner of array under Charles I., in that horrid and unnatural rebellion, which deluged England with blood. He married three wives, viz., first, Jane, daughter of William Vavasour, Esq. of Haslewood; secondly, —, daughter of William Gerrard, Esq.; and thirdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Buckley, Knt., &c., relict of George Shillito, of —. He had a daughter named Frances, who was the first wife of Sir Thomas Gerrard, Bart.

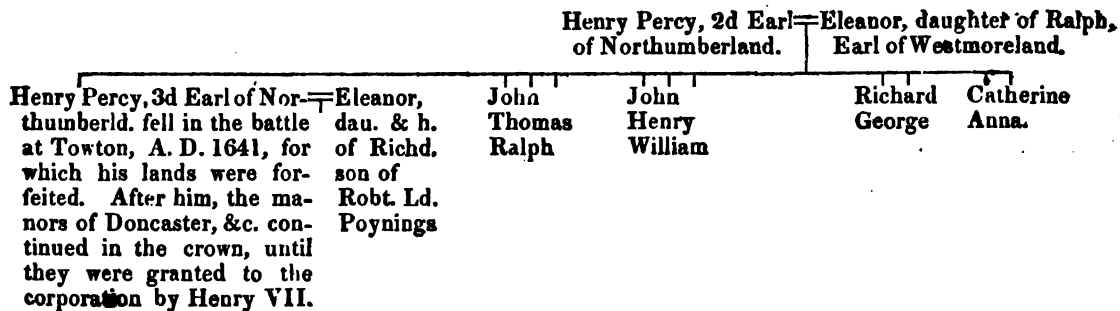
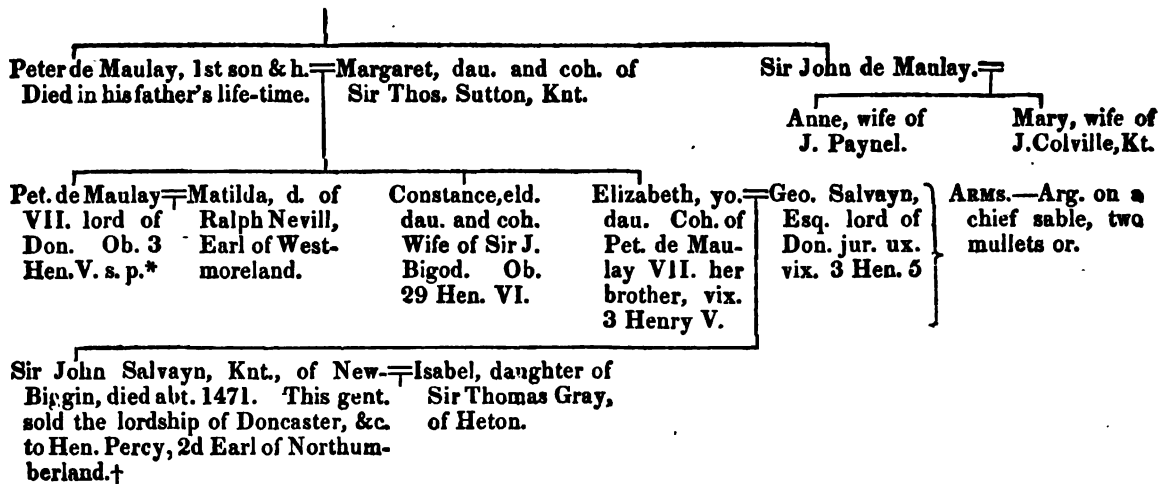
Ralph Hansby, Esq., his son and heir, married —, daughter of Sir John Canfield, Knt., of —. See *Wilson's MS. Coll. Leeds Library*, vol. i. folio 331. What ultimately became of the family, we have not ascertained.

† *Antig. Cab. No. 32*, article *Don*. According to the rolls called "Originalia iv. pars," a charter was granted to the burgesses of Doncaster, in the 2d James II. No account of this charter is given in Miller's Appendix.



* Matrimonium inter Petrum, filium et heredem Petri de Brus, et Hilariam, primogenitam filiam Petri de Malolacu, ac matrimonium inter Petrum, filium et heredem Petri de Malolacu, et Johannam, filiam predicti Petri de Brus primogenitam. — *Pat. Rot.* 21 Hen. III. M. 2.

† Dodsworth names the year of his death to be 1390 (*MS. Coll.* vol. cxxix.); but the pedigree he there gives is very inaccurate.



Independently of the property which the burgesses of Doncaster acquired by the princely donation of Henry VII., they seem to have been in the possession of a certain portion of property, long before that event. In the pages of Domesday-book, however, a total silence prevails on this matter; and whether it was held previously to that event, we are wholly ignorant.

On the invasion of Britain by the Saxons, and their ultimate reduction of the country, the poor natives were miserably oppressed. Instead of seizing on only two-thirds of the subdued territory, as was sometimes usual at that early age, those morose barbarians took the whole, reduced the inhabitants to a state of servitude, and punished with stripes and bonds, such as dared to repine.

* *Dodsworth*, *ut ante*, where eight Peters de Maulay are named. He makes the last to marry a Matilda, who was entombed in the cemetery of the Friars Minor, in Doncaster.

† A pedigree of this family will be given at length in our account of Thorpe-Salvayn.

To support the dignity of the crown, the prodigality of the prince, or to meet the expenses attendant on the executive functions, &c. certain portions of the conquered domain were assigned for that purpose, and were usually let out to individuals or whole towns to farm, for which they paid a certain and stipulated consideration, either in money, service, or kind. That this was the case with Doncaster, is more than probable. Bede informs us, that it was a royal village; and the confirmatory grant of Richard I., and other documents, to be hereafter noticed, strongly corroborate the same hypothesis.

If, however, in the absence of positive proofs, we are occasionally obliged to have recourse to conjecture and deduction, we conceive that we are not violating the rules of historical propriety; and in venturing to give to the burgesses of Doncaster, an ownership coeval with, or even prior to the conquest, we trust that we are not stepping beyond the threshold of probability.

In that great and almost only authentic document of so early a date, the book of Domesday, no notice whatever is taken of any interests in Doncaster, save those of the Earl of Mortaign, and of Nigel Fossard, excepting also its references to those of Tosti, in the time of the Confessor; hence we are led to infer, that none other existed. This circumstance, however, we conceive insufficient to prove, that acts of ownership were never exercised by the "*Homines de Donecastre*," previously to the advent of the Normans. That Doncaster, at the survey, was appendant to the manor of Hexthorpe, is manifest, unless we be suffered to question its accuracy; but that the scope of the survey was confined to its present locality, may not be so easily determined. Of this more in a future page.

On the attainder of William, son of Robert de Mortaign or Moreton the Norman proprietor of this place, the whole soke again became invested in the crown; when the Fossards, instead of being *mesne* lords, were immediately recognized as tenants to the King, *sine medio*. Nearly at this period it is, that we find a separate and distinct interest prevail in this old borough, which the confusion occasioned by the conquest, and the rebellious conduct of its second Norman lord, had nearly obliterated. In several transactions of a litigated character, portions of property are mentioned, which did not appertain to the manorial proprietors. These are principally of the date of Henry III. and the three first Edwards. In the hundred rolls, which record the result of inquisitions taken in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I., is recognized the confirmatory grant of Richard I. "*Dicunt q'd man'ium de Donecastre fuit aliq. in manu Reg. Ric'i, et dimisit illud hominibus p'd'ce ville p. xxv. marc. ultra c'tum redditum p. cartam suam in q. Will's comes Waren. et Symonde Pateshull nominant. testes et pt. d'ca carta inveniri in villa de Doncastre, p. bonam inquis. Et Petr. de Malolacu tenent modo manerium illud nesciunt quo war'o.*" This, we

presume, is one of the earliest documents extant, touching the property and franchises of the "men of Doncaster."

In the pleas of assize, taken at York, in the 21st Edward I., a former plea is referred to, which particularizes the extent of their possessions at that period. It is as follows: "In quodam p'lito ubi D's Rex pet. vers. Petrum de Malolacu, man'ium de Donecastre, exceptis uno mess. xxv. toft. med. uni. bosci ix. bovat. terre cxxxv. acr. et iii. rodīs terre et xx. acr. prati. dimid. in eodem man'io recitatur carta Reg. facta burgens. de Danecastr. de soca cum villa p. redditu. antique firme et xxv. mar. de incremento. Item alia carta Reg. Henrici secundi in hec verba: Hen. Rex, &c. Precipio vobis q'd faciatis Turkillum de Donecastria et heredes suos tenere viii. acr. terre que faciunt unam bovatam in campis de Donecastre, &c. Et recitantur plurima compos'a et memoranda scaccarii Reg. temporibus Regum Hen. I. Hen. II. Ric. II." This document, as well as those to which it refers, carries up the ownership of the "men of Doncaster" to a period bordering upon the conquest. On the commencement of the reign of King Stephen, however, it would appear, that through some cause or other, the burgesses were deprived of the farm of the borough, &c., as in the first year of that king, it, with the earldom of Huntingdon, &c., was granted to Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, on condition, that he should swear fealty and homage to His British Majesty.* He married Ada, the youngest sister of his powerful neighbour, William, Earl of Warren and Surrey, and died before his father David, son of Malcolm, in A. D. 1152, leaving three sons, Malcolm, William, and David. On his death, the earldom of Huntingdon was restored to Simon de St. Liz, and the borough of Doncaster, it is probable, again reverted to the crown, by which, we presume, it was reconferred on the burgesses thereof.

In the 6th Richard I. the "*Homines de Donecastre*" were desirous of having their property and privileges confirmed to them, to obtain which, they besought the King to grant them a charter of confirmation. With this request the King complied, and ordered that fifty marks of silver should be paid into the exchequer, and an increased annual rental of twenty-five marks of the same material, in addition to the old rent of one hundred, which they paid for the farm of the town &c. ere that concession.† This document is the oldest evidence in the archives of the burgesses and is therefore placed the first in the appendix of Miller's history of this place; but it is manifest, as we have already proved, that there are still in existence, memoranda of an earlier date, and from which we are enabled to gather two important particulars, viz., the extent of their property, and the amount of their privileges, at the period alluded to.

* Lelandi Coll. Vol. III. p. 359.

† See the charter, Miller's Appendix; and the Mag. Rotu. 6 Ric. I. Rot. II, cited by Madox. "Burgenses de Danecastrā reddunt compotum de l. marcas pro habenda villa et soca sua ad firmam, pro c. et xxv. marcis per ann."

In the pleas of the 21st Edward I. before noticed, the excepted property consisted of a mansion-house, twenty-five tofts, half of one wood, nine bovates, one hundred and forty-five acres and three rods of land, and twenty acres and a half of pasture (prati), together with the soke of the village, comprising on the whole, nearly four hundred acres of land, exclusive of the wood and tofts. The occurrence of the word toft, or *toftum*, in conjunction with the above particulars, is a curious and important circumstance, as it is generally esteemed to mark the site of a dwelling destroyed by fire, or some other casualty; hence it is natural to infer, that these twenty-five tofts were the sites of as many houses. In a plea of *quo warranto*, dated the 9th Edw. I., there is a further exception of five other tofts, which makes a total of thirty sites of houses then desolate. To ascertain the site of those tofts, is a problem of no easy solution. Twenty-five, it is likely, were placed north of the Cheswell, and the others might be straggling without the ditch.

The privileges of soc, appendant to the franchises of the burgesses of Doncaster, from the remotest antiquity, until the age of Henry VII., appears to have been wholly confined to the borough. This is countenanced by almost every document which we have seen, while the great and lordly privileges appertaining to a manorial court, were principally vested in the proprietor of the manor. Robert de Turnham, as we have before observed, let to farm the toll of Doncaster, and by an *inspeximus*, recited in the charter of Henry VII., it is remarked, that Peter de Maulay the fifth, lord of Malgrave, released and quit-claimed, as well to the power as to the riches, of the commonalty of the town of Doncaster, the pernicious custom raised from the same town heretofore by his ancestors, and which he was accustomed to receive from all manner of regraters of the same town, that is to say, from bakers, brewers, butchers; fishes and wind-fallen trees, and from all manner of regratery; and so that he the said Peter, nor any of his heirs, in that same custom aforesaid nothing claim or assume.*

In the 8th Richard I., a tallage, "de dono ad auxilium Regis," was levied throughout all England, when the village of Doncaster rendered the sum of fifty marks, excepting the interest of Reginald de Doncaster.† In the following year, the like assessment was again imposed, and "Homines de Doncastre reddunt compotum de xxvii. vs.;" viz. "in thesauro xxiil. xviii. et debent iiii. vii."‡ Amongst the amerciaments of the 17th Henry II., which are both numerous and curious, we

* See Miller's Appendix.

† *Madox's Exch.* p. 507. In another part of the same useful work, it would appear, that this Reginald de Doncaster, with whom we have before met, paid twenty-two marks for what he held. This might probably form the exception named in the plea of the 9th Edward I.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 484.

find, that the "men of Doncaster" were amerced one hundred shillings, for a plea of false wax;* and in the 30th Henry III., a tallage of twenty-seven marks was assessed upon the town by the constituted authorities.† In the 5th Richard II., the burgesses had a further confirmation of their property, power, and immunities; but it was reserved for the credit of the fourth Edward, to extend, amplify, and consolidate the rights and privileges of the burgesses of this ancient borough, which he settled on a liberal and spacious basis. This charter, as referring to their privileges, may with some degree of justice be denominated the *Magna Charta* of the town. By virtue of this document, the mayor, &c. are appointed, the internal government regulated, a coroner chosen, and an extra fair granted, which may be holden in every year, "upon the vigil, and upon the feast, and upon the morrow of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin;" together with a number of other important matters, conceded and confirmed. By this charter it was, that they first became a corporated body, or were authorized to have a *gild merchant*,‡ and which reduced their government to the porch of system; but it was not until the reign of Charles II. that the finishing hand was ultimately put to the fabric, and the "communitas" of Doncaster tangibly defined. The two preceding charters of Edward IV. and Henry VIII., it is true, the former especially, laid the foundation stones on which the present structure is reared. They appoint, that a mayor and aldermen should be chosen by the commonalty of the town, for their mutual government; together with officers, &c., to aid in the full and effectual discharge of their functions; but the community still continued an undefinable mass, without order, devoid of restraint, and liable to several disabilities in their individual capacities, as connected with the great bulk of the inhabitants of the place, and were, probably, ever ready to avail themselves of their real or fancied franchises; but whenever a tallage, or other amercement, was levied upon the town, they too often pleaded their exemption; and thus towns at fee-farm were frequently rather places of strife, contention, and animosity, than sources of peace, good order, and profit to the residents thereof.

* Ibid. p. 389. The following amercements, amongst others, are on record. The burgesses of Newcastle, for forcing a knight to swear. Rondulph de Perci, in two marks, for wounding a priest. Robert Francis, in twenty shillings, for hanging a robber unjustly. Keginald de Wassingeley, in one mark, for lying before the justices. The bishop of Salisbury, in £72. 7s. for taking a cheverell in the forest. The men of Northumberland, in 11s. for not cutting the feet (claws) of their dogs. Ailric Busestan, in twelve marks, for not working upon the King's bridge. Simon de Wigenhall and others, for exporting corn without licence, were amerced collectively in forty marks, &c. &c. † Ibid.

‡ *Gild* is a term of Anglo-Saxon birth, and signifies a company, society, &c. *To gildate*, is to incorporate. *Gild*, *fraternitas*, or brotherhood, were first founded for alms, deeds, and devotional exercises. *Gild-merchant*, or *Gilda-mercatorum*, comprised a gild or body of merchants, tradesmen, artisans, &c. "Peradventure, from these secular gilds, or in imitation of them, sprang the method or practice of gildating and embodying whole towns. The ancient Kings of England, in their charters, or patent letters, did many times grant to men of a town, or a borough, among other franchises, 'quod habeant gildam mercatorum,' that they should have a merchant-gild. King Henry confirmeth to his men or burgesses of Southampton, their gild, and their liberties, and customs, by sea and land. The same King Henry II. granteth to his burgesses of Wallingford, a 'gilda mercatoria.' King John granted a 'gilda mercatoria' to the men of Andover," &c.—See *Madox's Firma Burgi*.

To point out the real import of the term "*Homines de Donecastre*," correctly and lucidly, may probably, with all the assistance which we can command, be beyond our power. Such information, however, as the learned have been able to communicate, together with our own observations, shall be briefly given.

"Homines" of this or other towns, *burh-ware*, *men-burgesses*, or *townsmen*, were such only, we may suppose, as actually and rightfully enjoyed the franchises of a town or village, and partook of the benefits, privileges, &c. arising from their freedom. Enrolled citizens of Rome, were free from taxes; but they fought the battles of the commonwealth. To have a settled, a *bona fide* dwelling, or an abode in the town, was most certainly an indispensable requisite, but not the only one; they must also merchandize there, must be of the *hanse* and *gild*, and in *lot* and *scot* with the inhabitants. King John, by his charter, granted franchises to the burgesses of Hallstone, in Cornwall; but by the same deed he also ordained, that none of the burgesses should enjoy the benefit of the franchises, unless they were residents of the town.* In the 29th Henry III., the "homines" of Caistor, com. Linc., complained to the King, that William Robinson and others did partake with the townsmen in all their liberties, but refused to contribute anything toward tallages, and other customary and casual payments pertaining to the farm of the town; the King, therefore, by his writ, commanded the sheriff to summon the offenders to appear before the barons of the exchequer, touching their unreasonable conduct.† The same monarch, in the eleventh year of his age, granted to the burgesses of Gloucester, (amongst other liberties,) that if any man's villane should continue in the same burgh, and be in the merchant-gild and hanse there, and in *lot* and *scot*‡ with the burgesses, for the period of a year and a day, without being claimed by his lord, he should not after that time be subject to, or reclaimable by his said lord.§ In the 6th Edward I., the men holding of the King's castle of Norwich, enjoyed the benefit of trading in the city of Norwich, like as the citizens enjoyed, but declined contributing to the tallages, and other aids demanded of the citizens; but it was adjudged by the barons of the exchequer, that the said tenants of the castle ought to contribute with the citizens in the said tallages, and other aids;|| and the men of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, had inserted in the body of their charter of franchise, conceded

* Brady on Burghs, app. 16.

† Madox's Firma Burgi, p. 271.

‡ *Scot and Lot*, as defined by Blount, "signifies a customary contribution, laid upon all subjects after their ability. *Scot* comes from the French *escot*, i. e. *symbolam*, a shot. Rastak saith, 'tis a certain custom, or common tallage, made to the use of the sheriff, or his bayliff. 'Scot,' says Camden, 'illud dicitur quod ex diversis rebus in unum acervum aggregatur;' and in this sense it is still used; for that when good fellows meet at a tavern or alehouse, they at parting, call for the shot (*scot*) or reckoning. And he is said to go 'scot free,' that pays not his part or share towards it." This term is still used in the vicinity of Doncaster, in the same sense; and the inhabitants holding land in Hatfield-chase do the service of *scot*, on every public occasion connected with that district.

§ Madox's Firma Burgi, p. 271.

|| Ibid.

by Edward I., the following clause, "that no man might enjoy the said franchises, except only the King's tenants of the said town, who are and will be in lot and scot with the townsmen."*

From the few cases here cited, as well as from a great number of others recorded by that learned and industrious historiographer, Thomas Madox, Esq., it would seem, that those townsmen alone were entitled to the character of "homines" of such and such towns, who contributed their share to the imposts of the King, received their fair proportion of the franchises, and were in scot and lot with the inhabitants of the place generally. The immunities and privileges of which the franchises of those days consisted, were various, local, and often very considerable. In "olden days," the kings of England "were not wont to reserve to themselves, a rent or farm out of an airy or barren franchise;" and the excellent author whom we have so frequently quoted on this subject, hath given us a great number of instances wherein much competition has arisen between the "homines" of a village, and individuals having the farm thereof. The toll and other duties to be taken at Dogditch, and tronage in the city of Lincoln, did belong to the farm of the town of Lincoln.† The annual issues of the town of Dunwick, com. Suffolk, consisted in assize-rents, toll of the markets, &c.‡ The issues of the town of York were comprised in assized and other rents, stallage, tolls, profits of fairs, customs, pleas, perquisites, &c.§ Those of Yarmouth, in goods brought to the town for sale. Those of Kingston-upon-Hull, in rents of certain cottages, and a water-mill, the pleas and perquisites of courts, stallage, and the rent of a wind-mill. Those of the town of Oxford, in the moiety of the profits arising from the castle mills, in the custom paid for stalls of fishmongers, butchers, cooks, corbells, bakers,|| and the windows of regraters of bread; the amends of breaking the assize of bread and beer; the rent of houses erected by the community; in toll for things brought to the town to be sold; in the customs called thoruholt, and in perquisites of courts.¶ But in what consisted the profits of the farm of Doncaster, before the reign of Henry VII., exclusive of rents, &c. before-noticed, we are at a loss to state satisfactorily. Rents of assize, perquisites of courts, &c. are unalienable, however, from the rights of soc, which in all probability were the principal sources of profit arising from the farm of the town, prior to the grant of Peter de Maulay the fifth, already adverted to. In the reign of King John, Robert de Turnham let to farm the profits, &c. arising from the toll of Doncaster. This circumstance has been noticed before.

* Madox's *Firma Burgi*, p. 271. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

|| The "commune furnum de Leedes," or, the common bake-house in the town of Leedes, belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and was let to farm for twelve pounds per annum, and was worth, "de claro," £120. per annum. See *Thoresby's Duca. Leodien.* p. 37.

¶ Madox's *Firma Burgi*, p. 274.

However, on the princely and magnificent donation of King Henry VII., all the perquisites, privileges, and immunities, formerly appendant to the manorial chieftains of this place and its soke, in addition to those which the burgesses previously possessed, were concentrated in the "men of Doncaster," all of which, excepting such as are inherently appendant to the proprietor of a manor, are clearly defined in their numerous charters.

THE TOWN.

The precise era of the foundation of the town of Doncaster, is too far involved in the abyss of uncertainty, to admit of recovery at this protracted period; and although the earliest annals of the nation, in whatever writings or other documents they may be found, are as intelligible in their reference to Doncaster, as to almost any other place, we scarcely consider ourselves safe in extending our view to a period anterior to the Roman advent.

The earliest authentic intelligence which we possess concerning this place, is that imparted to us by the Roman writers. By them, as we have before noted, it is called *Danum*.* Nennius, it is true, enumerates it in the number of his British cities, and calls it *Caer Daun*, or the city on the Don;† and it is not by any means improbable, but its origin might with justice be carried to that remote period, could we persuade ourselves that the Britains had establishments of that character. We shall forbear, however inviting may be the occasion, to launch into the ocean of conjecture, well knowing, that though we were to occupy several of our pages in this endless inquiry, we must ultimately fail in giving our readers the satisfaction we are desirous should follow our labour.

During the occupation of Britain by the Romans, *Danum* was manifestly one of the principal places in the wapentake, and ranked first in utility of any between Lincoln and Castleford. At *Danum* was stationed a prefect of the Crispian horse, under the command of the duke of Britain, who had under his jurisdiction, that portion of the Brigantian province, called *Valentia*.‡ Its consequence, however, as a Roman settlement, was not of the same importance as that of many others. There have not been found here, as in many parts of England, the ruins of temples, baths, theatres, &c.; neither are remnants of a minor character liberally strewed. Coins have been found in abundance, some of which are now in the cabinet of Mr. Squires,

* See the fifth Iter of Antoninus; also Pancerolus's edition of the Notitia, with the various commentaries thereon, by the learned.

† See the learned Dr. Usher's edition of Nennius.

‡ See the Notitia, a work truly valuable to the antiquary and the curious collector of old books. It is entitled "Notitia utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique Cæsaranæ tempora."

of this place ; and the refuse of urns, &c. are occasionally discovered on the southern side of the town, and in the vicinity of St. Sepulchre's-gate, where a curious altar was met with : but none, save the latter, have yet been found, calculated to inspire with ardent enthusiasm, the mind of an intelligent antiquary. The altar, (a draught of which is given in Plate I. Fig. A, B, C, D,) was met with by the workmen engaged in excavating the earth on the premises of J. Garratt, Esq., in St. Sepulchre's-gate. Of this unique piece of ancient art and token of depravity, an elaborate account has been given by Dr. Miller, as well as by the editors of a very useful miscellany, called the *Antiquarian Repertory*.*

In every station, and in almost every private residence belonging to the higher orders of society, altars inscribed to their local and inferior gods, or to the emperors, were of common occurrence ; but only three similar to the one in question, have been found in Britain. At these they bowed with reverence ; on these they sacrificed ; at these they offered their prayers, with a degree of fervour and devout zeal, that true—though blind—and unaffected piety, and a thorough conviction of the auxiliary and mediatorial influence of their gods could alone inspire. After the empire became evangelized by the more pure and rational doctrine of Jesus, these heathenish and superstitious blocks of stone were thrown down, and most of them entirely demolished. But as divine, like every other truth, makes its way in a progressive manner, and influences the mind like every other moral evidence ; numbers would be hidden in the earth, to await a change of system, when they could again avail themselves with impunity of the imaginary assistance of the “golden calf,” or “stupid marble block,” as they were wont to do, previously to that blessed change. On that event, Prudentius writes,

“ *Exercere manum non pœnitet, et lapis illic
Si stetit antiquus, quem cingere sueverat error
Fasciolis aut gallænæ pulmone rigore,
Frangitur.*”

To such an order of things it is, that we owe the existence of this and most other similar relics. Had they remained on the surface of the earth, or had their places of retreat been known to those blind, puritanical zealots, it is extremely questionable, whether the bowels of the earth, or the capacious jaws of the mighty deep, would have afforded them protection in that “day of wrath.” Altars, we are informed, were not only decked with ribands, and hung round with drapery, on all solemn occasions ; but the most costly spices, and valuable perfumes, were lavishly burnt at every great sacrifice. In every Roman station, there was a public altar set apart, whereon were celebrated the religious rites of the occupants, and which, Whitaker

* Vol. iv. p. 166. See also *Gent. Mag.* vol. li.

says, was generally placed near to the pavilion of the chief. It was always reared in a structure built for the purpose. Private altars, or altars reared at the cost and by the care of private individuals, were never placed within the confines of the station, but in such parts of its vicinity, as the fancy or convenience of the builder might point out. Altars were of three kinds, viz., the high altar, whereon homage was rendered to the celestial gods; the low altar, dedicated to the infernal deities, which was generally placed in a trench, and the altar set immediately upon the earth, flagged with sod, and covered with vervain; this was designed for the purpose of terrestrial adoration.

The altar found here, appears to have been of a private character, and was, probably, not far removed from its original site, being without the area of the Roman camp established at this place. It was discovered in A. D. 1781. "Upon the capital or top of the stone, a small space above the sculpture of the altar itself, is a *cratera*, or flowing bowl,* sacred to Bacchus, the god of wine. On the dexter, or right side of the altar, is a flower-pot, or *cornucopiæ*, with five branches in it, loaded with fruit and leaves, sacred to Ceres, or *Terræ Mater*, the goddess of plants; and on the sinister, or left side thereof, is a large jug or pitcher, with a large handle, sacred also to Bacchus." The inscription on its face has been read as follows:

MATRIBUS,
M. NAN
TONIUS
ORBIOTAE,
VOTUM, SOLVIT, LUBENS, MERITO.†

This inscription may be rendered, "*Matribus magnis Nantonius Orberthae, Vota solvit lubens merito;*" literally importing, "To the Great Mother (Goddesses) Anthony Oberthae willingly and meritoriously hath performed his vows and promises."

Altars dedicated to the *Deæ Matres*, are of rare occurrence, and Camden acknowledges that he knew not what kind of deities they were; but his commentator, Gough, says that they are found in Gruter, "besides several dedicated to matrons, under different titles." He further remarks, as touching the inscription on this relic, "As to the words, *Nantonius* and *Orbiotalus*, they do not occur in any books of inscriptions; but that is the case with many other names, which we meet with on inscribed stones. The brevity of space afforded for the inscription leaves room for

* Otherwise, the shield of Diana.

† It may necessary to observe, that in our transcript, we have followed the editors of the *Antiquarian Repertory*, who differ from Miller, in the final letter in the word ORBIOTAE, which the latter writes ORBIOTAL. Either, however, may be adopted, without injuring the sense of the whole.

nothing more than the name of the person. The altar itself is undoubtedly elegant; the side of it represents a *Patera*, and the top of it is hollowed for libation."

Soon after the discovery of this truly valuable and curious relic, the corporated body of Doncaster sent it to the celebrated antiquary, Mr. Richard Tetlow, of Ferrybridge, whose interpretation we have followed, referring it, as he observes, to the criticism of the best scholars in the kingdom. It, or a copy of it, was also sent to the Society of Antiquaries in London, whose account precisely agrees in substance with that of the Ferrybridge antiquary. Indeed, the relic is so perfect, and the inscription so intelligible, that it is scarcely possible for two opinions to be entertained on the subject. Mr. Gough remarks, that the "*Matres Deæ* were local deities, protectoresses of certain towns and villages."

The Saxon history of this place, is not quite so clear and luminous as that of the Roman. If the *Campodonum* of Bede be allowed to have occupied the site of the present town of Doncaster, like Edwin its royal owner, it felt sorrowfully the vengeance of the implacable and ferocious invaders, Penda and Cadwalla, who, after the bloody battle at Hatfield, laid in ruins and desolation the whole town, together with the infant church that had been so lately erected, under the immediate inspection of Paulinus, the first Northumbrian bishop, and Christian teacher to the virtuous Ethelburga, consort of the gallant Edwin. Tradition, which, although often extravagant, is seldom wholly unfounded, bears down the woful event to the present period. Camden also notices the circumstance, but gives to the era a different date.*

Mr. Whitaker, the learned Manchester historian, and the Rev. Abraham de la Pryme, contend, that the *Campodonum* of Bede has no reference to the town of Doncaster; while Mr. Watson, the erudite annalist of Halifax, labours with much ingenuity to carry it thither. The obscurity which envelopes the question has become so dense, by the effluxion of time, that it is now difficult to be removed. Circumstantial proofs, however, go far to give to Doncaster a decided preference in its claim to be esteemed the *villa regia* of that venerable monk.

Placed on the confines of the Northumbrian kingdom, and already fortified by a wide ditch and high vallum, its importance as a station could not but demand the attention of its Saxon monarchs, and induce them to bestow upon the old Danum more than ordinary regard. The locality of Slack, in reference to the narration of Bede, militates greatly against the opinion of Whitaker. *Campo* may, it is true, apply to that, as well as to any other Roman station; but its adjunct, *dawn, dana*,

* The traditional story concerning this matter, goes to fix the town of Doncaster on *Potnis-ear*, near the Decoy; but its destruction is not attributed to fire—an earthquake is made the agent of that calamity.

~~then, &c.~~ cannot in this case be removed from the banks of the Don, without doing a manifest violence to consistency. Alfred, the royal translator of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, renders the Campodonum of his author, *Donafelda*, which Gale supposes refers to Tanfield, near Rippon; but Mr. Watson, with much ability, has sufficiently exposed the fallacy of that theory. Polydore also places the Camulodunum of Tacitus at Doncaster, where the emperor Severus built two temples, one of which he dedicated to himself, and the other to the goddess of victory. This conceit, however, it would appear, is wholly unfounded; but it assists us in forming an idea as to the early and occasional appellation of this place, in reference to its locality. Polydore undoubtedly had his eye upon the works of Bede.*

The popularity of Doncaster as a royal village, together with its vicinity to the Saxon *Heðfeld*, or Heathfield, where, in "Anno 633, Edwinus Rex fuit interfectus a Ceadwalla et Penda in Heathfelda," rendered it peculiarly obnoxious to hostile vengeance, being the first place they would meet with after their signal victory.

The destruction of a town by fire, at that early age, would not be attended with much difficulty, but with more disastrous consequences than in modern times. In the age of Edwin, and some centuries afterwards, the domestic edifices were wholly composed of wood; and all the structures, except some of the churches, monasteries, and castles, would be reduced to ashes in a very short time. Pryme says, that Doncaster has frequently suffered from the effects of fire; but he does not adduce his authority. Leland, on the evidence of some old annals, says, that in "Anno Domini 1204, Danecastria in vigilia Paschæ funditus combusta est;"† and in anno 764, "Multæ urbes, monasteriaque, atque villæ, per diversa loca, nec non et regna, repentino igne vastatæ sunt; verbi gratia, Stretburgh, Venta civitas, Homwic, Lundonia, Eboraca, Danecastre, aliaque multa loca illa plaga concussit."‡ But the destruction of Doncaster by the pagans, in 633, rests wholly, as far as we know, on the authority of Bede. The altar, which was dedicated to the one and only true God, being made of stone, escaped the effects of the fire, and in the days of Bede, was in the possession of the abbot and priest Trumwolf, who resided in the *Sylvæ Elmetæ*§

* Galfrida, as cited by Lambarde, would fain bring to Doncaster the origin of the famous *Wassail-bowl*, *Wær hæb*, or *sir sanus*, by occasion, as is observed by the latter, "Hengist, after that he obtained to build a castle near this place, and had finished his work, invited Vortigern to a banquet, and after he had well pleased his taste, he assayed by shew of his daughter to satisfy his sight also. The maid, therefore, being of excellent beauty, came forth with a cup of wine in her hand, and kneeling down in his presence, said as she had been taught, *Lafonbe cýning parrail. Lord King, be in health.* Which when the King understood, by his interpreter or trucheman, he answered, *Dpincheil, Drink in health.* And so the maid drank to him, and he pledged her so heartily, that before it was long, he took her to wife. Her name was *Röxena*," or Rowenna. The history of this transaction is too well known to require further comment.

† Coll. tom. iii. p. 212. ‡ Ibid. p. 350.

§ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14. Thoresby supposes, that Halton or Holy-town was the place whither this altar was conveyed, and where the Northumbrian kings subsequently resided.—*Duca. Leod.* p. 111.

In the opinion of Whitaker, Bede could derive his knowledge of the names of towns from Roman writers alone. From this opinion, however, we beg leave to appeal; although, to a limited extent, it may be correctly founded. From the period in which the Romans took their departure from Britain, to the age in which Bede flourished, nearly three hundred years elapsed, in the interim whereof, very important changes were effected. Gildas, in a mournful tone, gives a highly coloured picture of the wretchedness and misery which succeeded the abandonment of Britain by the Romans; and although he may not be fully borne out by facts, no doubt can possibly be entertained, but that a dreadful change for the worse ensued; and many of the documents left by the Romans, together with their works of art, perished in the carnage and havoc introduced with the arrival of the Saxons and Danes. Bede, therefore, had but few opportunities of acquiring the Roman appellations of places from Roman writings. He quotes none that we are aware of, but such as are familiar to the scholar of the present day. Indeed, the principal part of his information, vague as it is, was communicated to him by Nothelm, who performed a journey to Rome, with a view of searching into the archives of that see; and such things as he hath preserved, touching the ecclesiastical state of the kingdoms of the heptarchy, or octarchy, were chiefly imparted to him by holy men, in different and distant parts of Britain. Concerning Northumbria, however, he avers, that the information was almost entirely the result of his own observation, corroborated by the testimony of numerous and unexceptionable witnesses, "who had seen them and could remember them;" he consequently, it is to be presumed, obtained but few of the names of towns in this district from Roman authority. Many of the towns, whether of British or Roman origin, were become so corrupted in the orthography of their titles, especially in the north of England, before the time of Bede, that the old names were irrevocably lost, and new ones imposed by the Saxons, Danes, &c. Such, for instance, was the case with Aberford, which is exclusively composed of a British and a Saxon word. Through this place ran two Roman ways, both of which pervade this wapentake. Neither is the Ad Fines of Richard reflected in the modern Templebrough; the Segelocum of Antonine, in the present Littlebrough; the Camulodonum of the same itinerary, in the modern Slack; or the Roman Delgovitia, in the Gudmundham of the Saxons. The latter instance affords a striking example of the subserviency of circumstances in the imposition of names; while some of the others exhibit permanent marks of local designation. Similarity of sound often misled our learned Camden; and the famous historian of *Mancunium* seems, on this and some other occasions, to have fallen into the same error.* The continuer of Nennius, it is true, names this

* Mr. Whitaker objects to the arguments of Mr. Watson, because that, "Campodunum is so obviously reflected in the Cambodunum" of Antonine.—See his *Hist. Manch.* vol. i. p. 94. In the second Iter of Antoninus, a station, called by Aldina, Cambodun; by Suriana, Camulodunum; by Simleriana, Cambodun, and by Richard the monk of Westminster, Cambodunn, is placed between Calcaria and Mancunio, xxii. m. p. from the former, and xviii. m. p. from the latter, where Mr. Whitaker is anxious to fix the Campodunum of Bede.

place, in the number of his British cities ; but we should not omit to bear in mind, that the age in which that continuation was written, is not known ; it cannot, therefore, be admitted as evidence on this occasion.

The language of the historian, and the relative situation of each place (Slack and Doncaster), are powerfully corroborative of the position assumed by Watson. Immediately after narrating the issue of the fatal contest of Hatfield, Bede proceeds to describe the movements of the victorious army. From the field of battle, the pagans marched to Campodonum, in which Paulinus had recently built a temple, dedicated to the Christian Deity, which they reduced to ashes. Leaving the smoking embers, they passed northwards, where death, desolation, and rapine, marked their bloody steps. "Cadwalla," observes Bede, "though he had embraced Christianity, was more cruel and barbarous than any pagan. He was, indeed, so vindictive and savage in his disposition, that he spared neither sex nor age ; but with the highest and most despicable ferocity, he inflicted torments and death on all that fell into his power ; depopulated and wasted every province of the country, in the most inhuman manner, for a long time ; and purposed to extirpate the whole English nation. Nor did he shew any respect for the religion he professed, which had been but recently planted amongst them ; for the Britains, even to this day, make no account of the faith and religion of the English ; nor will they communicate with them in any thing, in any other way than if they were pagans."* What could be their object in marching to Slack, we are at a loss to tell, as we have no authority whatever to suppose, that that place was of any material consequence in the age adverted to, being quite out of the way of the pagan army ; while Doncaster, situated upon the very confines of the Northumbrian district, was at all times, during the Saxon dynasty, a fortified post, and placed immediately upon the road the allied force must travel to reach the northern capital, and the gateway, as it were, of the Northumbrian kingdom.

That Doncaster was in a desolated condition, soon after the battle of Hatfield, may be inferred with some degree of plausibility, from the circumstance of the synod being held at the latter place, in A. D. 680, forty-seven years after the disastrous conflict between the Christians and the pagans, under Edwin and Penda. Had not the town of Doncaster been then in a state of ruins, is it not reasonable to suppose, that Doncaster, rather than Hatfield, would have been the seat of that memorable conference, on which occasion, a Northumbrian monarch had presidency, notwithstanding the presence of that august and ambitious prelate, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury ?

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 20.

In the year 833, precisely two hundred years after its annihilation, and one hundred and fifty-three after the assembly of the synod, we again find it in a tenable condition, and made the rallying point of King Egbert's scattered army, after the battle of Carham, where the Danes obtained over that prince a bloody and decisive victory, and subsequently chased them to the very gates of the town.

The Rev. Mr. Watson, after exhibiting much learning and ingenuity on this subject, concludes by observing, "If any situation, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, will answer to the names of *Campodonum* and *Donafelda*, it will be more reasonable to fix it there (at Doncaster), than to look for it at any very distant place; but these names coincide in a most remarkable manner with that of Doncaster, which signifies, the camp or station on the river Don or Dun. The Romans who settled there, called it *Danum*; and after them, the Saxons, *Doncaster*; well, therefore, may King Alfred be supposed to call the ground or country *Donafelda*, which adjoined to this river and station; for the Saxon word *felo* is in Somner's dictionary rendered by *campus*; and this, Bede, who was obliged to give it a Latin sound and termination, as he wrote in that language, has well enough expressed by *Campodonum*."*

The attempt made by Pryme, to fix the *Campodonum* at Hatfield, needs not to be examined here; for there is scarcely a single circumstance that can be made available for that purpose. This matter has been noticed in our introduction.

The account of this place, given by our Norman scribes, compared with its present condition, would dispose us, at the first view, to suppose that some error had crept into the pages of that memorable record, the book of Domesday. On a further and more mature consideration, and a view of its Roman and Saxon site, the accuracy of that invaluable document, however, will be more apparent, and its description more reconcileable with its present aspect.

The present village of Hexthorpe, to which the soke of Doncaster partly belonged, together with that of a great number of other places in the vicinity, is now an inconsiderable village, consisting of about a dozen houses; while the town of Doncaster, ever since that period, has been gradually advancing in power, population, and property, and to which the former is now, and has been for a period of seven hundred years, wholly an appendant.

To account for this apparent difference fully and satisfactorily, may be an undertaking difficult to be accomplished; however, being on the subject, we shall not

* See the paper on this subject, read before the Society of Antiquarians, February 27th, 1763.

desert, our post, but fearlessly contend with the obstacles which present themselves and whether we succeed or fail in our attempt, we shall have the consolation to say, that we have done our best. We are the first who have dared to grapple with the question; and if we sometimes wander from the straight path of consistency, the reader will be pleased to consider, that it is an untrodden track, deeply darkened by the night of time.

For the state of this place and neighbourhood, on the advent of the Normans, or when the survey of the first William was made, we must refer our readers to the commencement of this article, where they will find, that a portion of the soke of Doncaster, belonged to the manors of Hexthorpe and Wheatley; that in the former place were a church and a priest, with five borders and one plough, and two mills of thirty-two shillings; hence we find, that the manor of Hexthorpe was in possession of two of the most important appendages of a manor. In the demesne,* there then were one plough, twenty-four villanes, twenty-seven borders, and forty sokemen, having twenty-seven ploughs. In what particular part of the manor of Hexthorpe, the lord thereof had the dwellings of his borders, &c. remains to be shown.

That Hexthorpe, confined to its present site, was never in possession of a church, mills, &c. will be readily granted; for it would be impossible, if that was the case, that all vestiges thereof should have wholly disappeared. Had the village of Hexthorpe, bounded by its present limits, been of that importance which the survey of William attached to it, we can scarcely imagine, that it would have lost its consequence in so short a period of time, as it is never subsequently recognized as the capital, or head, of the district in which it is situated. Presuming on the correctness of the survey, we are warranted in concluding, that the Saxon *Græpp*, like the Norman, embraced the area of the old and present town of Doncaster, a name which it probably assumed, by reason, of the residence of its Saxon proprietor being placed south of the ditch and vallum, and that the town of Doncaster, properly so denominated, was placed, prior to the conquest, wholly within the confines of the moat, which partly encircled it; hence it will be seen, that we suppose the Danum of the Romans, and the Campodonum of Bede, to have been placed north of the present borough, and probably occupied that portion of the town, now called Marshgate. The ditch mentioned in the mandate of King John, sent to Peter de Maulay the

* Demesne, or Domaine, is a term of Gallic original; and wherever it is found in ancient writings, or in any wise connected with old times, it invariably refers to lands immediately occupied by the King, barons, or other great lords. The number and names of all the manors in England, were by Edward the Confessor entered in a book, which is now lost. It served as a basis, whereon were founded those monuments of antiquity, the Rolls of Winchester, "and those which by that book appear to have belonged to the crown, and are contained under the title *Terra Regis*, are called ancient demesne."—See *Ketch*, p. 96. This appellation was not confined to the *Terra Regis*, but it also extended to all lands, anciently held by lords of manors, in contradistinction to such as he had apportioned out to his tenants, on a military, or some other tenure; for the maintenance of themselves and families.

first, and in some private grants, seems to have been no other than the present branch of the Don, called *Chelewald*,* which, with the Don, completely encircled the old town, and in the infancy of war, rendered it almost impregnable. The origin of this branch is obviously unnatural. Its abrupt departure from the old channel, above the mill, and its junction at Dockin-hill, exhibit indubitable marks of human policy, not only in its course, but in its manner and point of re-union; being much too elevated to be the work of nature, but in full unison with our ideas of effectual defence at that early period. If the ditch be not found here, we would ask, Where shall we look for it? The lapse of time, and mutation of things, we are aware, have hurled into the gulf of oblivion, some of the noblest works of art; but those of the earth have been generally found less liable to decay, than any other of the works of man. If, as it may be supposed by some, the ditch encircled any portion of the present town, south of the Chelewald, is it not more reasonable to suppose, that long ere now, some of its vestiges would have been discovered? Can we consistently imagine, that the relics of so prominent an earthwork would never have been found? Every part of the town, south of the Chelewald, has been excavated from east to west, for various purposes, and no tokens of any such defence have yet shewn themselves. Dr. Miller seems to think, that the gates mentioned by Leland, point out the ditch. This assertion of the Doctor shall be noticed in its proper place.

On the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and the advent of the Saxons, the lowness of the site of the old town, and its liability to inundation, might induce the Saxon chief to fix his residence on the higher ground, south or south-west of the ditch, somewhat veering towards the present village of Hexthorpe, but not far from the present borough;† and on the division of property by this people, the manor, as was usual, would derive its name from the principal residence of its proprietor, as is remarkably the case in the district of Hallamshire, and some other places. Inviting and attractive as were the site of the new town, and the influence of a Saxon thane, the unsettled state of the heptarchy, and the continual wars in which the Saxon adventurers were engaged, would prevent the Danum of the Romans from being entirely deserted, in consequence of its fortified condition. The same reason would also prevail in the early period of the Norman dynasty; hence, it is not unlikely,

* This document has been copied already. In a grant made by Hugh de Belton and Helen his wife, to Peter de Maulay the third, lord of Doncaster, the ditch is thus noticed: "From the King's highway of the town, even to the ditch, trench, or moat, which goeth about the town of Doncaster." There are other documents worded in a similar way.

It is also worthy of remark, that the name of that branch of the Don, proves it to be of Saxon origin. *Cheopl*, or *Coopl*, has been, and is justly rendered, a king or governor, which by corruption is usually pronounced *Cherl* or *Chel*. The adjunct *wald* or *pald*, *pall* or *pealle*, is by Somner said to import *muris* or *vallum*; hence, *Chearlwald* would signify the King's ditch or wall of defence. The appellative might also be consistently derived from the *Coopl* of the same tongue, and would then imply a wall or bank of sand, *sabulum*. *Wald* likewise importeth power or strength. It is called *Chelewald*, in a grant in Miller's Appendix, p. iii.

† In an inquisition taken at York, in the reign of Edward III., an hall, or *cula*, at Hexthorpe, is mentioned.

but that the Campodonum of Bede, had the honour of being a *villa regia* before the time of Edwin.

After the destruction of the town by the allied sovereigns, the first and imperious attention of the inhabitants would be directed to their forlorn condition, and new dwellings would be erected out of the ruins of the general wreck; while the Christian temple, which had been so recently built by King Edwin, would be suffered to lie in ruins for some time, or until the spirit of Christianity more generally prevailed, and its precepts were exercised with more zeal, and less peril. On the erection of the church of St. Mary, under the patronage of a Saxon chief, a site would be chosen, which would rather be on the south of the ditch, on a dry and elevated soil, than within the circumference of the fortification, where it is probable the mother church of the deanery was first situated. The Saxons, as well as their predecessors, the Romans, were not suffered to bury their dead in towns or cities, but were compelled to remove the corpses, and to seek a place of sepulchre in the fields, or the sides of highways, as a beacon to remind travellers of their mortality. This practice, the intelligent reader needs not to be informed, was not confined to the Greeks, Romans, Saxons, &c.; as we learn from the sacred writings, that the same mode of interment prevailed amongst the Jews, &c., from the remotest antiquity. The usual place of inhumation at Jerusalem, was in the valley Kedron, eastward of the city; and the sepulchre in which Joseph of Arimathea laid the body of our Saviour, was near to the place of crucifixion, without the city;* and the manner continued in use here, with but few exceptions, until the time of Cuthbert, the eleventh archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to Somner, obtained a dispensation for making cemeteries, or churchyards, within the walls of cities, &c., more general, and to legalize the practice.† Cuthbert was first seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, in the year 743, a period anterior, most likely, to the erection of the old church of St. Mary, by its Saxon proprietor, who, it is not improbable, in imitation of the monks of Canterbury, chose for the site thereof, a plot of ground without the ditch, and

* John, cap. xix. v. 20, 41.

† It was a custom in times of old, saith Hospius, (lib. iii. cap. 1.) on the authority of Durandus Ulpian, that men and women were buried in their own private houses, or within their own private gardens; but afterwards, for the noisome savour and contagious stink of the dead carcases, so interfered, it was enacted, that all burials should be without towns and cities, in some convenient place appointed for that purpose.—*Weever*.

Mr. Whitaker who was in the habit of disputing more points than he could prove wrong, denies that Cuthbert was the first who obtained leave to bury the dead in the vacant ground frequently encroaching our churches. Bede, it is true, makes mention of several instances of burials in churchyards, &c., at a period long anterior to the age of Cuthbert; but they all have reference to men of preeminent sanctity and worth, such as saints and kings. This, however, is no proof against the general practice, but rather the contrary. Soon after the dispensation was obtained by Cuthbert, for distinction's sake, we find, that the above orders of men were interred in the porch, and eventually in the interior of the edifice. Stow likewise remarks, "The Englishmen buried not the bodies of their dead in cities, until the time of Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who procured of the Pope, that in cities, there should be appointed churchyards; for Honorius, when he divided his province into parishes, appointed not to them churchyards for burial."—Howe's ed. p. 77.

possibly on the very ground which had been used as a cemetery by the Roman and Saxon residents of the old town, who, as we have just observed, were not permitted by the law of the twelve tables, to inter their dead within the enclosures of a city or town.*

The erection of the desecrated church of St. Mary, it is presumed, may be extended to a very remote era. The architecture yet surviving, exhibits an origin in unison with the age of Ethelred II., the twenty-fifth and last monarch of the Northumbrians. The columns in the school-room, and the circular arch rising from them, display an infancy in the art assignable to that period, being wholly devoid of those sublime accompaniments prevalent in a later period of the Saxon heptarchy.

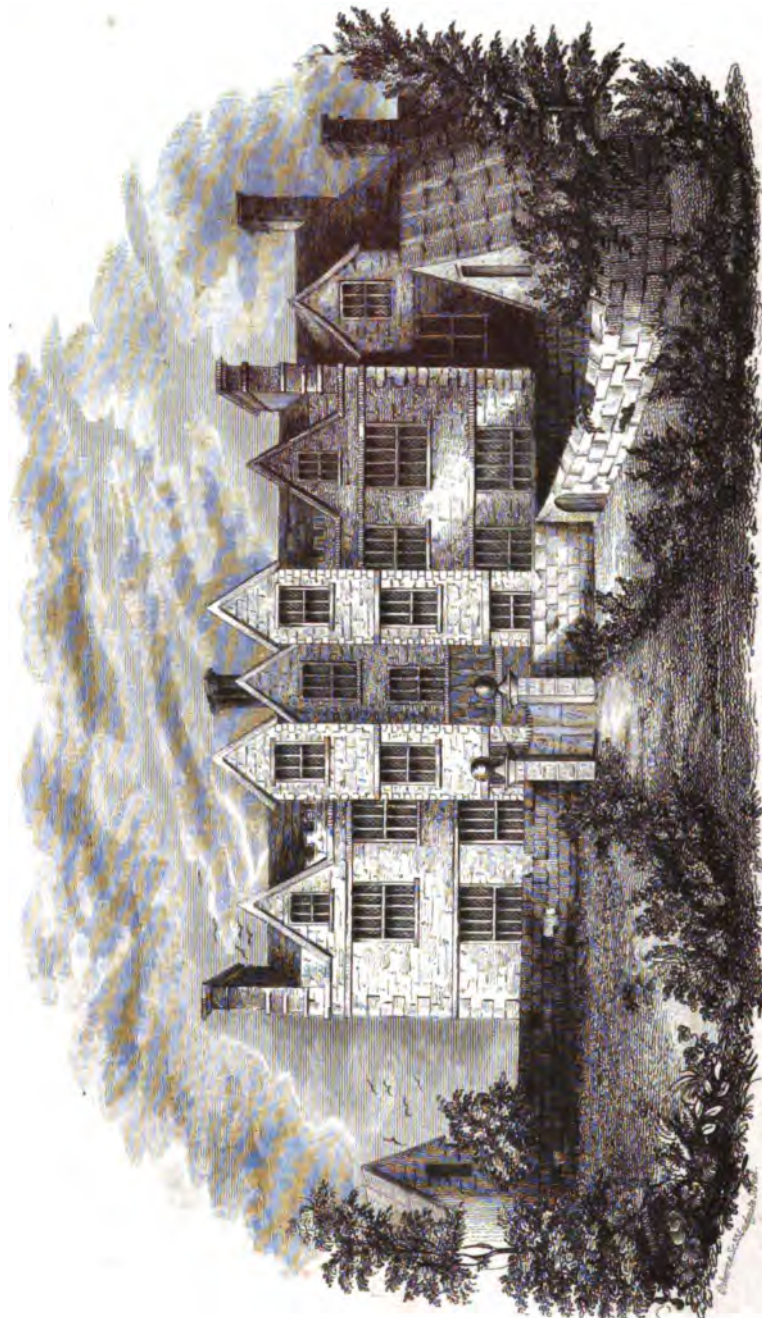
Before the age of Theodore, the seventh archbishop of Canterbury, churches could not be erected at the will and pleasure of a layman, however rich and powerful; but he, for the "encouragement of the good work of church-building," procured a licence from the spiritual and temporal authorities, empowering all that were "able and willing," to build and endow ecclesiastical edifices, and to enjoy the patronage of them for ever.† After this concession, sacred structures multiplied in the same proportion as a zest for the precepts of Jesus prevailed; and districts, which scarcely knew the import of the term, witnessed the existence of temples dedicated to the rational service of Jehovah, and a demolition of such edifices as were committed to the care, and under the local jurisdiction of their tutelar divinities.

On the erection of the church of St. Mary, and the subsequent formation of the castle by its Saxon or Norman lords, at the confluence of the foss with the Don, the inhabitants of the old town of Doncaster would gradually emigrate to the focus of power; and if it had any peculiar privileges of Saxon origin, they would be added to those of Norman introduction, conceded to the "men of Doncaster," by the Mauleys; which, together with the fair granted to Robert de Turnham, conspired to carry, by degrees, the Danum of the Romans to the *Ætton* of the latter Saxons; and thus, in lapse of time, a change was created, scarcely cognizable by the keenest vision of the most prying and judicious antiquary.

The decrease in the reputed value of the manor of Hexthorpe, as appears on the face of the Winchester rolls, from £18. to £12., would argue, in the view of some, an important change; hence, by several writers, it has been ascribed to the ruin and havoc effected by the determinate hostility of the Conqueror, in consequence of the unwillingness of the Saxons to submit to the arbitrary measures of the insulting

* Somner's Canterbury, p. 46. "Fluminem montium infra urbem nunc sepelire coepit."

† Burton's Mon. Ebor. pref.



WADWORTH HALL near DONCASTER.

Formerly the Seat of the

COPLANDS OF WADWORTH.

From a Painting in the possession of the (Vendor.)

Norman. This fact has afforded a theme to the author of *Waverley*, which sustains an interesting part in his *Invanhoe*. Dr. Miller observes, that it is "difficult to account for this diminution of a third part of its value, in the short space of twenty-five years. Perhaps, after the bloody battle of King Harold with the Norwegians, at Stamford-bridge, the original lord of Doncaster and Hexthorpe attended the King, to oppose William in the conquest of this island; and Harold's army being defeated, and himself slain at the battle of Hastings, a third part of the barony might be forfeited to the crown."* In this inference, it is presumed that the Doctor has not been so careful in the examination of the question, as its importance demands. Satisfactorily to unravel the mysterious complexity attendant on this matter, may, however, be difficult to accomplish; but that it did not arise from the cause presumed by Miller, Hunter, &c. is easily shewn. On this subject, in reference to the theory of the latter, we have descanted in a former page.

The true reason of this defalcation, may now be too far immersed in the abyss of antiquity, to be brought to light in the nineteenth century; but it would appear to have arisen, rather through a mode of tenure, than any other cause. In the Confessor's time, all estates were the absolute property of the owners; "they could be alienated at pleasure; they could be demised by will; were subject to no exactions on the death of the owners, save a very moderate settled heriot paid by the executor. In the mean time, on the death of the ancestor, the heir entered without waiting for the approbation of the lord, or paying anything for it; and his heir, if there were no will, was all the sons jointly. No wardship or marriage was due or expected, if the heir were not a minor. Now by the feudal customs being introduced (by the Conqueror), no alienation, without an exorbitant fine for a license, no will or testament concerning them, availed anything; aids towards knighting his eldest son, or marrying his eldest daughter, not to forget the ransom of his own person, were become indispensable duties. The heir, on the death of his ancestor, if of full age, was plundered of the first emoluments arising from his inheritance, by way of relief and *primier seisin*, and if under age, the whole of his estate, during infancy; and then, as Sir Thomas Smith very feelingly complains, when he came to his own, after he was out of wardship, his woods decayed, houses fallen down, stock wasted and gone, land let forth to be ploughed, to be barren; to make amends, he was yet to pay half a year's profits, as a fine for suing out his livery; and also the price or value of his marriage, if he refused such wife as his lord and guardian had bartered for and imposed upon him; or twice that amount, if he married another woman. Add to this, the untimely and expensive honour of knighthood, to render his poverty more completely splendid. And when, by these deductions, his fortune was so shattered and ruined, that perchance he was obliged to sell his patrimony, he had not even

* Miller's *Doncaster*, p. 28.

that poor privilege allowed him, without paying, as above, an exorbitant fine for a license.”* Exactions, extortions, and imposts, so oppressive, were not calculated to enhance the value of land, &c. in those unsettled times; but on the contrary, they had a very different tendency; for they diminished the worth of most, and rendered waste a number of manors, which, prior to that event, were reputed to be worth more or less.†

After a full removal from the old site, and a few concessions made by the lords of Doncaster, to the men of the same place, a spirit of improvement soon manifested itself; and although, like other towns during the feudal ages, Doncaster was slow in its progress, the immunities of the burgesses soon enabled them to direct their attention to the melioration and comfort of their townsmen. In the 11th Edward III., and in the 15th Richard II., the “homines de Donecastre” obtained leave to pave the highway through the town;‡ but it was not until the period when the burgesses became possessed of the Salvayns’ property here, that the town began to assume an appearance superior in point of comfort, to most other provincial places in the British empire.

In the reign of Henry VIII., Leland, the celebrated antiquary, gives us no exalted idea of the state of Doncaster at that comparatively recent date. “I noticed these things especialley yn the towne of Dancastre. The faire and large Paroch Chirche of S. George, standing in the verie area, wer ons the Castille of the towne stooode, long sins clene decayed. The dykes partley yet to be seene, and founda-tione of parte of the walles. Ther ys a likilihoode, that when this chirche was erected, muche of the ruines of the Castille was takin for the foundatione, and the filling of the walles of it.

“Ther standithe an old stone house, at the est end of the chirche of S. George, now used for the Towne-house, the which, as some suppose, was a piece of the buildynge of the olde castille, or made of the ruines of it.

* Kilham’s Notes on the *Leges Gulielmi Conquestoris*; also Sullivan’s *Lectures on Feudalism*, p. 278. Several instances of these grievous fines may be seen in the pages of this Topographical view.

† Drake, in a note attached to his History of York, informs us, that in the general devastation, the Conqueror thought fit to spare the lands of St. John of Beverley. He had, however, sent a command out to destroy this country too; but the officer chanced to fall from his horse on his way thither, and break his neck, in such a manner, that his face was turned quite backwards. When this was told to the King, he believed it to be an omen sent from St. John, to warn him to spare his territories, and therefore he desisted from spoiling these parts.—P. 90.

If this were well authenticated, (and we have no reason to discredit the circumstance,) the theory espoused by Drake, Hunter, Miller, &c. would be considerably weakened, if not annihilated, by an inspection of the Dom-boc of the Conqueror; where it will be seen, that notwithstanding the revocation of William’s edict, the property of that holy fraternity experienced a reduction in its annual value, similar to that in every other part of the kingdom. See articles, *Beoseli, Delton, Locketon, Eltone, Burtone, Climbicote, &c. &c.*

‡ Pat. Rotu. 11 Edw. III. m. 35; and 15 Rich. II. m. 8.

" Ther ys in the declining *in area castelli*, a pratti lyttel house buildid of tymber, as a colege for the pristies of the towne.

" Ther was another Paroche Chirche yn the toun, yet standing, but now it *servithe* but for a Chapelle of Ease.

" Ther was a right goodly house of White Frerse yn the mydle of the toune, now defacid, wher lay buried in a goodly tumbe of white marble, a countess of Westmerlande, whose name, as one toulde me, was Margaret Cobham. The image of the tumbe is translated ynto S. George's chirche, and by it as the crunet is made she shold be a dochess.

" Ther was a house of Gray Freres, at the northe ende of the bridge, cummunly caulid, the Frere's-bridge, conteyning a 3 archis of stone. Here I markid that the Northe Parte of Dancastre Tune, yn the whych be but litle and that mene buildynge, standith as an isle. For Dun river at the weste side of the toune, castithe oute an arme, and sone after at the este side of the toun, cummith ynto the principal streame of Dune again. Ther ys also a grete bridge of five archis of stone, at the North Ende of this Isle, at the Southe Ende of which Bridge is a grete torunid Gate of Stone; at the weste side wherof is a fare Chapelle of oure Lady, and therof it be caulid S. Mary-gate. At the Este of this Bridge be two or 3 grete mills as at the water.

" Ther appear no tokens as far as I could learne or se, that ever Dancastre was a wallid towne. Yet ther be 3 or 4 gates in it, wherof S. Mary's-Gate is the farest.

" The whole toune of Dancastre is builded of woodde, and the houses be slatid. Yet is ther grete plenti of stone ther aboute.

" The soile aboute Dancastre hath very goode medow, corne, and sum woodde."^{*}

Such was the condition of the town of Doncaster, three hundred years ago. By way of comment, we would remark, that the old town-house mentioned by our tourist, was, we presume, no portion of the old castle; but it possibly might have been built out of the ruins thereof. The architecture was of an order purely domestic, exhibiting no features whatever of a castellated structure, in any of its parts. That portion of the edifice, long used as a school of industry, was by far the most spacious, and was undoubtedly the place where business of a public nature was transacted, previously to the desecration of St. Mary's church, and for which, we are of opinion, it was

* Leland's Itin. vol. i. p. 38.

originally formed.* The house built of timber, in the "*declining in area castelli*," is supposed by Pryme to have been the remains of a great chantry; but here our author assures us, that it was a college for the priests of the town; and his testimony we are obliged to prefer, as the chantries were not demolished, until the reign of Edward VI. He also observes, there were no tokens, "as far as he could learne or se," of the town having ever been walled. "Yet ther be three or four gates." Here we are led to note, that no ditch, or wall, or the appearance of either, was seen by Leland, although it would seem, that particular inquiry was made on that subject, and to which, it is probable, he was led by a view of the gates. This we conceive to be a further and strongly corroborating proof, that the ditch cannot be sought for with success, south of the Chelewald; as the little improvement at that era, it is presumed, could not have obliterated every vestige of so prominent an earth-work.

Doncaster, like many other places is pre-eminent for *gates*. This name is given to almost every highway in the town. The Anglo-Saxon *gate* is by Somner rendered *porta*, the gate of a city, a port or door, the entrance into or out of any place, or a narrow passage between hills. The usual term whereby a fortified entrance is betokened, is *bar* or *barr*; hence, Micklegate-bar, Walmsgate-bar, &c. in the city of York; but none of these are discoverable in Doncaster, save the Sunny-bar, near the market-place, formerly called Sun-bar; and it is observable, that wherever that name occurs, some stop, molestation, or obstruction of one kind or other had existence. Some of the highways in Doncaster, at a more early period, bore the names of streets. French-gate, for instance, was formerly called Francis-street; and in a grant dated A. D. 1360, the same way is denominated Frankysth-gate. Hall-gate, likewise, was on some occasions called "the Street-de-Haw," and "Haw-gate;" and the present Fisher-gate bears, in one or two cases, the appellation of Fisher-street; whence it is obvious, that *gate* and *street* have been for some time regarded as synonymous terms. Indeed, they have both one and the same import, in the languages from which they are derived.

In point of population, Doncaster would appear to have been somewhat tardy in its increase; if the extent of the town, in the latter part of the fourteenth, and the whole of the fifteenth centuries, be a criterion for judgment. On the south and

* The back-part of these premises was long inhabited by a family named Marshall, the last of which lived there within the reach of our own knowledge. It was a dreary, lonely, and sequestered abode, and the interior exhibited several articles of furniture, extremely rude and antiquated. The family made pretensions to an origin as far back as the age of Henry VIII. On Dugdale's visitation, in 1665, Benjamin Marshall, of Doncaster, second son of Thomas, son of Miles Marshall, of Marston, com. Lincoln., was aged forty-one years. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Farney, of Thornhill, com. Ebor., and widow of William Maddocks, of Doncaster. He had two brothers and three sisters; Gervase, the eldest, lived at Whatton-in-the-Wall, com. Nott. Thomas, the third son, was a citizen of London. Alice was wife of Obadiah Martin, of Doncaster. Elizabeth was married to Robert Walcot, of Scredinton, com. Linc.; and Mary was unmarried.—See *Dugdale's Visitation Herald's College*.

south-west, it has become materially increased ; but the major part of the place was in being nearly five hundred years ago. From the earliest period, to the present time, it was undoubtedly a great thoroughfare. In the Saxon age, it would be esteemed the key to the south of the Northumbrian kingdom, through which alone it could be assailed. Parted, by a vast morass and impassable mountains, from the Coritanian province, Doncaster could be approached only through the pass at Bawtry, and being a fortified position, would always be considered of prime importance by the Northumbrian princes ; hence we are induced to conclude, that in the Saxon era, and for some centuries subsequently, it was, in a local point of view, a place of material consequence. The number of religious institutions, &c. formerly in being here, is also a collateral proof of the same hypothesis.

From the age of Henry VIII. to the present period, Doncaster, however, has greatly increased in population. The average of births here, from 1547 to 1624, was nearly seventy-seven *per annum*, and deaths in the same lapse of time, something more than eighty-nine ; while in the year terminating in 1802, there were one hundred and seventy-two of the former, and one hundred and fifty-six of the latter. The last census, taken in 1821, presents a still wider contrast. The excess of deaths over that of births, in the first of the two periods, viz., from A. D. 1547 to 1624, is a circumstance attributable, no doubt, to the dreadful plague, which visited it, together with several other places, in the years 1541, 1551, 1582, and 1585. In the latter year, it continued during a period of twenty-one days, with unabated fury. Several hundreds of the inhabitants fell an untimely sacrifice to its malignancy ; while such of them as were fortunate enough to be more leniently dealt with, were removed to the pest-house, near to the hamlet of Hexthorpe, where a part of the walls were lately remaining. A number of towns in the vicinity of the infected places, had persons hourly on the watch, to prevent any communication being had with them, and to limit, by all possible means, the frightful contagion. The sepulchral receptacle of those unfortunate beings, appears to have been at the west end, or at the north-west corner of the desecrated church of St. Mary ; where, instead of being consigned to their mother earth, with decent and becoming rites, they were thrown into the grave in all manner of forms.* At an intervening era, viz., from A. D. 1721 to 1762, the average of births was nearly one hundred and three, and that of deaths nearly ninety-seven.

On comparing Doncaster, as to its population, with some of the neighbouring market-towns, it will be seen, that of seven, the extent of which we have been able

* On opening the earth, a few years ago, behind the present Town-hall, we observed a great number of bones deposited about three feet below the surface. These relics of mortality did not present the appearance of being thrown there, on some occasion subsequent to their original interment. Each limb laid contiguous to its kindred one, in the same manner as when they were at first buried ; excepting a decay of such parts as were not calculated long to resist corruption.

to ascertain, Doncaster, excepting Gainsbrough, was the least in number of inhabitants, on the termination of the sixteenth century. In Leeds, from 1572 to 1612, a period of forty years, the average number of births *per annum*, was two hundred and twenty-four, and of deaths, one hundred and ninety-one. In Sheffield, the rival of Leeds on that head, from 1561 to 1644, a lapse of eighty-three years, of births *per annum*, one hundred and forty-three, and of deaths, one hundred and twenty. In Rotherham, from the year 1592 to 1640, a period of forty-eight years, of births *per annum*, one hundred and eight, and of deaths, one hundred and one. In Chesterfield, from 1562 to 1635, of births *per annum*, ninety-seven, and of deaths eighty-five; in the interim of the two last-named dates, seventy-three years elapsed. In Pontefract, from 1586 to 1636, a period of fifty years, of births *per annum*, eighty-six, and of deaths, eighty-four. In Gainsbrough, from 1565 to 1641, a lapse of seventy-six years, of births *per annum*, sixty-eight, and of deaths, fifty-eight. The population of Doncaster, at nearly the same era, has already been given.

From the above comparative view, it will be seen, that the two places which have made the greatest progress in population, are Leeds and Sheffield, now nearly on a par. The excess of births and deaths, at the time alluded to, over those of Doncaster, was in the former place, of births, one hundred and forty-seven, and of deaths, one hundred and two; and in the latter, of births, sixty-six, and of deaths, thirty-one; hence it will be seen, that Sheffield, on the commencement of the seventeenth century, did not double, in population, the town of Doncaster; such, however, are the effects of industry, ingenuity, and commercial enterprise, that the former now exceeds the latter, in a proportion of nearly five to one.

In 1522, during the mayoralty of Thomas Ellis, Esq., was erected the Market-cross. He also, out of a nobly charitable disposition, built in the same year, the almshouses in St. Sepulchre's-gate, which he dedicated to St. Thomas. In 1575, the market, for a great number of articles, was appointed to be held on the burial-ground of St. Mary's church. In 1614, the Friars'-bridge was taken down and rebuilt, and the gallows destroyed. By this last act, the only prominent vestige of feudalism was removed from the sight, if not from the mind of man. In 1699, at the exclusive expense of the burgesses, water was conveyed by pipes into the dwellings of the inhabitants. In 1726, the Butchers'-cross was taken down, after having stood for the short period of only twenty-five years: it was found ineligible. In 1731, such of the streets as had not been paved, were this year so far improved; the old paved ones repaired, and rendered more convenient, by apportioning a foot-path to each side, removing the channel from the middle of the road, and taking down the victuallers' signs, which, at that period, were suspended from posts, three or four yards distant from the houses. In 1744, the rebuilding of the Mansion-house was begun; but in consequence of the northern rebellion, it was not finished for four

years subsequently. In 1756, the Butter-cross and the Shambles were built; which, together with a number of prior and subsequent improvements of minor note, have rendered this delightful borough a residence truly magnificent.

Before the incorporation of the borough of Doncaster, in the reign of the fourth Edward, it seems, like many others, to have been governed by prescriptive, rather than enacted laws. This, indeed, was the state of the majority of corporated places, at or about that era. The old town, like the present, as we have before remarked, was chiefly or wholly under the jurisdiction of the, "homines de Donecastre," over whom presided, an *earldorman* or *alderman*.* The privileges and immunities appendant to the burgesses, were separate and distinct from those enjoyed by the early Norman proprietors in their manor of *Ættopp*. In the early Norman ages, the "men of Doncaster" were always assessed separately from the manorial chieftain, and answered for their farm, &c. distinctly from and independently of any *mesne* lord, by the hands of their *præpositus*, as is manifest from several old deeds. It does not appear, that Doncaster ever had the privilege of sending members to the great national council; probably, it might be considered sufficiently represented by the Maulays, who had a seat in the upper house, from the 23d Edward I. to the 3d Henry V. inclusive, when the line terminated in two female heirs. In the reign of Edward III., however, it sent members to a council.†

At all times, and on all occasions, prior to the grant of Henry VII., the sphere of action assigned to the magistrates of the borough, was wholly confined to the town of Doncaster. On the acquisition of the property of the Salvayns, the burgesses added to their original immunities, privileges, &c. those of the Saxon and Norman lords; by which, with such as were conceded by subsequent monarchs, and the extension of the navigation of the river Don, and the consequent improvement of the market, &c., the pinnacle of prosperity was added to the structure, and it has now become an edifice, but rarely surpassed in beauty by any in the British empire.

In virtue of the charter granted by Edward IV., modified and amplified by succeeding kings, the town is now governed by an incorporated body, consisting of a mayor, annually chosen by the body from their own members; a recorder, a town-clerk, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four common-councilmen. The three senior

* *Earldorman* is derived from the Saxon compound *Galþenman*, and this from the *Ælþop*, *Galþop*, or *Alþop*, *senior*, *princeps*, and *man*, *mannus*, *homo*, &c., concerning whom the lawyers say, "An alderman ought to be an inhabitant of the place, and resident where he is chosen; and if he remove, he is incapable of doing his duty in the government of the city or place, for which he may be disfranchised." "Alderman, was one of the degrees of nobility among the Saxons, and signified an earl; sometimes applied to a place, it was taken for a general, with a civil jurisdiction, as well as military power, which title afterwards was used as a judge; but it literally imports no more than *Elder*."—*Jacob*, article *Alderman*; and *Somner*.

† *Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*, pref. p. xxxi.

aldermen are endowed with the functions of justices of the peace. The common-councilmen are chosen by the freemen, who, out of two nominated by the burgesses, elect one.

Amongst the MSS. in the Harleian library, is a list of the names of all the mayors of Doncaster, in regular succession, from the year 1493 to that of 1641 inclusive. This catalogue was made by the industry of Mr. Charles Hildrard, a very respectable Yorkshire antiquary; from which, it would seem, Dr. Miller transcribed the greater part of his list. In the margin, are several notes concerning this borough, all of which, with many additions, are printed in Miller's History of Doncaster.* Amongst the same invaluable MSS. are tricked the seals of the town and the mayor. The seal of the latter leaves the impress of the old castle; having in the exergue, "Sigillum officii Maioraltus Domcastrie: ✕:"† The ancient arms of the burgesses, viz., a lion sejant, on a cushion powdered ermine, holding in his paws a banner, whereon is depicted the castle; motto, *Son comfort et liesse*, are attached to the charter of Edward IV. This motto, "*His comfort and joy*," is thought by Tetlow, to refer to the instrument to which it is appended, and the castle.‡

In the reign of Edward III., was made a grant of the ninths and fifteenths throughout all England, subject and liable to certain exemptions therein specified. This subsidy, which was granted by the "prelates, earls, barons, and all the commons of the realm, willingly of one assent and good-will, having regard to the will that the King, their liege lord, hath towards them, and to the great travails that he hath made and sustained, as well in his wars of Scotland, as against the parts of France, and other places, and to the good-will which he hath, to travaile to keep his realm, and maintain his wars, and to purchase his rights," affected the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf, "to be taken by two years, the next to come. And of cities and boroughs, the very ninth part of all their goods and chattels, to be taken and levied by lawful and reasonable tax, by the same two years, in aid of the good keeping of this realm, as well by land as by sea, and of his wars, as well against the parts of Scotland, the parts of France, Gascoyne, and elsewhere. And in right of merchants foreign, which dwell not in cities or boroughs, and also of other people that dwell in forests and wastes, and all other that live not of their gain nor store, by the good advice of them which shall be deputed taxers, shall be set lawfully at the value to the fifteenth, without being unreasonably charged. And it is not the intent of the King, nor of other great men, nor the commons, that by this grant made to the King, of fifteenths, the poor boraile people, nor other that live of their bodily travaile, shall be comprised within the tax of the said fifteenths; but shall be dis-

* Harl. MSS. No. 6387. Miller has extended them down to the period in which he wrote, viz. to 1604.

† Ibid. No. 1304. ‡ Miller's Appendix, note.

charged by the advice of them which be deputed taxers, and of the great men which be deputed surveyors,"*

The result of this enactment was, that assessors, venditors, &c. were immediately appointed by the commissioners; when the Prior of St. Oswald, and Francis de Barneby, were constituted the two assessors and venditors for the wapentake of Strafford and the liberty of Tickhill; who, with the under-named jury, made the following return:

D O N E C A S T E R.

Tax' vij-xxm'r.

Cuj' p'och'i v' Ric'us de Loversale Will's de Sprotteburgh Will's de Sandale Rog's Wightman Joh's le Bogher Walt'us Bateman Will'us Pynchon Joh's de Cantelay Nich's de Hanlay Will's fil' Marg'ie Rog'us de Bramwyth et Rob'tus de Bramwyth ad hoc jur' p' sac'r'm suu' p'sentant' p' indentur' int' se et p'd'c'os Priorem et soc' suos confect' et alt'natim sigillat' q'd nona garbar' veller' et agnor' de tota d'c'a po'chia valet hoc anno iiij-xx xv m'r' viijs' viij^d et non plus q' p'vent' d'c'e eccl'ie existit in redditu x m'r' in oblato'ib' dec'is q'dragesimalib' et in dec'is molen'dini mortuar' et anis minut' dec'is q' valent p' annu' lv m'r'. It' presentant q'd Ric's Lewer de Doncastr' h't t'ras et ten' in ead' tu' h't in m'candisis x marc' un' xv' viijs' x^d ob' q'.

It' Joh's Cote h't t'ras et ten' in ead' tu' h't in mercandisis Cs unde q'ntadecima vis viij^d.

It' Petr' Canon h't t'ras et ten' in ead' tu' h't in mercand' vj m'r' un' xv' vs iiij^d.

It' Walt'us Bateman h't t'ras et ten' in ead'm tu' h't in mercand' lxs xv' iiij^s.

It' Will's de Sandale h't t'ras et ten' in ead'm tu' h't in mercandisis lxs un' xv' iiij^s.

It' Will's de Loversale h't t'ras et ten' in ead' tu' h't in mercandis' lxs un' xv' iiij^s.

It' Rog'us Wightman h't t'ras et ten' in ead'm tu' h't in mercandis' lxs un' xv' iiij^s.

It' Will's Coup h't t'ras et ten' in ead' tu' h't in mercandisis xls un' xv' ijs' viij^d. †

In the reign of Henry VIII., and on some former occasions, the town and immediate neighbourhood of Doncaster, was the theatre on which were exhibited some important military manœuvres, the most noted whereof was, the one that took place between the famous Robert Aske, and the Duke of Norfolk and his companions in arms. The nature and consequences of this martial drama, have already been developed in the introductory part of our work, to which we would refer the reader.

During the horrors, the havoc, and desolation, so universally prevalent in the reign of that unfortunate monarch, Charles I., the peace of this place was not, in any prominent manner, seriously disturbed. For this fortunate circumstance, it

* Statutes at Large, 1 Edw. III. cap. xxx.

† Inquisitiones Nonarum, com. Ebor.

stands partly indebted to its untenable condition ; for long ere that event, the castle had yielded to the scythe of time, and the ditch had discontinued to be available, from its locality, and the improvements in the science of war. The violent and untimely end of General Rainsborough, must not, however, be passed over unnoticed.

The accounts given of this transaction, by Boothroyd and Miller, do not circumstantially agree. The slow and inefficient manner in which the reduction of the castle of Pontefract was proceeding, suggested to the mind of Fairfax, that the military talents of Sir Henry Cholmley, were inadequate to the task assigned him ; which, it is supposed, induced the general to appoint, that the gallant and intrepid Rainsborough should take the charge of that important siege. Sir Henry, it would seem, had been appointed to that service, by the committee of the militia of Yorkshire, and did not conceive, that Fairfax had a legal authority to suspend his functions. He, therefore, did not think it prudent to surrender them into the hands of Rainsborough, without an order from those who intrusted them to his care ; as the committee was still in being.* How long this dispute continued to cramp the energies of the besieging army, does not appear ; but it is obvious, that it was not settled on November 9th, the date of Morrice's reply to Cromwell's summons ; who, after calling in question even Cromwell's power to perform the conditions he should demand, observes, " Besides the dispute betwixt yourself and Sir Hen. Cholmley, commander-in-chief by commission of the committee of the militia of Yorkshire, who, as I am informed, denies all subordination to your authority ;" and that it was in existence so early as the 20th October, may be gathered from the memorials of Whitelock, who, under that date, mentions " Letters from Sir Henry Cholmley, complaining that the general had given commission to Col. Rainsborough, to command in chief the forces before Pontefract castle ; whereas he had a commission before from the committee of the militia of Yorkshire, to be commander-in-chief of them ; and that the disparagement was great to him, and desires an order in it ; whereupon,

" The house referred the letters and the whole business to the general, to settle, and to preserve the honour of Sir Henry Cholmley, and to take care that the business be carried on against the enemy."†

Thus we see, that Sir Henry Cholmley refused to give up the command of the forces before Pontefract Castle, unless he were ordered so to do, by the same authority which constituted him generalissimo on that occasion ; hence it is not unlikely, that Boothroyd is fully correct in his supposition, that Colonel Rainsborough marched, with his commission and his detachment, directly to Pontefract, in

* See a letter in the *Cromwelliana*, sent by Colonel Morrice, governor of the castle of Pontefract, to Cromwell. Also, Whitelock's Mem. p. 339.

† Whitelock, p. 339.

order to take the command out of the hands of Sir Henry, and that, on his refusal to surrender his charge, Rainsborough retraced his steps to Doncaster, with a view to wait the event of Sir Henry's objections.

During the abode of Rainsborough here, Captain William Paulden, a brave Yorkshire veteran, and one of the besieged party, formed the design of seizing him, in order, as it would appear, that he might be exchanged for Sir Marmaduke Langley, then a prisoner in the castle of Nottingham. Daring and hazardous as the project might seem in theory, it was effected with uncommon promptitude and bravery.

In the evening of October 29th, 1648, Captain Paulden, accompanied by twenty-two select men,* made his egress from the castle, under cover of night, and after passing unobserved between the enemy's guards, reached Mexbrough by day-light the next morning. From Mexbrough, he dispatched a spy to Doncaster, with orders to rejoin him at Conisbrough: "a mile from Doncaster," (as the letter written by Paulden erroneously states it to be,) and to impart to him such information as his visit might enable him to acquire. On the arrival of the party at Conisbrough, they refreshed themselves and horses, and on the evening of the same day, (the 30th,) they were met by the spy, from whom they learnt, that no suspicion whatever was on the alert, and that at day-break, on the ensuing morning, a person would pass the village with a bible under his arm, as a silent indication that all was well. On the morning of the 31st, the messenger with the bible arrived, conformably to expectation, when Paulden and his party immediately began the work of "dreadful preparation." He divided his small troop into four parts; "six were to attack the main-guard; six, the guard upon the bridge; four were dispatched to Rainsborough's quarters; and the captain, with the remaining six, after he had seen the party, consisting of four, enter the general's lodgings, were to beat the streets, and keep the enemy from assembling." On their arrival at the west end of the town, a distance of about five miles from Conisbrough, they speedily forced the first obstacles, by dispersing the guard, who through fear fled into the country; the same was also done with the guard upon the bridge, whose arms were thrown into the river. "The four that went to General Rainsborough's quarters, pretended to bring letters to him from Cromwell, who had then beaten the Scots; they met at the door, the general's lieutenant, who conducted them up to his chamber, and told him, being in bed, that there were some gentlemen had brought him letters from General Cromwell. Upon which, they delivered Rainsborough a packet, wherein was nothing but blank paper.

* Miller, on the authority of Whitelock, says forty. He also says, that the circumstance occurred on October 29th; but Whitelock and Boothroyd both say the 31st. Mr. Bigland also mistakes the year; he has put down 1647, instead of 1648. See his History of Yorkshire, p. 884. Paulden names the 31st. It would therefore seem, that Miller confounds the day of the departure of Paulden and his companions from Pontefract, with that on which the Colonel was killed.

Whilst he was opening it, they told him he was their prisoner, but that not a hair of his head should be touched, if he would go quietly with them. They then disarmed his lieutenant, who had innocently conducted them to his chamber, and brought them both down stairs. They had brought a horse ready for General Rainsborough, upon which they bid him mount; he seemed at first willing to do it, and put his foot into the stirrup; but looking about him, and seeing none but four of his enemies, and his lieutenant and sentinel (whom they had not disarmed) stand by him, he pulled his foot out of the stirrup, and cried, Arms! arms! Upon this, one of our men, letting his pistol and sword fall, because he would not kill him, caught hold of him, and they grappling together, both fell down in the street. Then General Rainsborough's lieutenant, catching our man's pistol that was fallen, Captain Paulden's lieutenant, who was on horseback, dismounts, and runs him through his body, as he was cocking the pistol. Another of our men ran General Rainsborough into the neck, as he was struggling with him that caught hold of him; yet the general got upon his legs, with our man's sword in his hand; but Captain Paulden's lieutenant ran him through the body, upon which he fell dead.

"Then all our parties met, and made a noise in the streets, when we saw hundreds of their soldiers in their shirts, running into the fields to save themselves, not imagining how small our number was. We presently marched over the bridge, the direct way to Pontefract castle, and all safely arrived thither; carrying with us forty or fifty prisoners, whom we met by eight or ten in a company. We took no prisoners at Doncaster, nor were any killed, or so much as hurt, there, but General Rainsborough and his lieutenant, and they too very much against our will; because our main intention was defeated thereby, which I told you was to exchange and redeem our own General Langdale; who, however, the very night before, had fortunately made his own escape, and lived to see King Charles the Second's restoration, and to be made a peer of England for his eminent services in the war." Thus far the account of Thomas Paulden, younger brother of William, who so judiciously planned, and so courageously executed this heroic deed—a deed, which his contemporaries hesitated not to parallel with Prince Eugene's surprisal of the Marshal Villeroy, in his quarters at Cremona.*

The statement of this unfortunate affair, as detailed by some of our historians, presents the matter in a shape of the most atrocious malignancy. Whitelock's

* Paulden's letter. One of the conditions in the surrender of Pontefract castle was, that six should be excepted from the general pardon. In this number were included, Cornet Blackburne and Lieutenant Allan Austwick, as the two that killed Rainsborough. Blackburne, with Governor Morrice, "charged through" the enemy, and made their escape; but were afterwards taken, brought to York, and there executed. Austwick, Ashby, and Floyd, were forced back into the castle, where they hid themselves in a sally-port which had been walled up, whence they made their escape the following night, and lived to see the King's return.

account is somewhat unfavourable. Indeed, both Miller and the memorialist esteemed it rather in the light of a barbarous and cruel assassination, fit only to be transacted by men of the most abandoned character, and efficient agents of a train of thoughts, generated in savage and uncivilized minds, than the deed of a generous warrior.* But, as we are informed by one of the principal actors in this tragic scene, that their views were honourable, upright, and consonant with the law of war; we are obliged to regard the whole matter as one of those military stratagems, by which the hearts of thousands are rended, and the best blood of a patriotic people uselessly spilt. "Their old general had been taken prisoner, and the garrison had been threatened, that unless they surrendered the castle, he would be brought and executed before its walls. Love to him, prompted them to take Rainsborough prisoner, that, should any violence be offered to him, it might be retaliated on Rainsborough, or at least, the one might be exchanged for the other."†

The minutiae of this event partake something of the air of romance. The dispersion of the guard at the west end of the town by the royalists, as also that upon the bridge, by a party of the same corps, in so quiet and peaceable a manner, is not easily accounted for. The guard at the north end of the borough, it is true, would, by their capture, be cut off from all communication with the town; but that at the west end thereof, had, after their dispersion, every opportunity of creating a general alarm, and making the other guards, at the south, and other parts of the place, in part acquainted with the existence of something foul and treacherous. At that, or any other period of its history, the present town was never a fortified place; the enemy, therefore, might either disperse the guard, or steal into the interior under cover of night, and thereby gain access to the quarters of Rainsborough, unobserved by any, save those parading immediately before the residence of the general. We would not willingly question the authenticity of Paulden's narration; but impartiality must admit, that it wears an aspect, not easily reconcilable with the nature of the place, and the relative situation of the King's army. That a guard was placed upon the bridge, is extremely probable; but that any other, save the one before the quarters of Rainsborough, was on duty, is very questionable; because every portion of the town, east, south, and west, was wholly in a defenceless state. The only danger that could reasonably be apprehended from that side of the town, existed in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, where the noted Robin Portington, a staunch loyalist, had a strong body of men ready for action, and he, according to Pryme, was kept in check by a corps of

* Miller, who has followed Whitelock in this part of the tragedy, says, that three of them entered the apartment of Rainsborough, and without parley, immediately shot him.—*Miller's Den.* and *Whitelock*.

† The premises on which this mournful transaction took place, are said to have been those on which Mr. William Smith now lives.

horse, stationed in Hatfield, Hatfield-woodhouse, &c.* The real state of the place, and its unfortified condition, it is natural to suppose, was not unknown to the assailants; why, then, cross the Don at Conisbrough, rather than march into the town in a direct manner? The cause is manifest. The object in dispatching a spy from Mexbrough, was, to ascertain whether any suspicion or alarm was in existence at Doncaster; and their determination to enter the place from the west, or on the south side of the river, denotes a thorough acquaintance with the pregnable condition of that part of the borough; hence, we are rather disposed to give some credit to Whitelock, when he asserts, that they entered the town, and slew the sentinel or guard before the quarters of Rainsborough, and afterwards slew the general.

The local situation of this ancient place, has on several occasions commanded the presence of our kings, and other eminent persons: we will notice a few of such occurrences. In the year 1230, King Henry III. stopped one night at Doncaster, on his way to the city of York; and some of the numerous transactions, toward and untoward, which took place during the career of the popular and unfortunate Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, were done at Doncaster, as may be seen by the *Fœdera* of Rymer. These events painful to the recollection of Britons, occasioned the assembling here of several noble and dignified personages. From the same authority we also learn, that Edward II., in the ninth year of his reign, was resident here for a period of four or five days; and hence several of his letters, &c. are dated. Henry IV., after his landing at Ravenspur, in Holderness, repaired hither, where he was soon greeted by the Earl of Northumberland, and other noblemen; a circumstance which eventually placed him on the British throne, and hurled to the scaffold his less fortunate rival, Richard II. In 1469, it was visited by Edward IV., and in 1483, by the unpopular, but greatly calumniated Richard III., when he journeyed to the northern capital. In 1603, King James I. lodged one night in Doncaster, when on his way from Scotland to ascend the British throne; and in 1644, the martyr Charles was at this town, and attended divine service at the parish church. This, however, it would seem, was not the only time that Doncaster had the honour of a visit from the same potentate. In March, 1611, he passed through this place, and remained here one night. In 1642, he twice visited it, and reposed here one night each time. In the *Collectanea Curioso*, is published a curious *Iter Carolinum*, which shews, in a striking point of view, in what manner that royal personage was "led and driven from place to place." "Look not hereon, I conjure thee, unless with tears," says the worthy narrator; "nay, indeed, how canst thou? to see the King driven from place to place, affronted, neglected, despised, hungering and thirsting, reviled, persecuted, and defamed, so that he may justly take up that of the apostle, 1 Cor. iv. 9, 10, &c.

* Pryme's MS. Hist. of Hatfield, Bib. Lansd. No. 897.

And indeed, 'hinc fons ille lacrymarum,' from this came the fountain of all our future sorrows. This, this I say was the cause of our succeeding miseries, our inestimable loss, and almost inexpressible ruin." Other instances of royal visits might be here recorded, as well as the occasional assembly of eminent characters, on weighty affairs. At this place, also, was constantly stationed a post, for the purpose of forwarding messengers, with all possible expedition, to the north and other districts. The directions and instructions on the wrappers of letters, &c., in the age of Henry VIII. and some of his immediate successors, present a series of curious specimens of superscriptive mandates. On a letter, dated at Newcastle, the 18th of August, 1547, sent by the Duke of Somerset to the Earl of Shrewsbury, was superscribed, "To our very Good Lorde th' Erle of Shrewsbury, besides Doncastre." To which was added, "Haste poste haste, for thy lief, for thy lief Poste of Doncastre see this I've delivered according to the direction, for thy lief haste." And on one, sent also to the same earl, from the lords of the council at Greenwich, dated the 2d May, 1550, was as follows: "To the right honourable and our very goode Lorde th' Erl of Shrewsbury, President of the King's Mat'es Counsell in the Northe p'ties. Haste, for thy lyf poste haste, for thy lyf poste haste haste for thy lyf, haste, haste, haste, for thy lyf poste haste."*

THE CROSS.

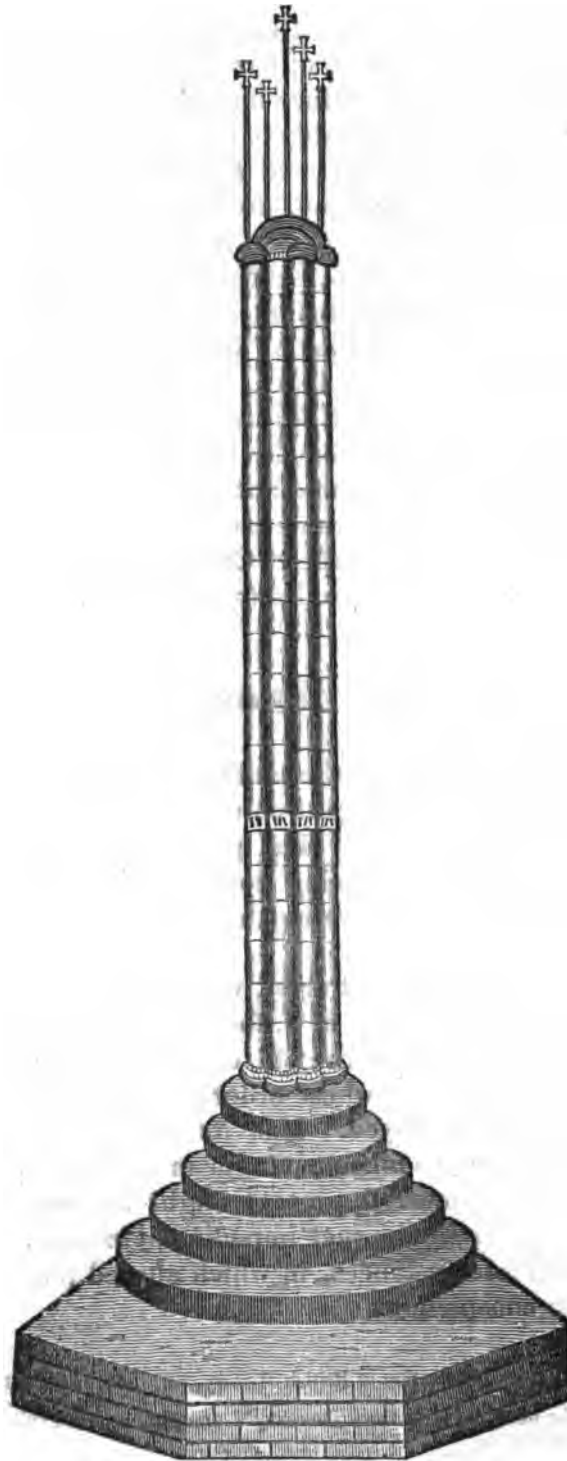
On our approach to the town from the south, our attention is pleasingly arrested by the imposing appearance of an elegant column, raised on the summit of an artificial eminence called Hall-cross-hill. The present structure is nowise inviting to the antiquary, any further than as being commemorative of another, which stood about one hundred and fifty yards more northward.†

The former rude, but truly ancient cross, was situate in the centre of the highway, with sufficient room on each side of it, for carriages to pass without annoyance. To the antiquary, the demolition of the old cross is a matter of much regret; and he may, without injustice, ask, by whose orders, or by what authority, that venerable piece of antiquity was destroyed. Had its situation, in the midst of an high and public way, any tendency to incommode, or in any wise obstruct a free passage to and from the town, some plausible pretext might be adduced, in extenuation of such unwarrantable conduct; but no such impediment existed. It remains, therefore, one of the many lamentable instances, in which abused power, and want of a well organized taste, are too conspicuous.

* Lodge's Illustration of British History, vol. i. pp. 118 & 137.

† The engraving given in the next page, is from Thoresby's draught, which exhibits it in the form it presented before its destruction.

DONCASTER.



The Cross of Otto de Tilly.

Warranted *Good* *Medicine*



Where is the man, whose mind has been illuminated by the genial influence of letters and civilization, and whose intellect has been expanded by the genuine feelings of a truly virtuous and enlightened education, that would not impeach the conduct of the Earl of Scarbrough, should he consent to the wanton demolition of the interesting ruins of Roche Abbey, and its attendant scenery ; or that of the Duke of Leeds, were he to rase to the ground the sombre and majestic remains of the towering keep of Conisbrough Castle ; the awfully inspiring aspect of which rouses the mental energies of the scholar, and powerfully interests the mind of every passing traveller, however grovelling may be his intellect. But much to the credit of those two venerable and dignified peers, no inducement, we are persuaded, would prompt them to throw down the tottering walls of our hardy and pious ancestors. Their tastes are too chaste, and their minds too well cultivated to suffer them to act in dereliction of so obvious a duty—a duty which they owe to themselves, to their posterity, and the public at large.

The shaft of the old cross, like its archetype, was erected on a pedestal, and composed of five round columns. The central column was of much greater diameter than the four surrounding, which were attached to it in such a manner, as nearly to face the four cardinal points of the compass. On the apex of the column, as is seen in the draught here given, was placed an iron cross, an appendage that usually crowned the summit of most similar erections, the origin of which dive so far as this does into the abyss of antiquity. In A. D. 1644, the old structure was partially damaged by the troops under the command of the Earl of Manchester, when on their way to the city of York. The wanton and intemperate zeal in the reformation of abuse, too often led these Vandals into the extreme of havoc and spoliation, and in this case, it would have induced them to have thrown the whole down, had not an accident which befel one of those gothic disciples, frustrated their savage propensity, and prevented their design. Mr. William Pattison, mayor, repaired the damage which they did.

Round the shaft, and about three feet from the top of the pedestal, was the following inscription, in Norman characters: ✠ ICEST : EST : LACRVICE : OTE : D. TILLIARI : ALME : DEV : EN : FACE : MERCI : AM : ✠. In joining the letters TILLIARI, for the name of the person to whose memory the cross was first reared, Mr. Thoresby justly supposes, that the artist has committed a mistake, and that if properly disposed, they would have stood thus, TILLI : A : KI, when it would have read as follows: * This is the cross of Ote de Tilli, to whose soul God be merciful. Amen.”* The

* This reading precisely corresponds with that of the Rev. Abraham de la Pryme, excepting the omission of the letters AM, which he supposes were figures, and might import A. D. 1113. See his MS. Hist. of Don. The ALME has likewise been written AIME, an emendation highly entitled to a cool and critical examination. We are not aware that ALME was ever found on any Norman edifice.

height of the shaft was eighteen feet ; and Pryme says, that on a close examination, it might be discovered, that the cement was composed principally of oyster-shells.

The occasion of the erection of this cross, is rendered manifest by the inscription. Tradition reports it to have covered the bones of some eminent character ; and we have seen it somewhere observed, that on digging down to the foundation, the mortal remains of a human subject were discovered. How far this tradition may be substantiated by facts, is not likely to be known. If the cross was erected by the Tilli family, as the inscription denotes, it must have been reared after the conquest ; and long ere that event, it had become usual to bury the dead in cemeteries attached to parochial churches. The origin of crosses, as emblems of sanctity, is of very ancient date, being at least as old as the age of Constantine the Great. This august and nobly endowed emperor, on the night previous to his engagement with Magnentius, near the Melvian bridge, saw, or imagined that he saw, suspended in the air, the "figure of a resplendent cross," bearing in Greek characters, this inscription, *In hoc signo vinces*. Whether this impression on the mind of Constantine was effected through the means of a real or imaginary appearance, it is here needless to inquire : the result of the contest established a belief in the vision, and the cross was immediately adopted as the standard of the Roman legions, and a signal of faith and holiness in the Christian world. The erection of crosses in Britain, however, seems not to have been general until after the conquest. On the commencement of crusading, and the Quixotic exploits in the Holy Land, they were soon augmented to a countless number. Churches, chapels, convents, oratories, and many private and public edifices were crowded with this ensign of fidelity, inside and out. "Nay," says Hearne, "even many towns and villages were built in shape of it ; and it was very common to fix it in the very streets and highways. In and about Oxford, was great variety. But that which seems the most remarkable of crosses, is, that in the times after the conquest among us, even the trees in orchards were planted in the form of them. There was formerly such an orchard at the great Ivy-house at Sandford near Oxford."* They were also frequently reared in the area of public market-places, as an incitement to act justly ; hence the name Butcher and Butter-cross, &c. &c. ; at the extent of boundaries, beyond which no man would go for conscience sake, as was the case at Hatfield, &c. ; and as the attesting signet to many of our most important documents, as may be seen in the pages of the Monasticon, &c. Such was the importance of crosses, in the estimation of our early ancestors, and such the effects of a slavish and servile superstition.

Concerning the personage of whom this cross was commemorative, but little is known. His name frequently occurs in the Monasticon ; and in the charter of

* Hearne's Gloss. See also Britton's Architectural Antiq. vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 4, &c.

Hamelin, the fifth Earl of Warren, he is thus noticed : " Ottone de Tyllly Senescallo Comitis de Conigbroc ;" * which in order to become fully intelligible, should be read as follows : " Otone de Tyllly de Conigbroc seneschallo comitis ;" because, there never was any such a person as an Earl of Conisbrough. The family of the Tillies, it would seem, came into England with the Conqueror, and were of considerable note, until the commencement of the fourteenth century, after which time, their name but rarely occurs. In addition to what they held in England, they were considerable proprietors of land, &c. in Normandy, to the enjoyment of which, it is known that some part of the family returned. Otho, or Otto, was a younger brother of Radulph de Tilli, and might reside at Conisbrough, being steward to the Warrens, the noble proprietors of the place. Indeed, the residence of the Tillies at Conisbrough, is rendered manifest by the court rolls and the parish register. In the latter, their name (Tillie) occurs so lately as A. D. 1623; and in the year 1601, John Waterhouse would appear to have led to the hymeneal altar, Alice, daughter of Roger de Tillie, whose baptism took place April 25th, 1574. Thesc, it is more than probable, were descendants of the same family that reared the cross under notice. Otho married Mabilla, daughter of who gave to the monks of Roche, out of her own patrimony at Bramley, two oxgangs of land, with a toft and croft. She also confirmed a previous donation of three oxgangs.† In the 9th Henry III., A. D. 1225, Mabilla de Tilli claimed to have right of presentation to the rectory of Hatfield, then in litigation; and on the case being heard in London, it was deemed her right, and awarded accordingly.‡ From a deed without date, noticed in Dodsworth's collections, it would appear, that William le Vavasour, by his charter, gave and confirmed, to Otto de Tilli and his heirs, the village of Thorpe-in-Balu, with its appurtenances, rendering for all services, ten shillings *per annum*. Witness, Radulph de Tilli, his elder brother. This grant was ratified by the paramount lord, Henry de Lacy; of whom, in the " Liber Niger Scaccarii," Otho de Tilli is said to have held two knight's fees.§

The issue of this match was an only daughter, named Dionesia, whose hand was bestowed in marriage upon Henry de Newmarsh; but whether she was his first or second wife, we are not certain. That he was twice married, is manifest; and that the aforesaid Dionesia was his second wife, is extremely probable. Amongst the fines of the 2d Henry III., we find that Henry de Newmarsh gave to our lord the King sixty marks, that he might have to wife the widow of Geoffrey Lutterell, if she pleased; and William Bustard made a fine of the same sum, that he might take to wife the sister of the wife of the said Geoffrey, with her inheritance.¶ On this account

* Tom. i. p. 406. † Burton's Mon. Ebor. p. 320, where she is called Malif.

‡ Lansd. MSS. B. M. No. 801. Vesp. § Dods. MSS. vol. 129, fol. 1, and Liber Niger, p. 313.

¶ Lansd. MSS. No. 801, from Dods. Thoroton calls her Frethesenta.

it was, that the village of Thorpe-in-Baln became the property of the Newmarshes, from whom it passed to the Nevils. Hitherto, we presume, we have been consistent with ourselves; but a difficulty must now be contended with. Amongst the fines levied by King Henry II., there was one of £33. odd, made by Otho de Tilli, that his daughter might be disposed of in marriage at the King's will; and Henry del Puasac was fined seven pounds, that he might have to wife the daughter of the said Otho.* This circumstance, we conceive, cannot have reference to Dionesia, the second wife of Henry de Newmarsh before mentioned; for we never find Henry del Puasac, on any occasion, exercising the rights of ownership over any part of the Tillies' property; hence it is reasonable to suppose, that there were two of that name, father and son, and that Henry del Puasac married the daughter of the elder Otto de Tilli, whose property would, of course, descend to his son. If the various documents, in which we find the name of Otto or Otho de Tilli written, refer to one man, we shall extend his age to full one hundred years—a length, of days to which but few arrive. That he should attain to that age, however, is not impossible; but that he should be enabled to become a subscribing witness for that extended period, is scarcely credible. Moreover, the charter of Robert de Percy, made to the monks of Nostel, near Pontefract, has for one of its witnesses, "Ottone de Tilli, filio Ottonis."† But to which we may with justice ascribe the erection of the cross at Doncaster, we are wholly ignorant.

In this neighbourhood, and in other parts of the country, the Tilli family appears to have arrived at a considerable degree of eminence;‡ and notwithstanding the obscurity in which it is involved, sufficient is extant to point out its importance in the age to which we refer. Philippa de Tilli owned the principal part of Melton, as will be hereafter shewn; and Rotherham was the inheritance of Robert de Tilli. By this family, also, was the priory of Hampole founded; from which it would appear, that the abovenamed Philippa held her possessions in Melton, as a descendant from the founder of that religious structure.§ One of the Tillies resided also at Cusworth.

It appears somewhat extraordinary, that Leland should omit this cross; but he also visited Hatfield, and some other places, without leaving on record his observations thereon. Camden, also, who has been thought to derive from that antiquary, most which he has advanced in his deservedly celebrated *Britannia*, does not mention

* Madox's *Exch.* on the authority of "Thesaur. 31st Hen. II. Rot. C. Everw."

† Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 35.

‡ Dods. vol. iv. fol. 48, 6, and No. 5084; where are several particulars of the family, together with a short pedigree of the elder branch.

§ Dugd. Mon. tom. i. p. 830.

this structure ; but his commentators, Gibson and Gough, notice the “ memorable old cross,” and give a transcript of the inscription.*

Exclusive of the cross on which we have so long dwelt, there were likewise two others. One of them was reared near St. James's close, called St. James's cross; and the other was north of the Mill-bridge. The latter was a curious monument, of exquisite workmanship, having niches for three statues. This token of the crucifixion of our Saviour, was situated in a corner of the road leading to Sprotbrough. Its name we have not been able to recover. The present

MANSION-HOUSE,

or principal residence of the chief magistrate, is a sumptuous edifice, erected on the site of an old building, formerly appendant to the Carmelite friary, in 1744. Since that period, it has undergone a thorough renovation, and is now an exceedingly beautiful and capacious structure, superior in appearance to most of the same kind in the kingdom. Doncaster has not only the honor of exhibiting one of the most princely mansions, as a corporate body ; but it is said to have been accommodated with an edifice of that nature, before either London or York.† At one end of the principal room, is a full length picture of His late Majesty, George III., arrayed in his coronation costume. This portrait was the magnificent gift of Lord Erdley, a noble member of the body corporate, and grandfather to John Childers, Esq., of Cantley. The other end is decorated by a masterly likeness of that great and uncorruptible statesman, the Most Noble the Marquess of Rockingham, in his parliamentary robes. The pilasters which ornament the front, are of the Composite order ; and it is otherwise beautified by a series of festoons, &c., adding grace and dignity to weight and extension. In what part of the town the old Guild-hall was situated, we are not informed ; but it is extremely probable, that the body corporate had one, exclusively of the old “ towne house,” mentioned by Leland. Tradition has placed it adjoining to the Dolphin-inn.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS,

in St. Sepulchre's-gate, is an old and comfortable asylum. It was founded and endowed by Thomas Ellis, Gent. ; who, by industry and success in trade, amassed a handsome competency ; part of which he left by deed, for the purpose of building

* The learned Bishop Gibson has not implicitly followed Thoresby in the transcript and arrangement of the inscription. The LACRVICE of the monument, is by the venerable prelate judiciously divided into two distinct words, which it evidently ought to be, in order to become fully intelligible, LA : CRVICE or CRUCE, or “ the Cross.”

† Antiq. Cabinet. No. 32. This is somewhat doubtful. Indeed, the first stone of the London Mansion-house, was laid on the 25th October, 1739 ; and that of York, in 1725.

an habitation for the residence and support of "six poore and decayed housekeepers, of good name and fame." The endowment consisted of land, purchased, it is probable, of the commissioners authorized to sell chantry lands, and was then worth ten pounds *per annum*.* The endowment of any institution with a certain revenue, arising out of a given quantity of land, is sure to keep pace with, and be governed by the various fluctuations to which property is always liable. But all investitures, consisting of rent-charges, or in a certain income founded in other sources, are subject to dwindle into insignificance, and to be lost in their own littleness. Such, in all probability, would have been the case with this charitable institution, had a rent-charge of ten pounds been left, payable out of a certain quantity of ground, or other property; but as a specified portion of land was demised, the produce whereof was to be appropriated towards the support of a charitable establishment, the bequest has risen in value in the same proportion as the price of money became depreciated.

This estate was conveyed in trust to a number of trustees, and is now vested in the hands of the vicar, mayor, justices, &c. of the borough of Doncaster.† Proper objects of this bountiful institution, are nominated by the trustees, individually, and are "admitted or rejected by a majority of votes." This hospital was founded in A. D. 1558, when the lands, &c. were of the estimated value of £10. In the year 1786 or 8, the funds realized £123.; and in A. D. 1805, £256.‡

In the parliamentary report already adverted to, we find, that Thomas Cartwright, *alias* Vicars, Viccars, or Vickers, in 1597, left by will, to thirty poor people, four of whom were to be of the parish of Doncaster, 13*s.* 4*d.* each. In whom vested, the document does not say.

There were also a portion of land and some houses, left by a Mr. Martin, the annual produce of which, in 1786, was £20. It is vested in the mayor, and was left for the purpose of putting out as apprentices, four or five boys of the parish of Doncaster. The hospital of "Hall-cross," as it is there called, has only a clear annual sum of £2. attached to it, chargeable on a close, called Billerwood. The mayor appoints the poor. Some recent attempts have been made, to remove these almshouses to a place called Factory-lane; but the spirited opposition of one or two of the inmates, and some gentlemen, residents of the town, prevented the design from being effected. Trustees are the representatives of those who appoint them, and it is their duty to husband well, and properly appropriate, such effects as may come

* Miller's Doncaster.

† So says the return made to Parliament, about forty years ago. Miller's account is not consistent with itself, and differs with the report of the commissioners.

‡ *Ibid.* and Miller's Donc. p. 148.

into their hands, or be within the limits of their power or jurisdiction. To adhere strictly, however, to the letter of the instrument which appointed them, would, in many cases, tend to frustrate the designs and intentions of the donor, and to suppose him, were he alive, to remain unchanged, amidst the mutation of manners, and the general improvements in society.

The Copley bequest of thirty shillings *per annum*, to the poor of the parish of Doncaster, and one acre of land to the free-school of the same place ; together with that made by Jane Ellerker, in 1736, for seven or eight poor housekeepers, resident in Doncaster ; are the principal donations of this character, connected with this place ; excepting that lately made by Mr. Q. Kay, of ——. The Ellerker charity is vested in the mayor, vicar, and justices of Doncaster, and consists of land and houses, which, in 1786, realized £9. 9s. annually. Concerning

THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL,

we have failed in all our endeavours to obtain any intelligence whatever ; neither do we conceive, that the Act of Mr. Brougham is well calculated to elicit the necessary information, touching the establishments it affects. On this matter, our modern lawyers might learn something of the ancients. To ask the possessor, how he acquired his possessions, and to require of him a true answer when it would materially affect his own income, is not the likeliest system to obtain the intelligence sought after. Over the old

CASTLE,

hangs an impervious gloom. No portion of the history of Doncaster is enveloped in clouds so dense and thick as is this. By whom built, by whom raised, or where situated, are questions, alike difficult to answer. Miller says, that it occupied the site now partially covered by the vicar's house, and the buildings in its immediate vicinity. His opinion was grounded on the immense and massy foundations, that were discovered in the neighbourhood of these places, a few years ago. Leland, who visited Doncaster in the reign of Henry VIII., says, that the parish-church of St. George stood within the area of the castle ; that it had long since decayed, but the walls were in part standing, and the ditch which fenced it was also partly in being. He thinks, that the church was built out of the ruins thereof. At a later period—indeed, at a comparatively recent date (1694)—the walls were still in existence.* As to its being founded by Hengist, as is reported by some fabulous writers, that is wholly beyond our regard, and nowise entitled to our credit. Tradition is rarely

* Pryme's MS. Diary.

silent on matters of this description ; but we are not aware, that the feeble and delusive light of oral testimony recognizes its existence ; neither do any streets, parcels of ground, or other local appellatives, bear it down to our time. That it was erected subsequently to the conquest, is rendered probable by its site. Had it been founded in the Saxon era, the north, rather than the south side of the Cheswell, would have been chosen ; either of them, however, was easily rendered tenable.

FAIRS.

By whom, or whether by any person, the first fair was appointed, is not known ; but it is manifest, that the grant of King John, made in the first year of his reign, to Robert de Turnham, was of a confirmatory character, and intended to extend the length of its duration. It is more than probable, that this fair was held by prescription, and might originate in the Saxon era, as an incidental appendage to the manor of Hexthorpe. This fair was confirmed by the charter of Henry VIII., and may be holden on the vigil, and upon the feast of St. James the Apostle, and on the morrow following, i. e., upon the 24th, 25th, and 26th days of July, in every year.

In the year 1467, King Edward IV. granted one other fair to the burgesses of Doncaster, which was appointed to be held “ upon the vigil, and upon the feast, and upon the morrow of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to be holden, and for the same three days to continue, with all liberties and free customs to this sort of fair appertaining ;”^{*} unless it be detrimental to neighbouring fairs. This fair was also confirmed by the charter of Henry VIII., and may be held on the 24th, 25th, and 26th days of March in every year.

The charter of Charles II., conceded to them in the year 1664, authorizes a fair to be held, “ on Saturday next before the feast of Easter, and from thence forward, on every Saturday in every second week, until the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in every year for ever.”[†]

Twenty-one years subsequently, King James II., in the first of his reign, granted that the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Doncaster, and their successors for the time to come, for ever, yearly and every year, may have and hold two several fairs and markets, within the manor lordship or soke of Doncaster ; and whatsoever which to the fairs or markets appertain, or ought, or shall appertain ; to wit, one of the fairs or markets, of the aforesaid two fairs or markets, to begin upon the fifteenth day of November yearly, unless it shall happen to be Sunday, and then in and upon Monday next following, and for three days to continue. And the

^{*} Chart. Edw. IV. Miller's App. p. ix. [†] *Ibid.*

other of the same fairs or markets, to begin on Monday next before the day of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, yearly, and for three days to continue, together with a court of pie-powder there, at the time of the said fairs, or markets, to be holden, and with all liberties, free customs, &c.* These two fairs, unlike the two last named ones, were to be holden without any writ of "Ad quod damnum," or other warrant in that behalf. The latter of these two fairs granted by King James II., may be held on the 1st, 2d, and 3d days of February in every year.

Here, then, it will be seen, that the corporation of Doncaster is entitled to hold five fairs annually, viz. for three days each in the months of February, March, July, and November; and one on every other Saturday, from the Saturday before Easter, to the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, which is celebrated on the 30th of November. The conditions of the latter grant, conceded by Charles II., were never made available; and the others are not held agreeably to the tenor of the charters here referred to.

MARKET.

According to the Saxon tenure, a market may be held by prescription; and it is probable, that this at Doncaster is coeval in its original with the Saxon dynasty. At all events, no mention occurs of a market here, until the time of Charles II., whose charter authorizes the burgesses to hold two markets in each week, viz., on Tuesday and Saturday in each and every week, for ever. In ancient times, markets were held on Sundays. The capitularies of Charlemagne, prohibit markets from being held on the Sabbath-day; and King Henry III. did much towards that end in England; but it continued to be held on Sundays, for provisions, long after that period.†

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Admitting the Danum of the Romans to be the Campodonum of Bede,—a fact which we conceive to be well established,—the ecclesiastical history of Doncaster may be extended to a period very remote. To an attentive and inquisitive mind, the establishment and progress of Christianity, are matters of the first importance. Involved in the gloomy shade of pagan superstition, and bowing with reverential awe to objects wholly helpless and inanimate, the inhabitants of this place were the "sport of fools," and disciples of a cruel and debasing creed. The light of the gospel—that all-sufficient and benign record of the will of the Most High—had hitherto been hid from their view, and the unhallowed sacrifice of bulls and goats, supplied the place

* Miller's App. p. xxxix.

† Du Cange, voce Mercatum.

of repentance and prayer. In the glorious and happy reign of the prosperous Edwin; however, the mantle of superstition and error was rendered less dense and impervious. Ethelburga, the pious and worthy consort of that illustrious potentate, brought from Kent, for her director in matters of religion, the virtuous Paulinus; who, for the first two years of his residence in the north, may be considered rather in the character of her private tutor, than in that of a public teacher. Edwin, by birth and education, a pagan, and not inattentive to the change that was progressively advancing, through the slow, but sure efforts of the disciples of Jesus, was himself "almost a Christian;" but it was long ere the celestial spark of divine wisdom effectually operated upon his mind; and notwithstanding his consent to the baptism of his infant daughter Enfla, and some of his household, the obstinacy of pride, and the tyrannical power of a train of preconceptions, held his mind in thralldom, until they were removed by his own good sense, and the continued exertions of his wife and the venerable apostle of the Northumbrians. Possessed naturally of a vigorous intellect, the bane of novelty was unable to make rapid progress in his manly mind. Accustomed to think for himself, he tried every thing by the standard of a rational deduction; and after examining the new creed, with the keenest scrupulosity, and the most patient investigation, he decided only when the balance of a reasonable inference preponderated in the scale of moral certainty. On a measure whereon hung his eternal welfare, he was too cautious to be blindly confident, and too anxious to let slip any opportunity that was calculated to discard the one, or establish the other firmly in his mind.

The manner in which this potent monarch laboured to convince himself, as to the error of paganism, and the divine origin of the Christian faith, deserves to be held in eternal remembrance. Devoid of the vanity of thinking, that the only way to heaven was in the path which he pointed out; with the utmost care and deliberation, aided by the exhortatory letters of Pope Boniface, and "a heavenly vision," he proceeded to examine the subject in a convocation of the most learned men in his dominions. In this council, Coifi, the pagan high-priest, who could not be ignorant of the revolution that was taking place in the intellectual world, and the private sentiments of his royal master, was first heard. "Consider attentively, O King," said the pagan, "the nature of the religion which is now preached to us; for I can assure you, from my own experience, that the religion which we have hitherto professed, has no virtue in it. None of your subjects ever applied himself with greater zeal to the worship of our Gods than I have; and yet, many of them have received greater favours and honours from you, and have been more fortunate in every thing which they undertook to perform or acquire, than I have. Now, if these Gods could do any thing, they would rather promote my interests, who have been more careful to serve them. Wherefore, it now remains, that if, upon due examination, you perceive that this new religion, which is now preached to us, is better and more efficacious, we admit it without delay."

This courteous and politic oration, was followed by a similar appeal from one of the grandees, in which he observed, "The present life of man in this world, O King, seems to me, in comparison with that which is uncertain, as if a sparrow, swiftly flying through the room, warmed with the fire in the midst of it, in which you sit at dinner in the winter, with your friends, whilst storms of rain and snow prevail out of doors; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one window, and immediately out at another, whilst it is within, does not feel the inclemency of the weather, but, after a very short space of time, vanishes out of your sight, returning from one winter to another. So the life of man here appears for a very short space of time; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are entirely ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contain something more certain, it seems to deserve our approbation and reception."* Such being the real or affected sentiments of the higher order of the council, we can scarcely suppose, but that Paulinus, enraptured with the exhilarating prospect, again raised his voice in defence of the doctrine of his great Master. Advocating the cause of Christianity, he would pourtray, in vivid colours, the manifold advantages attendant on the cross of Jesus, and the glorious rewards that await the pious followers of his example. Warmed by the magnitude and importance of his cause, and elevated with the hopes of success, he would expatiate on the power, the love, the goodness, and the mercy of that God whom he adored, and endeavour to extend their views to a period beyond the grave, to that

"Bourn, whence no traveller returns."

Edwin, whose mind had hitherto wavered with doubt and uncertainty, now became the champion of Jehovah, and one of the firmest pillars of the British church. Coifi, the high-priest, either through a conviction of the errors of his former creed, or policy, was the first to lay in ruins the objects of their former worship, by a thorough annihilation of the temple which contained them.†

Christianity having crept under the wings of royalty, for a while made rapid strides to universal sufferance. Temples, dedicated to the only true God, began

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

† This idolatrous temple was placed about a mile and a half from Market-Weighton, and is called Godmanham, or, as it was anciently written, Godmundingham, literally importing a receptacle for the Gods. Weighton, or Wigton, as it would seem, owes its name to the same circumstance, which, in the Saxon tongue, imports a place of idols. Bede places it on the eastern bank of the river Derwent, not far from York. Lib. ii. cap. 13. Burton, in his remarks on the Itinerary of Antoninus, attempts, in a plausible manner, to account for this topographical error of Bede, by supposing, that he spoke in general terms, and that York was the nearest noted place. He also places here, the *Delgovitia* of the second Itin. which he takes to be derived from the British *Delgive*, a term which implies, "Deorum Gentilia statuas." — See his *Com. on the Itin.* p. 90. Mr. Bigland has made some judicious observations on these apparent difficulties. — See his *Hist. of Yorkshire*, p. 550. See also *Lelandi Coll.* vol. iv. p. 100.

now to supersede the hovels of paganism, and the creed of Christ became a popular theme.* Doncaster, being a frontier town, had been constituted a royal residence; and a church was erected in the ancient Danum, under the immediate auspices of the holy prelate and his august master. The brightest prospects of prosperity, however, are frequently illusive, and the most resplendent morning often becomes obscured by the clouds of darkness, ere the meridian of day arrives; such was the condition of the infant church of the Saxon Campodonum, and such the rising greatness of the Christian scheme, under the imperial sway of the renowned Edwin. Envy, however, the most rankling passion in the human breast, speedily blasted the hopes of the Christians. Penda, the Mercian king, and Cadwalla the Briton, determined to attempt the ruin, both of the approaching reformation and its abettors; which they direfully effected at the expence of much blood and misery.

On the re-establishment of Christianity, and in virtue of the grant obtained by Theodore, authorizing laymen to build and endow places for religious worship, churches became more generally prevalent; and one was erected by the Saxon proprietor, south of the ditch that encircled the old town, a part of which is now used as a hall of justice,—a circumstance that would render the re-edification of the one erected by Edwin unnecessary.

That the present Town-hall was an ecclesiastical structure, were easy but needless to prove; and that it was of Saxon origin, is nearly as manifest. Two entire Saxon columns, with their plain capitals and rude circular arch, yet remain; which, together with a thick and massy wall, and the long and narrow formation of the edifice, exhibit an aspect wholly Saxon.[†]

That the building under our review, was the successor of the temple reared by Edwin and destroyed by the pagans in A. D. 633, has, however, recently been disputed. In a communication sent to the editor of the *Doncaster Gazette*,[‡] by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, of Bath, it is contended, that St. Mary's was never any other than a chapel of ease, and that the legitimate successor of the original edifice, and the predecessor of St. George's, the present parish structure, must be sought for elsewhere.§ How far Mr. Hunter's theory may be borne out by facts and collateral

* Bede gives an interesting account of the progress which the Christian disciples made at this time; and in addition to what that venerable author states, Nennius adds, "together with Edwin, were baptized in one day, 12,000 men."—*Inett's Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 43; and *Nennii Brit.* xv. scrip. p. 117.

† See the Rev. J. Millner's *Essay on Ecclesiastical Architecture*; and the Rev. J. Bentham's *Treatise on the Saxon Style*, prefixed to his *Hist. of Ely Cath.*

‡ See the Paper dated the 13th March, 1823.

§ The occasion of this communication, it may be necessary to observe, arose out of a friendly dispute between the author of this work, and the Rev. L. J. Holson, the worthy master of the Grammar-school in Doncaster.—*Doncaster Gazette*, Feb. 21st, and March 7th & 14th.

evidence, remains to be seen. It may, however, be necessary first to define the term "mother church," or principal church of the deanery. Dr. Inett remarks, "There being no other known schools of learning in the western nations, during the sixth and seventh centuries, but in cathedrals and religious houses, the English nation, as it owed its conversion to men so educated, learnt from them such esteem and veneration for those institutions, that from the first settlement of Christianity amongst the English, till after this time, the offices of religion were generally provided for by such of the clergy as lived at the mother church, by whom they were sent out to officiate where the necessities of the diocese called them; or else, by such of the clergy as were fixed in monasteries and colleges of canons, dispersed about the nation.

"And for this reason, though churches were built in many places, for the more convenient assembling for the worship of God; yet they were for the most part supplied from the aforesaid bodies, and by successions of men sent out occasionally to officiate; and therefore, the learned Mr. Wharton very properly calls these 'itinerant preachers,' and says of those aforesaid places of public worship, 'that they were not in proper speaking, parish-churches, but rather chapels, or auxiliary churches, to the mother church, and had no settled limits or district, but were equally free to all persons who thought fit to resort thither, wherever they lived;' and where the nobility and great men, whose lands and territories were very great, did begin to build churches, for the convenience of their families and vassals, and with the consent of their bishops, had priests permitted to reside among them."* Thus, then, we see, that all ecclesiastical foundations whatever, save the monastic and cathedral churches, were simply chapels of ease, until their number became greatly augmented, when ten or more were given to the care of a superior, who was denominated a dean, and resided at a particular place, and the district over which he presided, was called a deanery. It is the latter sense to which we intend to confine our meaning.

The earliest notice, of a tangible character, which the lapse of time has spared, directly referring to the church of St. Mary, is to be found, we presume, in the charter of "*Quieta clamatio*," made by "*Jordanus de Capreolicuria*," in favour of the monks of the Cluniac priory of St. John, at Pontefract, in which is the following clause:—"Hæc pax et compositio inter me et eosdem monachos facta est in capella Sanctæ Mariæ Magdelenæ in Donecastria, coram justitiario Regis Ricardo de Luci."† This instrument was executed in the presence of the same Richard, who, together with "*Rogero, archiepiscopo Eboraci; Henrico de Lascy; Willielmo de Vesci; Roberto Clerico, vicecomitis; Turstano de Sutton; magistro Roberto Morel; Willielmo Vavasour; Jordano Foliot; Ricardo Bagot; Roberto Dispensatore; Johanne*

* Vol. i. p. 275. † Dugd. Mon. Ang. tom. i. p. 668.

filio Willielmi, eleemosinarii,” &c. were subscribing witnesses. Whence we learn, that the deed was executed so early as the first year of the reign of Henry II., who ascended to the throne of Britain, A. D. 1154, the same year that Roger took possession of the archiepiscopal chair of the see of York.

Here is a fact which proves, that the “*capella*,” of St. Mary, as it is there called, had undoubted existence in the middle of the twelfth century; which, together with the epitaph of Ricardus de Magnavilla, induced Mr. Hunter to suppose, that the sacred edifice to which we allude, was never any other than a mere chapel of ease, and therefore subordinate to some other structure, the *bona fide* parish-church, and the mother church of the deanery. This, however, with all due deference to our worthy opponent, is a position scarcely admissible. If any other structure was the successor of the one erected by Edwin, and the predecessor of St. George, is it not more than probable, that some of its vestiges would, before this time, have been discovered? The Saxon church of Tickhill, the “*Dadesleia*” of Domesday, has defied the hand of time; and in despite of the wreck of records, the revolution of ages, and the mutation of matter, its site is still cognizable.

The custom of executing charters, &c. connected with ecclesiastical property, within the walls of religious edifices, was very prevalent, and a number of cases to that effect might be instanced; but it should be borne in mind, that they were generally done, either in private oratories attached to parochial foundations, at the altars of private chapels, or the chapter-houses attached to cathedrals or other sacred buildings; hence the “*Contentio cellæ de Kyleborn terminata inter capitulum sancti Pauli et ecclesiam Westmonasterii,*” is recorded to have been done “*in capella apud Fulham.*”^{*} Here we find, (admitting that this deed was not executed in any private chapel annexed to that foundation,) that the parochial church of Fulham is called a chapel. A similar circumstance is on record in Graves’s History of Cleveland. The “*Charta Priorissæ de resignatione Prioratus,*” connected with the priory of Rowney, in the county of Hereford, was dated “*in domo nostra capitulari de Rowney prædicta;*”^{*} and the composition, “*inter abbatem et episcopum Eliensem de octo cantariis,*” was dated “*apud Wellebeck in domo nostra capitulari vicesimo nono die Decembris, A. D. 1429.*”[†] Numberless similar cases might be added, confirmatory of the same fact.

The clause in the Chevercourt charter, before cited, we should conceive to be wholly insufficient, of itself, to prove, that the religious foundation of St. Mary, was at that time a mere chapel; neither can the epitaph alluded to, be adduced in aid of the supposition. As well might the church of Rotherham be denominated a chapel,

^{*} Dugd. Mon. Ang. tom. i. 363. [†] Ibid. tom. ii. p. 692.

on the authority of John Birley of the same place; who, in his will, dated, "*Die Veneris proxante fest' S'c'i Mathei*, A. D. 1440, directs, that his body should be "buried in the chappelle of St. Mary of Rotherham."* That the term "*capella*" was not on all occasions employed to designate the building under our consideration, is rendered manifest, by some extracts printed in Miller's Appendix to his History of Doncaster, where it is twice called a church, and that, too, in an age anterior to the demise of Richard Magnavilla, but subsequently to the date of the Chevercourt charter,—a circumstance, in our estimation, of no ordinary importance, when applied to the matter in question. The existence of such loose and unqualified passages, as may be gathered from testamentary documents and monumental eccentricities, on this and some other occasions, is much to be lamented; while their utility to the biographer is of the first moment. The existence of a chapel, so early as the reign of Henry II., within the walls of St. Mary, or anywise appended to it, dedicated to the same patroness, would, it is true, be difficult to prove; but this difficulty refers only to the charter of Chevercourt; for it is pretty clear, that the chantry of St. Mary Magdalene, founded by William Aston, as well as the others, were in being on the death of Richard Magnavilla, who expired in A. D. 1400. Crude and indefinite, however, as are some of the monumental records, this of Magnavilla is an useful and locally important article. By it we learn, that the northern part of the chapel was even then in a decayed state, and that it was repaired at the expence of the said Richard,—a fact, in our estimation, sufficiently strong, to carry back the era of its formation to a very remote period, as the Norman structures were always very substantially built, and amply commodious.

In the communication sent by Mr. Hunter to the editor of the Doncaster Gazette, we conceive that he has given to a portion of the inscription, a translation somewhat forced: "*Septentrionalem partem hujus capellæ*," does not necessarily imply the "north aisle," but is equally, and perhaps more properly applicable to a private chapel on the north side. In these apartments, distinguished persons were more generally interred, at that age, than in any other part of the building, and which were principally repaired at the expence of the founder, his successors, or other pious characters. Donations, and confirmations of grants, &c. made to the regulars, were not often executed on the altars of parochial edifices. The continual and virulent animosity existing, at that period, between the regulars and seculars, would induce the latter, it is presumed, to avail themselves of every opportunity of thwarting the designs of the former, and opposing their interests; hence it is, that we see the names of chaplains, &c. so frequently, and those of clerks so rarely attached to monastic deeds. That some have been "signed, sealed, and delivered," on the altars of parochial churches, is a fact which it would be useless to question; and the

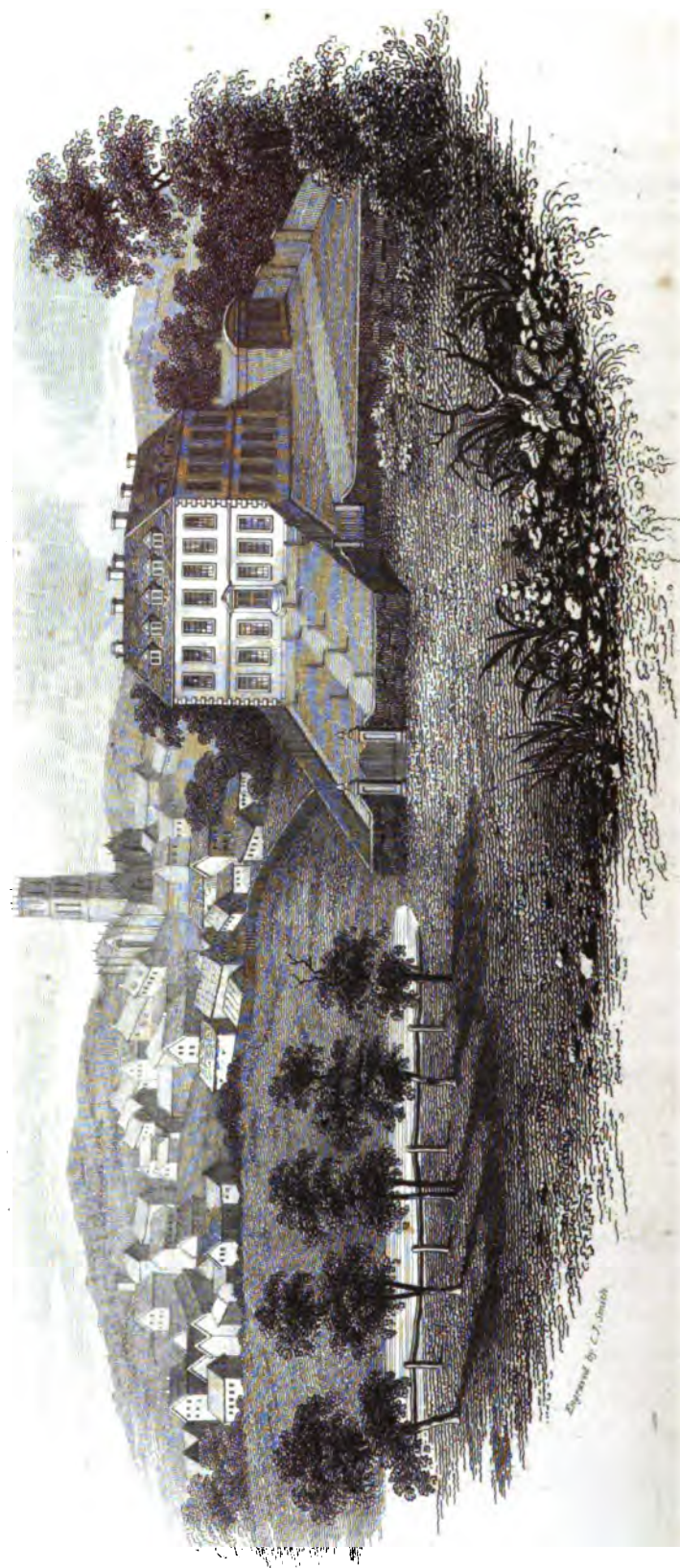
* Torre's MSS. Archdeaconry of York, fol. 1093.

writings executed on those of Conisbrough, (to be hereafter noticed,) Wenlock, &c. are curious examples.

The theory espoused by the Rev. L. J. Hobson on the occasion, we presume, is less tenable than that of Mr. Hunter, who, on the commencement of the controversy, asserted, that the church of St. Mary Magdalene was originally erected by the Carmelite fraternity, settled in this town. Subsequently, however, our worthy and reverend friend, Mr. Hobson, in a letter which we had the pleasure to receive from him on the subject, is "willing to allow that St. Mary's was not coeval with the foundation of the Carmelite friary; but it seems very probable, that though it did not originate with that fraternity, it was given to it on its establishment in the town, by the founder or founders, or their successors. Such donations are not unusual in the records of antiquity." It was, therefore, an error in Mr. Hunter, when he inferred, that the dispute originated in a question concerning the mother church of the deanery. Mr. Hunter, consequently, is as far wrong in the latter, as he is in the former instance.

That any portion of this truly ancient structure served as a hall of justice, in the general acceptance of the term at that early period, as is intimated by Mr. Hunter, is, we presume, more than doubtful. The "pax et compositio inter" Jordan de Chevercourt, and the monks of St. John of Pontefract, being made before the King's justice, is no proof, that the place of conference was always occupied for the like purposes. "Justitiario Regis," we conceive, was not added in virtue of his functions on this occasion, but holding that honourable post, he, whenever it became necessary for him to subscribe his name, justly added, as was usual, "justitiario Regis." The termination of disputes, and the adjustment of grievances, within the walls of ecclesiastical foundations, were not rare occurrences; this was done in the church of Fulham, the house of Grey Friars in Doncaster, as well as in the church of St. Mary, yet no one ever thought of giving to those establishments the name of "seats of public justice," simply from such insulated circumstances. The charter of Roger de Clare, confirming previous, and granting new donations to the convent of Rieval, has this clause: "Hæc omnia dedi eis, et confirmavit coram justitiis domini Regis apud Doncastriam, ubi tunc temporis tenebantur assisæ; scilicet, Ranulpho de Granville; Godfrido de Luci; Johanne de Cumin; Hugone de Gaherst; Alano Furneaux; Willielmo de Bendenge. His testibus; Rogero de Molbrai; Willielmo de Vesci," &c.* Here it is observable, that we find a charter, nowise connected with legal proceedings or litigated property, executed at Doncaster, before the justices of assize, and no mention whatever is made of the place in which the assembly was held.

* Dagd. Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 730.



NETHER HALL,
NEAR DONCASTER

The seat of Robert Copley Esq.

Published by J. W. Harrison & Co. Doncaster 1844

In the age of Henry VIII., we are told by Leland, that St. Mary's was then used as a chapel of ease, but that it was formerly the parish-church; and Pryme, in his MS. history of this place, remarks, that gravestones, with Saxon characters on them, have been frequently dug from the bowels of this cemetery, or sleeping place, as the term imports.* The immense number of human relics that have been found in its vicinity, and which yet lie hid in every direction around it, loudly proclaim its former importance; and although this circumstance cannot be adduced as an infallible, it is a strongly collateral proof of its parochial character. The population of the town of Doncaster, in the age of Henry VIII., was but the half of its present amount, and prior to that period, even much below the latter statement. If, therefore, two burial grounds were not requisite three centuries ago, when the populousness of the town was so much short of its present state; how can we reasonably infer, that they were a requisite provision, anteriorly to that era? Most of the interments that have taken place in this churchyard and church, were made ere the epoch of Henry VII.; nor is it unlikely, that the confined state of the Magdalene cemetery, the increasing population of the town, and the absolute seizin of the manorial rights, &c. by the burgesses, effected in the above reign, were the primary causes which transferred the burials, &c. from St. Mary's, to St. George's place of sepulchre. That no inhumations took place in the burial ground of the former, after the above period, we would not undertake to prove; because, when we say, that the transfer took place about that era, we would be understood as speaking in a general sense. The finely proportioned structure of St. George, owes much of its present beauty to an epoch not long anterior to the one named; for the bust of Archbishop Kemp occupies a prominent station in the masonry of the fine tower of that church; and other portions of that elegant building owe their renovation to the same age. But it was probably constituted the parish-church some time before then, and sepulchral rites were exercised in its immediate vicinity, speedily after the destruction or abandonment of the old castle, to which, perhaps, it originally appertained.

The limited condition of the population of Doncaster, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, notwithstanding its comparative importance, would not require two burial grounds, although it is manifest that two existed; but the testamentary interments of Torr, and the church notes, made by a monk of the abbey of Roche, prove that St. Mary's cemetery, so early as the reign of Edward III., was nearly deserted for that of St. George; and much doubt cannot be entertained, but that a great majority of relics, that now do, or lately did throng the former site, were deposited before that time; which we can scarcely suppose would have been the case, had it not been the parish-church, and the immediate successor of the one reared by Edwin. Had any other edifice of the establishment ever existed, besides the three

* Lansd. MSS. British Museum,

referred to, we cannot but suppose, that some of its vestiges, actual or traditional, would before now have pointed out its site. The vast mass of mortal remains, we again aver, and the extent of St. Mary's cemetery, are more than presumptive evidence, that for a very considerable length of time, it was the only general place of sepulchre in the town. The whole of the Magdalene's, the site of the theatre, the ground on which stand the premises of the late Mr. John Walker, (west of the edifice,) and much, if not the whole of the ground occupied by buildings, north of the temple, confined by the present Corn-market, is a mournful Golgotha, where tens of thousands of human bodies wait the "last and awful trump." These are a series of facts, not easily reconcilable with that inferiority of character ascribed to it by Mr. J. Hunter, and my friend, Mr. L. J. Hobson.

In justice, however, to these gentlemen, it may be proper to observe, that from the circumscribed limits allowed in the columns of a provincial weekly newspaper, for lucubrations of this nature, and the wish of the editor to close the controversy through that medium, the whole of their theories might not appear,—a circumstance much to be regretted, as the subject is of importance in the history of the deanery.

In this church were founded three or more chantries, viz., St. Mary's, St. John's, and that of the blessed Trinity. Of all these, but few notices have come to our knowledge, and by whom the latter named one was established, we have yet to learn. On its dissolution, in the reign of Edward VI., its revenues were estimated at £5. 10s. 8d. *per annum*, of which John Spink was incumbent, on whom a pension of £1. was settled, which he enjoyed in A. D. 1553. The two former were founded by William Aston, of Doncaster, about the beginning of the reign of Henry IV., or the latter part of that of his predecessor, Richard II. In the writs of inquiry, called "Inquisitionum ad quod damnum," we find, that John de Bell gave to William Lewer, Chaplain, two messuages, two gardens, and certain lauds in Doncaster and Wheatley, in order that divine service might be duly celebrated; but whether the donation was made to the chapels founded by William Aston, or to the one denominated "The Trinity," the document which we consulted, does not determine. Twelve years subsequently, however, viz., the 14th Henry IV., we are told by the same authority, that William Aston of Doncaster gave to the same William Lewer, "Capel' Cantarie S'c'e Marie Magdalene de Doncastre, et succ' suis quinque messuag' et quasdam t'ras in Donecastre pred' et in Warmsworth."* Hence we may probably infer, that two of the chapels in St. Mary's church, were founded at the close of the fourteenth century, and that the grant of John de Bell was made to the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene; but the latter deduction is not an infallible one, because two chapels were often served by one chaplain. On the dissolution of this

* Inquis. ad quod damn. 2 Hen. IV. No. 45, and 14 Hen. IV. No. 26.

portion of ecclesiastical property, the chapel of St. Mary was valued at £6. 6s. 8d. *per annum*, and John Sylvester was incumbent, who, out of the revenues thereof, had allowed him, a pension of £5. *per annum*. St. John's, on the same occasion, was found to be endowed with lands, worth £400. *per annum*, whereof Robert Smith was priest. He retired with a pension of £4. 4s. 3d. *per annum*.*

Of the distinguished interments which may have taken place within the walls of this foundation, the records of but few have reached our day; and the most curious and interesting is the one to which we have so frequently referred.

Orate pro anima Ricardi de Magna-Villa, qui propriis sumptibus reedificavit septentrionalem partem hujus Capellæ, qui sepultus fuit die bris anno nostri Dom. 1400.

Jesu Mary Lady Help.

Hic inhumatur corpus Johannis de Magna-Villa, qui mortuus est 2^{do} die Junii 1429, in cujus anima . . . misericordia domini.

Here lyeth ye bodi of James Ellycar Escuyar on whose soule Jhesus hafe marcy. I dyid the 11 dey of Jan. 1482.

When ye be ded & ley'd in grafe
As ye hafe don, lik sal yow hafe
For man ys lik
.

The present elegant parochial church of St. George cannot, as we have before intimated, boast of an origin so ancient as that of the edifice on which we have so long dwelt; but its deficiency in age, is amply compensated by the beauty of its architecture. The epoch of its first erection cannot now, it is feared, be correctly ascertained. Dr. Miller plausibly suggests, that it was originally a private chapel appended to the castle, within the area of which it unquestionably stood. This conjecture of the Doctor, is founded on strong probability, and the stone discovered by the workmen, when the eastern end underwent a repair, dated 1071, materially strengthens the supposition; but no part of the present structure is of an age so remote, by at least one hundred years.

The aspect of this magnificent building is strikingly grand and imposing. The tower, which is an elegantly chaste and beautiful piece of architecture, rears its aspiring battlements to an altitude of one hundred and fifty-one feet, which, at a dis-

* Willis's Abbeya.

tance, gives to the whole town an air of grandeur and interest, not often surpassed. The first division, above the vaulting of the transept, contains eight narrow windows, divided into three lights each, by slender mullions, strengthened by transoms. To these succeeds a quaterfoil border, that encircles the whole tower. Above, and immediately following this ornamental appendage, are eight other windows, two on each face of the tower, which, like the lowermost, are divided by mullions and transoms, having ramified heads. Parallel with the finely pointed arches of these windows, run pedimental canopies, of exquisite beauty, the tops of which intersect the border that is placed directly below the group of pinnacles and balustrade-like finials, which crown the summit of this majestic campanile. On each face of the tower, are two shelving buttresses, exclusively of a small one which runs up to the battlements, between each two windows. Each shelf, instead of being plain, is ornamented with a crotched canopy, with corbels of different designs. The era of the erection of this magnificent tower, is evidently of a date much posterior to most other parts of the structure; although some portions thereof exhibit a species of architecture nearly coeval with the age of our fourth Edward,—the epoch to which we should be disposed to ascribe the rearing of this noble piece of workmanship.

The windows in the southern part of the south chancel, are uncommonly obtuse in their arches, high, and narrow; while that in the transept is tolerably acute, and divided by transoms and mullions, into a number of lights. Those which illumine the southern aisle, are divided into three compartments, and are simple and plain in their make. They are surrounded by canopies, the corbels of which were designed to represent the heads of various animals. The entrance into the *narthex*, or porch, is also encircled by a canopy, borne by lions at gaze, supporting the arms of St. George, the patron saint. On the apex of this canopy, is placed a winged genius, bearing the same heraldic badge; while the dead spaces on the dexter and sinister sides thereof, are relieved by two elegant niches, both at present empty. At an earlier period, the former was occupied by the image of St. George treading upon the dragon, and the latter held the statue of St. Dunstan.*

The great western window, like most which owe their origin to the age of the three first Edwards, fully occupy the whole of that end of the nave, reaching nearly to the vaulting.† It is divided by mullions and transoms composed of stone, into nine bays, uniting at top, and spreading out into a multitude of devices. The canopy is borne by corbels, representing heads of human subjects, disgustingly distorted. The entrance into the interior of the nave, through the spacious aperture under this

* Pryme's *MS. Hist. of Doncaster* before cited. He also says, that the image on the apex of the canopy, represented "the Virgin Mary, sitting in a chair, with the child Jesus in her lap." This part of his description is somewhat confused.

† Bentham's *Hist. Ely Cath.* Introd. p. 40.

window, is formed by six slender receding pilasters, with plain capitals, whence spring three pointed arches, of a comparatively recent date, not being older than the age of Edward IV. The whole is flanked by buttresses, terminated at the top by notched finials, collectively forming an elegant specimen of the cathedral style.

The windows in the north aisle are square, and lined with heavy mullions; and are evidently of an age different from their southern neighbours. The eastern end of the edifice, is obviously older than any other part of the structure; but no portion of it can be extended to the age of the conquest. The great eastern window, however, is manifestly of a date subsequent to the masonry which surrounds it. If any part of the present building be assignable to a period bordering on the middle of the twelfth century, it is this end of the edifice.

In the year 1822, this part of the church received an additional ornament. T. J. L. Baker, Esq., of Longford-house, near Gloucester, executor of the late Miss Sharp, a lineal descendant from Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, having disposed of his interest in the great tithes of this valuable rectory, and wishing to leave a memorial of the family that had for so long a time been impropiators of the rectorial revenues, thought good to enliven, as well as to enrich this part of the foundation, by an elegantly painted window; and much to the credit of himself, and the artist, Mr. Miller, of Regent-street, London, a noble monument has been executed, which, if the materials were not of so frail and perishable a character, is well calculated to bear down to the latest posterity, the gratitude of the one, and the splendid talents of the other. This is one of the many specimens by modern artists, which prove, that a high proficiency in that masterly qualification, is not wholly confined to the ancients.

The window is divided into five compartments. The upper part, instead of being occupied by a profusion of fancifully ramified work, has in the centre thereof, a dove, enshrined in glory, emblematical of the Holy Ghost. Below it, are St. George, the patron saint, and the conquered dragon. Horizontally to these, succeed, the law-giver Moses, Nehemiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah, the four prophets, and the great high-priest Aaron. Then follow the five lights. In the first or sinister bay, are the arms of Archbishop Sharp, St. James the less, and St. James the greater. In the second are emblemized, St. Matthew, by an angel; St. Mark, by a lion; St. Thomas, and St. Barnabas. In the third, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Bartholomew, and St. Philip. In the fourth, are an ox, symbolical of the character of St. Luke; an eagle, allusive to St. John; St. Andrew, and St. Matthias. In the fifth, or dexter compartment, are the arms of the burgesses of Doncaster; St. Simon, and St. Jude.

The expence of this magnificent window approximated to the sum of £1,000.—
A liberal and princely donation.

Over the entrance into the interior, from the north, is an encircling canopy, crowned by a horned figure, on the face of which is an escutcheon curiously charged. The supporting corbels exhibit similar devices. What their true import and character may be, we dare not hazard even a conjecture.

The church is of the cruciform order, and consists of a nave, two side-aisles, and a transept; east of which, are the choir and side-chapels or chantries. These extend north and south, to the extremity of the transept. The nave is borne by twelve massy octangular pillars, with plain capitals, whence spring ten obtusely pointed arches. Over these are eighteen spacious clerestory windows, of the same order of architecture. The cieling of the nave is transversely traversed by a series of boldly fashioned ribs, forming small squares. In each of these squares, is a painted subject; some of which are extremely rude and uncouth, while others are neatly executed. At what time these figures were painted is difficult to say; but it is manifest, that they were executed by different artists. During the protectorate, or a short period before the reins of government were seized by the usurper Cromwell, the old work was greatly injured by shots from musquetry; in which dilapidated condition, it remained for a series of years. The subjects which did, and do now present themselves, comprise, *inter alia*, the arms of the King, and the Prince of Wales, and those of the Archbishop of York, together with representations of the apostles of our Saviour, the twelve tribes of Israel, &c., and a number of curious devices. There is also a scroll, bearing the following inscription:

Orate pro anima Operatoris hujus Operis. *

The four ponderous columns which support the tower, are of a date as modern as any other part of the church, and cannot be earlier than the age of Edward IV. Like those of the nave, they are octangular; but the capitals, instead of being plain, are richly ornamented with a variety of foliage, blown roses, &c. From these rise four finely pointed arches, the finials of which are unwisely hid, or rather disgracefully obscured, by the too near approach of the belfry floor. A removal of this deformity, would reflect credit on those having the care of the building. On each side of these arches, and in the belfry, are a number of monograms, armorial ensigns, &c., commemorative of various popular characters that were benefactors to the establishment. The screen which parts the body of the church from the choir

* Pryme's MSS.

and transept, exhibits a rich display of grand and masterly execution, affording a delectable treat to the admirers of that kind of ecclesiastical furniture.



THE FONT.

In the centre of the area of the southern chancel, stands the font, on which is placed the date of M,LXI; but as the characters are of the modern school, we cannot vouch for their correctness. Dr. Miller assures us, that the old date corresponded with that which the modern letters import; and as we are without a sufficient reason to doubt his assertion, we are compelled to give credence to his statement. If its age could, by well grounded evidence, be extended to the era of the Confessor, it would unquestionably be considered as the greatest ecclesiastical curiosity that the town contains, save the remains of St. Mary's church, in which, it is extremely probable, it was originally placed, or at least previously to its being brought hither. "It has been the opinion of some," says our esteemed friend, the Rev. Henry Cooke, Vicar of Darfield, "that the antiquity of fonts might be known by their capacity; but the reasoning is fallacious. The modern fonts being small, no doubt, admit of their introduction since the reformation; yet, though the argument will apply, to prove the period of sprinkling, it will not extend to designate that of dipping.

“The rites of baptism, in the earlier ages of Christianity, were performed in rivers, ‘founts,’ because that they were unprovided with *baptisteries*; but we have no other remain of the rite than the name; for when religion found peace, *baptisteries* or fonts were built and consecrated, for the more reverence of the sacrament.

“These fonts, at first, were set at some distance from our sacred edifices, then in the porch, and that significantly, because baptism is the entrance into the church mystical, as the porch to the temple; at last, they got into the church, and were set in some convenient place; but wherever they stood, they were always held in high estimation.

“Although dipping into water was the more ancient practice, and most universally used in the primitive ages; yet, sprinkling or pouring water on the head of the baptized, is of great antiquity likewise. It had its beginning in the cares of the rich, the period of the year, climate, and the tenderness of the child; and in England, for these causes, so early as the fourth century, aspersion was the most common. After the conversion of the heathen nations, the baptism of adults seldom was required; and it was through that the constitutions of infants suffered, and that the bodies did not endure dipping; so that the custom of sprinkling of water generally succeeded.

“Our church, with her usual moderation, did not, at first, totally lay aside immersion, but left it to the discretion of the ministers, either mode being considered as efficient; for it is not in the spiritual washing, as in the bodily, where, if the bath be not large enough to receive the whole body, some parts may be foul, when the rest were cleansed; the soul is cleansed after another manner; a little water can cleanse a believer, as well as a whole river.”*

Thus we see, that it would be a difficult matter to point out the era of its formation, merely by a simple view of its external appearance, or internal capacity; and these, it must be acknowledged, are by no means in favour of the antiquity, which the Roman characters appearing on its face denote. It is of an octangular shape, borne by a shaft composed of four round pillars, in a curved posture, and is approachable by a number of steps, octagonally arranged.

MONUMENTS.

In giving an account of the monuments in this church, we shall first notice such of them, as we cannot in a satisfactory manner assign to their proper places; leaving

* Cooke's Coll. in our own possession.

them in the same obscurity as they were left by the curious ascetic, who so worthily snatched them from the canker-worm of time. The first which we shall introduce, is as follows :

O Dere Freyndes hafe pyti for my soule
As I hafe for many don yat I may com to bliss.
Whan I lyved, I lighit William Jone
Now dead must ley under could stone.
I deyed ye 9 of ber, 1403.

His jacet Dom. Johan. Rastal hujus oppidi qui duxit Aliciam filiam Henrici Hastyng de Fenywic-Hall, hic etiam sepult' in cujus anim' — Benedictio vitæ eternæ. Mortuus fuit Johan. die 27 Aug. 1392; et Alicia 6 die Feb. 1398.*

Here lyeth the bodie of Sir William Frescival of Doncaster, the son of John Frescival escuyar who of vil. of Hetsfeld, who desseyd ye 8 Febru. 1410. On whose soule Mary hafe mercie.

Here lyeth Thomas Sampson, butcher, of this place, who departed fro. this life the 28 Jun. 1512. O Jesus, mercie Lady Help.

O prey for me to Vergynes son
As I hafe for many don.

Hic jacet

Timotheus Doloy, olim Servus hujus Ecclesie, nunc Servus Mortis et Immortalitatis
.
Qu. totam viam f . . . mu'tos pauperes bene volent . . pase. atamen mortuus est Jan . . die
Anno 13 . . .

O prey for the soule of Catharine ye wife of Richard Snyth, who departed thys Lif ye 19 of 1402.

Under thys colde stone lyes buried Sir Rob. Wat ye oneley soñne of Sir Rob. Water-
tone by Sibil his wyfe, ye daughter of John Gamstone of Sandal, Escuyar, who dyed young at
thys towne. On whose soule Jesus have mercy, and bring to joy everlasteynge. He deyed ye
16 Aug. 1475.

* The Rastals, it would appear by some pedigrees in the British Museum, were a very considerable family, and resi-
dent chiefly in this town and neighbourhood. In the reign of Henry VIII., we find, that a Jane Rastal, wife of Hugh

"There lyeth the bodies also in this church, of John de Barr, Sir Thomas de Barr; Sir Thomas Ellicar; Sir James Bosvil; John Gregson, gent.; Roger Penevil, esq.; Robert St. Paul, esq.; Hugh Willoughby, &c. &c."*

Here lyeth ye bodie of Sir James Dunbrey of York, who deyed the 16 yr. of King Edward III. On whose soule hafe merci, God grant, who of christen hope and charitie left to the pylgrymes, gafe to pour pepel, adorned thys chirch; 'partyed to Hevyne:

To whych brynge us alle to Hee,
Tat shed his blode on the rode Tree.

Here lyeth ye bodie of . . . Fitz-John of this towne alderman, who gafe up his soule to God ye 29 of Jan. 1330.

Here leyeth the bodie of Johnathan Bardneville, Knt., who married Joha. ye dr. of Robert Perkyer, of Wakefyld, and by her had 13 Children, alle prospereyng; who gafe up the Goste ye 10 October mccccix. On whos soule God haf merci and pyti. Amen.

Hic jacet Robert. Bardolf (filius Johannis Bardolf) sumptus, qui de charitate ejus reliquit post'ac decem marcas ad eternum pro pauperes servos hujus oppidi. Sepultus fuit 2^{do} die Maii an'o mccccxix.

Hic jacet post mut. Alicia Rud . . . tumultata qui dummodo vixit semper cum Viro certavit . . .
lingue
.

Alle you yat gang yis way
Of merci & pittie for me prey
Who formerly was flesh & bone
Tho' now ley under yis could ston
When life I hight Robert Bramley
Now is what yow musten bee
I deyed Decembre ye 28, 1489.

Of your Pittie prey for ye soule of John Ellycar of y^e Toun cordweyner & Isabel hys wif & John and Isabel hys tow children, who deyed by Wat . . the 6 Jan. 1490.†

Rastal, Esq., of Doncaster, was interred in the church of Hatfield; and in the 7th King John, Richard Rastal pawned to the monks of Blyth, all his lands in Wothwayte, for the term of sixty years, for twenty marks.—*Leind. MSS. Bib. Harl. No. 801.*

* It is somewhat doubtful to which of the two churches the last seven monumental inscriptions and notices pertain. Both before and after them, the words, "in St. George's church," occur; and none of them are in the list of testamentary burials preserved, or rather collected by Torr.

† They were probably drowned.

O prey of your merci and pytti for me Henri vyn of this towne clerk, who deyed y^e
11 ber 1490.

Yf gud turn dun, gud turn require
Then prey for me Robert Ellens Escuyer
Who when I was 30 Wynters & oue
Was Alderman of y^{is} toune
And haying lifed full longe
Now ley under y^{is} ston
I deyed y^e 11 of April Anno 1402.

Under thys ston leyeth berryed y^e bodie of John Savy of Doncaster Knt. who marryd Maud
y^e douter of John Harot Escuyer of Thorpe, who deyed ye 19 die Jan. 14 . . .

In the southern chancel, or side-chapel, and adjoining the southern wall, is a ponderous altar monument, whereon, at a former period, were fastened several brass plates, all of which, like too many others, have wholly disappeared. On the side and end bearers, are yet legible a number of shields, bearing the following arms. At each end are,

Quarterly, one and four; arg. two bars in chief, a crescent for difference.	-	BRERETON.
Two and three; arg. a chevron between three crescents, gu.	- -	IPSTONS.
Over all, a mullet for difference, impaling quarterly of four:		
1st. Arg. on a bend az. three bucks' heads caboshed, or.	- -	STANLEY.
2d. Or, on a chief indented, az. three plates.	- -	LETHAM.
3d. Quarterly, arg. and gu. a label of five points.	- -	MASSEY.
4th. Arg. on a chief gu.		

In the centre shield, on the front of the side bearer:

Quarterly of four, the first and last grand quarters; quarterly, BRERETON and IPSTONS; the second, quarterly, STANLEY and LETHAM; and the third, quarterly, MASSEY, and arg. a chief gu. each bearing their marks of difference, as in the end shields.

In the shield on the dexter side of the above; Arg. three boars' heads, erected and erased, sa. BOOTH; impaling BRERETON and IPSTONS, as above.

In the sinister, quarterly, one and four, arg. a chevron, between three cross crosslets fitchéd sa. (DAVENPORT); two and three, sa. a lion rampant, or, impaling BRERETON, quartering IPSTONS, as before noted.

Pryme erroneously supposed this stone to be commemorative of one of the Mountneys; but Miller justly observes, that it was reared in memory of Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Brereton, of Tatton, Knight, by Joan, his wife, daughter and coheir of William Stanley, Esq., by Jane, his wife, daughter and coheir of Sir

Geoffrey Massey, of Tatton, Knight; which Anne married to her first husband, John Booth, of Burton, in the county of Lancaster, Esq.; and to her second husband, Sir William Davenport, of Broom-hall, Knight.*

East of the font, is an old and mutilated tombstone, placed under a cinquefoil arch or canopy, low and obtusely formed. Over this, is an horizontal *cest*, containing a quantity of human bones, together with some pieces of broken ashler-stone, the relics, probably, of its former covering. These awful monuments of mortality, are now quite bare, and exposed to the view of every curious visitant. How, or on what occasion, these bones became inmates of so narrow a receptacle, it is difficult to surmise, as the chest is of itself by no means adapted to contain a body of that stature, which the bones denote the deceased had attained; therefore, they must have been deposited there subsequently to their original inhumation. When first made, might it not have been intended to contain the frail remains of mortality, when the more fragile parts of the human frame had become mixed with their mother earth?

The tomb is of the altar kind, and, at a former period, was covered with a profusion of brass, rudely representative of three human subjects,—a circumstance in some measure countenancing the traditional story of Pryme.† The corners of the stone, and other vacant places, have also been occupied by brass plates, bearing, most probably, the armorial ensigns, &c. of the person or persons it was intended to commemorate. On the upper part of the canopy, in the unoccupied portion of the face, are four shields.

On the dexter side; . . . a chevron engrailed between three lions' heads erased . . . as many cinquefoils impaling on two bars six mullets pierced an annulet for difference; supported by a stag.

On the sinister corner of the same side; or, a chevron engrailed between three lions' heads erased as many cinquefoils supported by an unicorn.

On the dexter shield on the north side; two bars each charged with three mullets pierced. In chief, an annulet for difference; supported by a

On the sinister of the same side; two bars gemelles; supported by a ram.

Correctly to appropriate this remain, may probably be attended with much difficulty; but whether the conjecture of Miller, or the traditionary tale of Pryme, be most entitled to our credit, is a matter loaded with much doubt; but we should

* Harl. MSS. Nos. 1505 and 1536, 65. Miller, p. 82.

† "In the south quire, are two other large altar-tombs, with coats of arms, but without inscriptions; under one of which, canopied over with wrought work of stone, are said to lie three sisters, who caused this quire to be built at their own cost."—*Land. MSS. Bib. Harl. No. 607.*

certainly rather be inclined to give our assent to the opinion of the former, and ascribe its origin to the era of the foundation of the chapel by Robert Strey or Skeres, priest, who lived in the age of Henry VIII., and was probably a descendant of Thomas Strey, an eminent merchant, and mayor of Doncaster in A. D. 1509.

The windows in this part of the edifice, were highly decorated with painted glass, exhibiting the portraits and arms of its munificent benefactors. Most of those interesting embellishments fell a prey to the sacrilegious hands of bigotry and superstition, in the era that elapsed between the reign of Henry VIII. and the restoration of Charles II. In the southern window of this chapel, were the following:

1. Lozenge, arg. and gu. - - - - - FITZWILLIAM.
2. Gu. a saltier arg. a crescent sa. for difference - - - NEVEL of Hornby Castle.
3. Arg. a chevron between three trefoils sa.
4. Arg. three martlets in bend, cottoised, gu.
5. Arg. a bend between six martlets gu. - - - - - FURNIVAL.
6. Gu. on a chevron arg. three torteaux.
7. Gu. on a bend arg. three escallops of the first.
8. Per fess and arg. an annulet in base sa.

In this portion of the church, is a stone commemorative of the demise of a Mellish of Doncaster, who died A. D. 1605. To the eastern wall is also attached a marble monument, proclaiming the demise of one of the Mellishes of Blyth, descendants of a family of the same name formerly resident in this town.

In the north-east corner, is a recently erected cenotaph, bearing a memorial of Mr. Q. Kay, who by his will, demised a certain sum of money for charitable purposes, applicable to the poor of Doncaster. He was interred at Barnes, in the county of Surrey, A. D. 1807.

The Barbour monument, placed by Pryme in the Strey, and by Miller in the Fledburgh-chapel, is now, like the greater part which we have hitherto noticed, nowhere to be seen. The former observes, "And in brass, in the same quire, on a gravestone, is thus engraven, with many flourishes and fine things, not now visible:"

Hic jacet
Williel. Barbour, quondam
Mercator honorabilis de Doncastaer,
Cum Isabella et Rosa uxoribus suis
Qui Willielmus obiit . . die Martis
A. D. mccccxx.
Cujus animæ propetietur Deus.

ARMS.

On an escutcheon gu. a bend between six martlets or.

* Amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, are several pedigrees of the Bosvill family. Nos. 1415, Plat. and 6070, fol. 137, shew in what manner they became possessed of a portion of the property of Mr. William Barbour or Barber. In the latter, intimation is darkly given, that some connexion existed with Emma, daughter and heir of John de Vesey, of Conisbrough, and wife of Robert Bosvill, son and heir of Arthur, great-grandson of Robert, who was constable of Pontefract Castle, in the reign of Richard II. Probably, the father of William Barbour was the second husband of the above Emma.

Robert Bosvill, son and heir of Arthur.
 Emma, dau. and h. of John Vescy, of Conisbrough
 William Barbour of Doncaster
 Isabel, wife of Woodrove of Bolton sup. Dearne.
 Cath. dr. and coh., wife of Travers.
 Alice, wife of Morton of Bawtry.
 William St. Paul, of Campsal.
 Isabel, d. and h. of Travers and Cath. Barbour
 Cath. d. and coh. of Wm. St. Paul, wife of Thos. Bosvill of Doncaster.
 Isabel, d. and coh. of Wm. St. Paul, and wife of John or Thos. Bosvill of Conisbro'.
 Agnes, d. and coh. of Wm. St. Paul. Ob. s. p.
 Thomas Bosvill of Doncaster. son and h. Vix. 15 Edw. IV.
 Isabel, wife of Thos. Anstom. Ob. s. p.
 Thomas Bosvill. . . . dau. of Freschevell of Oldcotes, com. Derb.
 John Bosvill, of Doncaster.
 Alice, dau. of West, of Wath.
 Ellen, wife of Thos. Bosvill, of Rotherham
 Jane, wife of
 Alice.
 Isabel, wife of Knagges.
 Thomas, Joseph, Richard, Hugh.
 Anne, wife of Laurence Harrison, of London.
 Jane, d. of Rich. Crescy, of Holm, 1st wife.
 Tho. Bosvill, of Warms-worth. Vix. 1585.
 Alice, d. of Thos. Vicars, of Scausby, 2d wife.
 Gervase Bosvill, of Warms-worth. Et. 9 an. 1585, ob. 1621.
 Susan, dau. and coh. of Thos. Worinley, of Hatfield, com. Ebor.
 Gertrude.

Adjoining the wall in the north or our Lady's chapel, is a table tombstone, whereon was formerly this inscription :

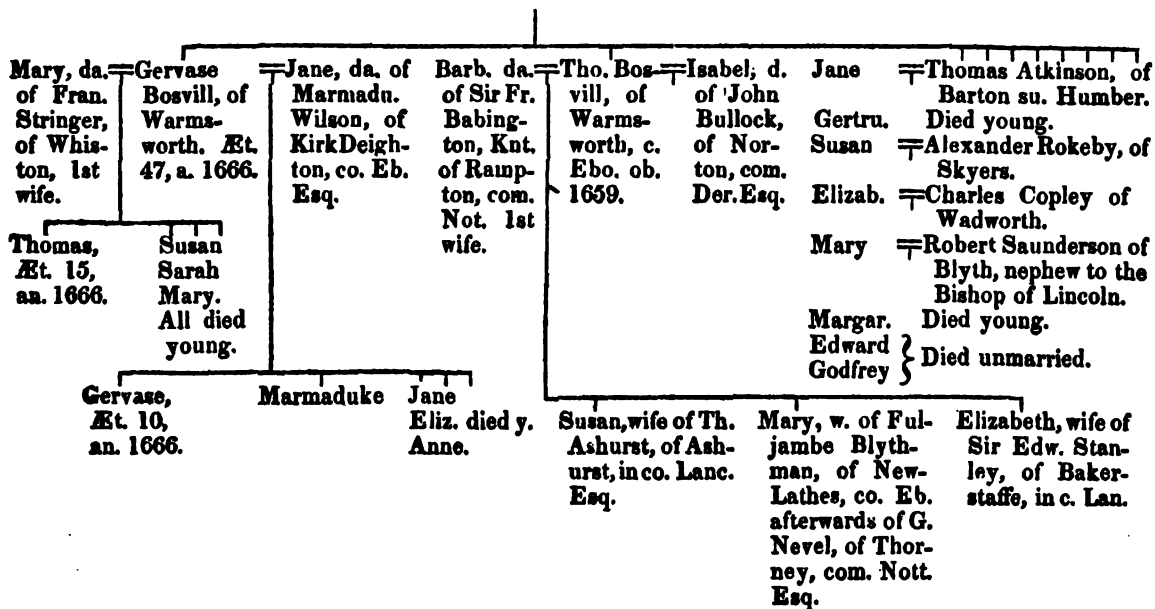
Here lyes
Thomas Ellis,
Late of Doncastre, Gentleman and Alderman,
Who in honour of God, founded an Hospital in the same town for the poor,
Called
St. Thomas' House the Apostle.
Which Thomas dyed the xv day of the month of July,
A. D. MDLXII.
On whose soule Jesu have merci.
Amen.
Go thou and do likewise.

ARMS.—Arg. on a cross sa. five crescents.

In the eastern window of this chapel, were the following arms :

Arg. a cross sa. impaling quarterly arg. and gu. a bend sa. Arg. a cross sa. impaling quarterly
... and ... in one, and fourth quarter a mullet.

In this part of the chancel are also interred, several individuals of the Cooke, Bradshaw, Eyre, Nevel, Yarbrough, Arthur, Ellerker, Bretwesele, Bryan, Wombley, and other families.



In Pryme's time, the elevated stones, on which was placed the altar dedicated to St. Mary, were still in being. On each side, were placed the effigies of St. Peter and St. Nicholas.

In the northern extremity of the transept, is a small neat chapel, dedicated to St. Catharine. It was founded by John Harrington and Isabel his wife, both of whom lie interred under a "pritty monument in the north quire," bearing the following memorial :

Hic jacet
Nobilis prosapiæ vir,
Joh'es Harrington,
Scutifer insignis, et Isabella preclara sua consors,
Hujus primarii cantariæ fundatores,
Quæ quidem Isabella obiit in die Sct. Georgii, A. Dni.
M,CCCC,LXII.
Prefatus Joh'es obiit hæc, Luce' introivit in die Nativitatis Virginis Mariæ,
M,CCCC,LIV.
Cujus animæ propetietur Deus.

Such was the inscription in the days of Dodsworth. It is now wholly removed, and substituted by a table tombstone, on which is paraphrased the above epitaph. On the tomb were the following arms :

1. Sa. fretty arg. a label of three points or, quartering arg. a cross flory, sa. [HARRINGTON and BANNESTER.
2. Arg. on a bend sa. three spouted jugs, with handles of the first. - - - SEWER.
3. The same, impaling sa. fretty arg. a label of three points or. SEWER and HARRINGTON.
4. Sa. fretty arg. a label of three points or, quartering arg. a cross flory sa. [HARRINGTON and BANNESTER.

In the window immediately over the tomb, were depicted fourteen human figures on their knees. The window is divided into seven bays, by stone mullions. In the centre compartment was a knight of the Harringtons, covered with a coat of armour, exhibiting, sa. fretty arg. a label of three points, or. He was in a kneeling posture. By him was his wife also on her knees; on her breast-plate were depicted, arg. on a bend sa. three spouted jugs, with handles of the first. Over them was inscribed as follows :

Pray for the souls of John Harrington and Isabella his Wife,
founders of this chantry.

In the adjoining compartment, on the dexter side, a knight on his knees, bearing Harrington's coat of arms, with arg. a saltier gu. (*Nevel of Hornby*), his wife having the latter coat. Over them,

Pray ye for the souls of William Harrington and Margaret his wife, father and mother of John Harrington.

In the bay adjoining the middle light, on the sinister side, was the figure of a man, having on his breast-plate, the arms of Sewer, and over him,

Pray ye for the souls of Richard Sewer and Joane his wife, father and mother of Isabella aforesaid.

In the second compartment from the middle one, on the dexter side, were a man and his wife, kneeling. On his breast, were the arms of Sewer, and over him,

. Richard Sewer and Katharine

In the corresponding light, on the sinister side, a Harrington, kneeling; his wife having on her breast, three milk-piggins. Over them,

**. James Harrington and Joane his wife
Harrington.**

In the compartment between the last named one and the wall, were a man and his wife. On his breast, were the arms of Sewer. Over them,

Pray ye for the souls of Richard Sewer and Katharine his wife, uncle and aunt of the 'foresaid Richard.

In the third compartment, on the dexter side, were a knight and his wife, kneeling. On his breast, were to be seen the arms of Harrington; on hers, gu. three escallops arg. (*Dacre.*) Over them,

. Thomas Harrington and his wife, brother and heir of John aforesaid.

This chapel is now the burying place of the Copleys of Nether-hall, whose ancestor, Sir Richard Copley, of Batley, Knt., married for his second wife, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of John and Isabel Harrington, founders of the chapel in which they lie interred. In it are several monumental remains of the Copleys, now in existence; but not a vestige of the founder's stone is anywhere to be seen.*

* For a further account of this family, see our article, Nether-hall.

The earliest interment of the Copleys, in this chapel, which has come to our knowledge, is of George Copley, the fourth in descent from the founder, and eldest son and heir of Edward Copley, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Malleverer, of Allerton-Malleverer, in the county of York, who was interred here in A. D. 1557.* Subsequently to this date, several members of the Copley family have found a place of sepulchre here, the latest whereof was buried in A. D. 1813.

In the southern extremity of the transept, is a small chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas. In this neglected depository, there have been several inhumations; but whether the founder, Thomas de Fledburgh lies buried here, we have yet to learn. It is not, however, unreasonable to suppose, that his bones lie under the canopied recess in the south wall. Torr places the remains of William Cowper, Vicar of Doncaster, in this chapel. He expired in A. D. 1430. The deplorable condition of this "sanctuary of the dead," when we last visited the place, precluded the possibility of a nice and accurate view of the floor; we cannot say, therefore, whether any remains of the old tombs yet exist. The present guardians of this chapel, are not much alive to the preservation of the memorials of their departed friends. This chantry, which formerly held a place in the pious care of its worthy founder, and its subsequent patrons, is now a receptacle for filth, a depository for coals, and a corner destined, apparently, to be the repository of "sacred lumber," which hides from the face of day, the hallowed vestiges of departed worth.

Attached to the arch, north of the communion-table:

Here lyeth interred, the body of John Ellerker,* Alderman, the 3d son of Ralph Ellerker, of Yolton in this county, Esq. and of Jane the daughter of John Constable of Lacenby in Cleaveland, Esq. who died April 10, Ao. Dom. 1701, Æt. 83. And also Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Mr. Peter Short of this Towne. She died the 9 June, 1763, Æt. 85 yrs.

The monument, however, which has attracted the attention of the curious, more than any other, is placed on the north side of the north-west column, which assists to support the weight of the tower. It is generally called "Robin's of Doncaster," is of the altar kind, and in a fine state of preservation; but it is probable, that the one now in being is not the original.

* The Ellerker family is both of note and antiquity, and was seated originally at a place of the same name, in this county. In the 21st Henry VIII., Ralph Ellerker, sen., Knt., was sheriff of Yorkshire; so also, in the 6th Philip and Mary, Ralph, the immediate ancestor of the subject of the above memorial, resided at Yolton, and died in August, 1639. He married Jane, daughter of John Constable, son and heir of John Constable, of Dromondby. In Dugdale's pedigree of this family, he is called the second son of Ralph, and was then aged forty-seven years. His brother, Thomas, also resided at Doncaster, and died in 1643. He married Anne, daughter of Armytage, of Doncaster, and widow of the Peter Short of the monument. His son, Francis, was a mercer and citizen of London. The issue of John was a son and heir, named Thomas, whose posterity resided here, until a very recent date. Several of them lie under the arch, leading into the chapel of St. Catharine.

Howe : Howe : Who : is : heare ? I : Robin : of	
That : I : have : That : I : Lefe : that : I : Loste :	A : D : 1 : 5 : 7 : 9 :
	Quod : Robertus : Byrkes :
	Who : in : this : world : did : Reygn :
	Three : skore : Years : and : Seaven :
	And : yet : Lyved : not : one :
That : I : spent : that : I : had : That : I : gave	
Doncastere : And : Margaret : my : feare :	

Something in imitation of this singular epitaph is preserved in *Camden's Remains*, where a number of others, equally eccentric, may be found.*

Of the subject of the above memorial, we find no other mention, than that he was mayor of Doncaster, in the years 1569, 1573, and 1577, and that he gave Rossington wood to the public.

Near to the above, lie interred several individuals of the Childers family. They built the mansion of Car-house and continued to reside at it until a comparatively recent date. The oldest memorial is as follows:

Hic jacet

Corpus Thomæ Childers de Car-house, armigeri, qui nupsit Elizabetham, filiam et cohæredem Leonardi Thomson, armigeri, bis majoris de civitate Ebor. de qua genuit Leonardum filium suum modo superstitem. Obiit 24 die Maii, Anno Domini 1676 et ætatis suæ 27. Hic fletu multo et lachrymis quamplurimis decenter sepultum fuit. Corpus abinde expectans resurrectionem beatissimam.

* *Camden's Remains*, ed. 1614, p. 375.

Near to this, is the following inscription :

Sacred to the Memory of
Leonard Childers, of Car-house, Esq.
Who died Nov. 29th, 1748, aged 75 years.
Ursula, his second wife, was interred near this place.
She died Aug. 26, 1715,
Aged 43 years.

Near to the organ-gallery, are deposited the relics of

Sarah, the wife of B. Cooke, of Doncaster, sole child of Mr. Henry Ryley, of the same place. She died about the age of 48, A. D. 1647. And of Brian Cooke, of Wheatley, Esq. her eldest son : he died about the age of 40, A. D. 1660. And of Diana, wife of Henry Cooke, of Wheatley, the fourth son of the said Sarah; and daughter of Anthony Butler of Coates in the county of Lincoln, Esq. : and of Brian Cooke and Jane Cooke, eldest son and daughter of the said Henry and Diana Cooke: and of Jane Nevile of Thorney in the county of Nottingham, Esq. grand-child of the said Sarah Cooke, by Sarah her third daughter. This was erected by Sir George Cooke, A. D. 1682.

There are many other monumental inscriptions, chiefly modern; but we shall refrain from noticing them.

In addition to the arms already mentioned, there were those of the Copleys of Nether-hall, Cookes of Wheatley, Withers of Lancaster, Yarbrough of Doncaster, Mellish, Turbutt, Childers, Arthur, Eyre of Grove, Bradshaw, Ellerker, Cartwright, Short, Pigott, Neal, Laycock, Cooke impaling Butler, Ashton, Raney, Vincent, Mawhood, Flower, Gibson, Brailsford, Thwaites, Viatt, &c., many of which are yet decipherable.

In a small and ineligible room over the porch of this church, was formerly a well selected library; but which has recently been removed to the new Subscription Library, at the corner of St. Sepulchre's-gate. It was originally formed by a society of neighbouring gentlemen, who mutually agreed to establish a memorial of their munificence and high sense of literature, calculated, not only to promote their own individual interests, but to afford posterity the means of enriching their minds with the lore of former ages.

The collection, at present, consists of nearly four hundred volumes; amongst which, we recognize the works of Aristotle, Athanasius, Athenagoras, Augustine, Arminius, Barrow, Burnett, Beza, Bede, Chillingworth, Chrysostom, Clark, Clement, Coke, Calvin, St. Cyprian, Calmet, Collyer, Clemens, Demosthenes, Drake, Dugdale, Echard, Erasmus, Eusebius, Fiddes, Fuller, Gibson, Goodwin, Herodotus, Homer, Hooke, Ignatius, Josephus, Isocrates, Julian, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Laud, Lowth, Locke, Marcus Antoninus, Milton, Montfaucon, Origen, Parker,

Plutarch, Potter, Prideaux, Pococke, Puffendorf, Raleigh, Rapin, Ray, Rollin, Rushworth, Sallust, Scott, Seneca, Sherlock, Stackhouse, Stillingfleet, Suetonius, Spelman, Tacitus, Lepsius, Tertullian, Thomas Aquinas, Tully, Tillotson, Waterland, Valerius, Watson, &c.* It is to be wished, that every church, chapel, and town in the kingdom, were similarly furnished, and that a library, like the glebe, the tithe, &c. were an indispensable appendage, to which the public, under certain restrictions, might have easy access.

The religious establishments, denominated chantries, or endowed chapels, founded for the purpose of mass, &c. being performed therein at stated periods, were tolerably numerous in this town. Willis names ten, and the testamentary burials of Torr add to that number, another dedicated to St. Laurence, wherein, in A. D. 1450, Thomas Wentworth, Esq. was interred. In this number, it is probable, some foundations, not truly bearing that character, were included. Of their first institution, but few memorials have reached our time. The one dedicated to St. Nicholas, placed in the southern extreme of the transept of St. George's church, was founded by Thomas de Fledburgh, chaplain, in A. D. 1323. The original endowment consisted of one messuage, and twelve acres of land situate in the fields of Doncaster, of the annual rent of thirty shillings, for the "sustention of a certain chaplain, daily to celebrate mass for ever in the said church, at the altar of St. Nicholas, for the souls of himself, of Roger his father, and Margaret his mother, and of Peter de Fledburgh, and all the faithful departed, which said ordination was confirmed by William, Archbishop of York, on the 15th Kal. Feb. 1329." In the 12th Edward II., preparatory to this step, he "finem fecit cum R. p' quadraginta solid' pro licenc' dandi et assign' laicum feodum in Dancaastro, ad man' mort' h'end', &c.;"† a measure which all were obliged to pursue, before they could legally invest such institutions with any portion of property whatever. From the return made by Robert, Archbishop of York, who was authorized by the commissioners to survey this part of his diocese, it would appear to have been, on its dissolution, worth £5. 17s. 4d. *per annum*, of which William Howson was then incumbent. In 1553, he enjoyed a pension out of the revenues thereof, amounting to one hundred shillings.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PRIESTS OF THE FLEDBURGH CHANTRY.

<i>Temp. Inst.</i>	<i>Cantar.</i>	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Vac.</i>
.....	Joh. Plumer, cap. ....	.....	Mort.
Ult. Jul. 1349 . . .	Joh. Makesburgh, cap.	Com. Don. Vill. . . .	Mort.
21 Dec. 1369 . . .	Williel. Hexthorpe, pbr.	Hen. de Wesliby . . .	Resig.
4 Nov. 1400 . . .	Williel. Hexthorpe, pbr.	Idem . . . . .	.....
.....	Joh. de Cudworthe . . . . .	.....	Mort.

* In Miller's Hist. of Doncaster, is an imperfect catalogue of the works in this collection. Dugdale's Mon. Ang. it is to be feared, is lost.

† Abbr. Rotu. Orig. 12 Edw. II. and the writs of Inquis. ad quod damnum, 11 Edw. II. No. 86.

<i>Temp. Inst.</i>	<i>Cant.</i>	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Fac.</i>
12 Junii, 1493 . . .	Williel. Moseley, cap.	Major Vill. Donc. et — eccles.	Mort.
11 April. 1513 . . .	Thom. Johnson, cap.	Maj. et Com. Vill. de Don.	Resig.
12 Oct. 1524 . . .	Williel. Howson, pbr.	Idem	

Concerning the other chantries in the church of St. George, the aforesaid Robert made the following report:

“The chantry of St. Katharine, founded in the northern end of the transept, by John Harrington, Esq. and Isabel his wife, was of the annual value of £8. 14s. 6d. whereof Robert Marsham was priest. In 1553, he enjoyed a pension of £6.

“The chantry of St. John the Evangelist, founded in the southern choir by Robert Strey, priest, was of the annual value of £6. 5s. Of this institution Robert Robynson was incumbent, and was dismissed with a pension of 100s.

“The chantry of our Lady, within the said church, was valued annually at £7. 10s. 1d.* The functions of this trust were exercised, on its dissolution, by William Palmer, who had allowed him a pension of 100s.”†

Amongst the manuscripts in the Harleian Library, No. 606, is an account of the manner in which the property belonging to the institutions under our notice was disposed of; much of which, we observe, fell into the power of Thomas Ellis, the bountiful founder of St. Thomas's Hospital, in St. Sepulchre's-gate. The particulars are given by Miller.‡

The other establishments of a similar character, adverted to by Willis and Torr, are not so easily identified. The one dedicated to St. James, is probably no other than the hospital which bore the same name, formerly standing where St. James' laith is now placed, which in Pryme's time, was a heap of ruins. Tanner tells us, that this hospital was founded in the beginning of the reign of Henry III., and had, “before the general suppression, degenerated into a free chapel, with a chantry in it;”§ but whether the chantry was committed to the care of the same patron, we are wholly uninformed. Of the chapel of St. James, Roger Clerkson was priest. The hospital of St. Nicholas, also, it is not improbable, underwent the same fate; for we are informed by Willis, that, exclusively of the one dedicated to that saint by Thomas de Fledburgh, already noticed, there was another under the guardianship of the same

* Stevens' ed. Dugd. Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 66. † Willis's Abbeys, vol. ii. p. 291.

‡ Hist. Doncaster, p. 63. § Not. Mon. p. 684.

patron, the incumbency of which was in the possession of John Heyworth, who in the first year of Queen Mary, enjoyed a pension of one hundred shillings. The remaining four seem attended by greater difficulties than the two last named. St. Laurence's, we are told by the testament of Thomas Wentworth, was placed within the walls of St. George; and Pryme says, that "in the middle almost of Potteric-car, beyond Doncaster, upon a small hill, nearly invisible by reason of the morass round about it, are the ruins of a stately chapel dedicated to St. John: it is likely, that it was either some great hermitage, or little monastery, nunnery, or priory."* In supposing this to be the establishment or free chapel of St. John the Baptist, the duties whereof were performed by Roger Smith, ere its suppression, we may, probably, not be far wide of the fact. Satisfactorily to identify the other two, or even to offer a conjecture founded on strong evidence, is beyond our power. Pryme, it is true, names the existence of some other religious edifices, one whereof was situate north of the Mill-bridge, and another opposite to the old cross in Hall-gate. In supposing, however, that all the hospitals in Doncaster, and its immediate neighbourhood, had been converted, before the age of Edward VI., into free chapels, may be assuming too much; but we find none of them falling in the general wreck that took place in the former reign; hence we may probably be pardoned in ascribing to these two the remaining names of the Pilkington and the Holy-cross chapels. Of the former, Wm. Swarne was priest; and of the latter, John Spinke; Swarne having £5. allowed him as a pension, and Spinke, £4. 10s. 3d. The name of that in Hall-gate, would be aptly suggested by its vicinity to the venerable old cross of Otto de Tilly.

Before the conquest of England, by William, Duke of Normandy, the advowson of the parochial church and its dependencies, was undoubtedly vested in the hands of its Saxon owners, the Fossards, or their superior lord, Harold, Earl of Northumberland; and on its becoming an appendage to the crown, by virtue of the conquest, it was given by William, with the manor, &c. of Hexthorpe, to Robert, Earl of Mortaign, whose subinfeoffed tenant, Nigel Fossard, in the year 1100, gave, *inter alia*, "*Ecclesiam de Doncastre et quicquid ei pertinet, et sexdecim mansuras† terræ in eadem villa, et unam carucatam terræ in Kinermundeshale, et decem bovatas ad moras, &c. i. carucata' terræ in Wermeswricha, et in Cottyngwyth duas carucas. Et ecclesiam de Hoton, et unam carucatam terræ in Thorntuna, tres carucas terræ*

* Pryme's MS. Hist. of Doncaster before cited.

† "*Mansuras*" is, by Torr, here rendered houses; but its connexion with "*terræ*," ("*sexdecim mansuras terræ in eadem villa*," would authorize a supposition, that Torr has not given to it its full import. "*Mansura*" is a term used by our old lawyers, to designate a countryman's house; but the grammatical construction of that portion of the document would induce us, either to give to each house a measure of land, or suppose that "*mansuras terræ*" has been miswritten, and that it ought to have stood thus: "*sexdecim masuras terræ in eadem villa*;" "*masura terræ*" being an ancient term for a quantity of land, consisting of about four oxgangs.

et ecclesiam de Baynetun, et unam carucatam terræ et decimas suas, et in Doncastro et circa Doncastrum decimam suam, et in Carthorpe quatuor carucas terræ,"* to the abbey of St. Mary at York.

Subsequently, however, viz., in the second year of King John, some question seems to have arisen as to the right of the advowson of this church being lodged in the hands of the abbot and convent of St. Mary at York, when "Robert' de Turnham petit versus abb'em de Ebor' advocac'em ecclesie de Donecastr' cum p'tin' ut illa' que ei et uxori ej' habet descendere de jure Roberti Fossard p'avi uxoris sue unde ipse Robert' fuit seisit' tempore Henr' R. avi ut de jure et qui Robert' p'd'co Hen' Regi tota' villa' de Donecastr' cum advocacio'e p'd'ce ecclesie et cum omnibus aliis p'tin' invadiavit p' 500 marc. argenti quas idem Robert' de Turnham solvit D'no Regi, ut dicit, qui ei reddidit villa' illa' de Donecastr' ut jus uxoris sue cum omnibus p'tin.

"Abbas ven' et dicit q'd ecclesia de Ebor. illa' ecclesia' possedit et habuit a Conquestu Anglie ex dono Nigelli Fossard p'avi p'd'ci Roberti cuj' Nigelli carta' ostendit que testatur q'd Nigell' illa' dedit abb'ie de Ebor. in pura' et perpetua' eleemosina' et ostendit carta' confirmac'nis Will' Fossard filii p'd'ci Roberti que confirmat donac'nem p'd'ci Nigelli quam fecit de p'd'ca eccl'ia dicit etiam quod habet cartas Henr' R. avi D'ni R. et omnium Reg' Anglie confirmantes donac'em Nigelli et Willielmi."† It was, therefore, confirmed to the abbot and convent of York. Dissatisfied with this decision, however, the Turnhams, it would appear, still harrassed the monks by proceedings at law, until it was confirmed to the above abbey.

For two hundred years and upwards, it was a rectory of two medieties, served by two resident rectors appointed by the abbey, the head of which was the patron until the time of Henry VIII. In A. D. 1303, Thomas Corbridge, Archbishop of York, confirmed the appropriation of it to the abbot and convent of St. Mary at York, and then ordained a perpetual vicarage therein, and that the vicar should have for his support five marks sterling, paid him quarterly by the said religious. And also, that he should have those houses, and the whole place, which Rôger de Doncaster, rector of the one mediety of the said church, while he lived, and which John de Roderham at present hath. Also he shall have one penny for every funeral at the present offered, and whatsoever shall be bequeathed to him out of the devotions of the faithful; and shall have his vigils for his labour, and the penny which is usually brought to the church door upon nuptials. And also, shall pay no tithes for his own proper cattle, and shall bear the fourth part of all burthens, ordinary and extra-

* Dugd. Mon. Ang. tom. i. p. 388. † Plac. apud Ebor. Sci. Mich. 2do R. Joh'nis.

ordinary, and the abbot and convent the other three parts; all of which were confirmed by the dean and chapter of York, 7 Kal. Julii, A. D. 1320.

On the 30th December, in the same year, William de Melton, Archbishop of York, confirmed the above ordination, and decreed further, that the said abbot and convent should distribute out of this their church, &c. ten marks sterling *per annum*, amongst the poor of the parish of Doncaster, or corn to the value thereof, by view of some of the faithful parishioners. He also ordained, that William de Staines, then rector of the mediety of the said church, should have the annual pension of eight marks paid him while he lived, by the abbot and convent of the aforesaid abbey of St. Mary.

A dispute having arisen relative to the repairs of the chancel of the church, between the abbot and convent and the vicar, on the 15th October, A. D. 1434, the composition was confirmed, which was agreed upon by the parties, viz., that the vicar should be bound to that duty in perpetuity, and the said religious should be obliged to find and sustain the wax candles burning about the great altar, (which, previously to this agreement, the vicar found,) so that the burden of finding them did not exceed the sum of thirteen shillings and four pence *per annum*.*

On the dissolution of monastic property in the reign of Henry VIII., the abbey of St. Mary, and its immense property, fell into the hands of the crown; when, in the thirty-sixth year of that king's reign, the rectory of Doncaster, &c. was granted to Archbishop Holgate, and his successors in the see of York, in part of compensation for the many valuable manors, &c. of which that Archbishopric was deprived.† “By a lease of the rectory, granted to Robert, Earl of Kingston, by Archbishop Neile, the sum of £6 13s. 4d. *per annum* was added to the vicar's stipend, out of the rectorial profits for his better maintenance; and by a second lease, granted to Lady Grace Pierpoint, by Archbishop Dolben. About the year 1685, the vicarage was further augmented out of the rectory, by the addition of £30 *per annum*. Since which period, the vicarial stipend has received no increase whatever; the present stipend being only £66 *per annum*. No tithes, glebe, or Easter-offerings, are annexed to the vicarage of Doncaster; and the rectory,” which was lately the property of Miss Sharp, a descendant in a direct line, from Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, is worth from £1,000 to £2,000 *per annum*.‡ Recently, the interest in the rectorial property of this place, which has been so long vested in the hands of the representatives of Dr. Sharp, has been carried by marriage to J. L. Baker, of Longford House, near Gloucester, Esq., who, some few years ago, disposed of it to Sir Francis Wood, Sir William B. Cooke, &c.

* Torr's Archdeaconry, fol. 938.

† Drake, p. 452. The alienated manors exceeded sixty.

‡ Miller's Don. p. 87.

The following extract, made from the taxation of Pope Nicholas, levied upon the temporal and spiritual goods of this church, in or about A. D. 1292, will shew in what state the revenues of this establishment then was:—

	£	s.	d.
Eccle'ia de Doncastr' divider est pars que fuit Bogonis* p't pens' in eadem	-	43	6 9†
Pensio abb'is b'e Mariæ Ebor' in Eccl'ia de Doncastr' videl't in p'te que fuit			
Bogonis	-	5	0 0
Pens' ejusdem abb'is in p'te que fuit Rog'i in eadem Eccl'ia	-	5	0 0†

It is a living in charge, valued in the King's books at £32 19s. 2d.; yearly tenths £3 5s. 11d.; procur. 7s. 6d.; subs. £2 18s.

A CLOSE CATALOGUE OF THE RECTORS OF ONE MEDIETY OF THE CHURCH
OF DONCASTER, FROM TORR'S MS. IN POSS. DEC. ET CAP. EBOR.

<i>Temp. Inst.</i>	<i>Rect. un. Med.</i>	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Vae.</i>
Non. Dec. 1251	- Radul. de Nuton, cl.	- Abb. et Con. Sanctæ Mariæ Ebor.	-
	Adam de Hereford	- Idem.	-
Kal. April. 1313	- Johannes de Gyllyng	- Idem.	- Mort.
Kal. Julii, 1318	- Williel. de Staines, pbr. cui pensio 80 marc. A. D. 1320.	- Idem.	-
	<i>Rect. al. Med.</i>		
	Rogerus de Doncastr'	- Idem.	-
2d Kal. Maii, 1302	Johannes de Rotherham, Subd.	- Idem.	-
	<i>Vicars of Doncaster.</i>		
4 Id. Mar. 1320	- Walter de Thornton, pbr.	- Abb. et con. Ebor.	Mort.
17 Junii 1358	- Will. fil. Thome fil. Elene de Ap- pelby, cap.	- Idem	- Mort.
5 Octob. 1360	- Robert Murrays, cap.	- Idem	- Res. p. Ecc. Ebor.
18 Mar. 1361	- Joh. de Gysbourne	- Idem	-
.	Alana Rasyn§	- Idem	- Mort.
8 Jan. 1396	- Will. Farnedall vel Fanale, pbr.	- Idem	- Resig.
Ult. Aug. 1403	- Will. Cowper, pbr.||	- Idem	- Mort.
19 Junii 1430	- Joh. Selow, pbr. Dec. B.	- Idem	-

* In some copies, Hugonis.

† Tax'a eccl. P. Nichol. IV. p. 299. ‡ Ibid. p. 333. Miller gives the result of this imposition somewhat different.

§ He is the first that appears amongst the testamentary burials of Torr, and was interred in the church, A. D. 1396.

|| His remains lie interred in St. Nicholas's choir.

<i>Temp. Inst.</i>	<i>Vic.</i>	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Vae.</i>
6 Julii, 1430 - -	Joh. Fythian - -	Abb. et Con. Ebor.	Mort.
29 Sep. 1450 - -	Rich. Wymarks, al. Blyth - -	Idem - -	Mort.
27 Maii, 1460 - -	Johannes Rokeby, pbr.* - -	Idem - -	Mort.
2 Dec. 1471 - -	Tho. Pesson, vel Peresone, Dec. Dr. Idem - -	Idem - -	Resig.
17 Jan. 1484 - -	John Weller. S. T. P. - -	Idem - -	.....
.....	John Hutton D. Gr. Nig. Pon. Epur. Idem - -	Idem - -	Pro resig. p. Eccl. Eb.
23 Septemb. 1511 - -	Will. Drycotte - -	Idem - -	Resig.
5 Oct. 1511 - -	Will. Burgh, Dec. Dr. - -	Idem - -	Resig.
19 Junii, 1522 - -	Sym. Robynson, pbr.† - -	Idem - -	Mort.
13 Novemb. 1528 - -	Will. Clayton, L. B. - -	Idem - -	Mort.
26 Mar. 1533 - -	Miles Colyston, cl. - -	Idem - -	Resig.
17 Dec. 1534 - -	Anthony Blake, M. D.‡ - -	Idem - -	.....
14 Sep. 1554 - -	Robt. Hobson, cl. - -	Idem - -	Mort.
7 Nov. 1570 - -	Henry Moore, L. B. - -	Epis. Ebor. - -	.....
23 Maii, 1579 - -	Arthur Kay, cl. - -	Idem - -	Mort.
2 Feb. 1613 - -	Xt. Jackson, cl. M. A. - -	Idem - -	.....
14 Junii, 1662 - -	John Jackson, cl. - -	Idem - -	.....

The religious institutions remaining to be noticed, were of an order somewhat different from those on which we have so long dwelt. The most noted of these was the White, or

CARMELITE FRIARY.§

By whom, or at what precise era, this establishment was first instituted, is not correctly ascertained. Mr. John Speed, in his *Chronicle of Britain*, assigns the foundation thereof to the joint efforts of John, Duke of Lancaster, and John Nighbroder, in the 25th Edward III.; but if that was the case, its origin might probably be placed a few years anterior to that date; for in the twenty-fourth year of the same king's reign, we find, that a John Nichbrotherer, of Eyam, in the county of Derby, gave to the friars of the "ordine b'e Marie de Monte Carmeli in Doncastr' quasdam terras cum pertin' ib'm. || Mr. Burton, whom Miller professes to have followed, says,

* Amongst the testamentary burials of Torr, he is said to have been interred in the church of Doncaster, in A. D. 1475. Here, it is evident, some error as to date is prevalent. He gave all his goods and chattels to the Monks of Roch Abbey.

† He was buried before the altar, in the high choir of St. George's, in A. D. 1528.

‡ This reverend gentleman held, at the same time, the rectory of Whiston, the livings of Rugby in Warwickshire, and Barnet in Middlesex, and was also vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.—See *Hunter's Hallamshire*, p. 293.

§ So it is called by Speed and Leland; but Burton, in the preface to his *Monasticon Eboracense*, denominates them a fraternity of Black Friars.

|| Ad quod Damnum Rot. 24 Edward III. The Nighbroder of Speed, and the Nichbrotherer of the inquisition here referred to, are undoubtedly the same person. *Query.* Is it not probable, that this inquiry was made preparatory to the foundation of this order here? If so, the 25th Edward III. is probably the true era of its establishment.

that two houses of friars, viz. one of black, and another of grey, were founded here, in the reign of Edward II. ; but it is manifest, that if the house of Carmelites was instituted by John, Duke of Lancaster, and John Nighbroder, the period of its origin was about the year 1352, as we have before intimated.* In Leland's time, the house was greatly decayed, and long ere the present age, not a vestige could be recognized. Its precise site is not easy to be identified ; but it is certain, that it stood in the immediate neighbourhood of the premises now occupied by William Sheardown, Esq., Mayor. In the age of Pryme, some of the outer walls were in existence ; and it is more than probable, that the enclosures lately bounding the aforesaid premises, and their neighbours, constituted the extent of the property of the religious in that direction. At the termination of the eighteenth century, "there were good gardens within, and the walls encompassing the same, all on the back side, as they did before its dissolution."† From this direction, was an entry into the priory, composed of large portals, over which was engraven :

E Th.  Prior.
 ~ Anno Dō 1515. ~



But the principal point of ingress was from the High-street. In the immediate vicinity of this "goodly house," was a chapel, bearing the name of St. Sepulchre, originally built by this fraternity. Through the centre of this appendage to the Carmelite establishment, was an entry into the town, at which a friar was always in attendance, to collect alms of the passers to and from the town ; for it was a custom, as Pryme justly remarks, "to build a chapel at every gate of great towns, and to make a passage through the chapel, and to adorn all the inside of the chapel-gate, with images of the saints, &c. ; but to beg of the enterers in unto the town, or the goers out, to bestow something upon the poor monks of this or the other order, (for, if they were never so rich, they always pleaded poverty,)" was not the only use to which they were well adapted ; "there was also another piece of cunning they had therein, viz., to preserve the town from enemies, for, as when a town is besieged, the chief efforts are made against the gates thereof ; or the enemy seeing that these were hallowed gates, —sanctified entrances into the town, through and belonging to a holy chapel, which whosoever violated was cursed ; therefore, nobody would, in those dark times, presume to assault a town at this point ; so that they were a great safety to those places that had such chapel gates."‡ On the dissolution, this gate was thrown open,

* Miller is clearly wrong, when he names the reign of Henry III. as the period of their establishment here. He has mistaken his authority.

† Pryme's MS. *History of Doncaster*, British Museum.

‡ Warburton's MSS. *Lansd. Coll.* No. 898.

and people passing to and from the town were not assailed by the importunities of this race of beggars. The chapel, also, was speedily afterwards converted into a prison; and thus, as in some other instances, was a house of prayer converted into a den of thieves. The gate was in existence, it would appear, when Pryme wrote his observations on this place; hence it is, that the street, ever since that period, has borne the appellation of St. Sepulchre's-gate.

It is to be lamented, that a catalogue of the priors of this house has not been preserved; but this deficiency, we believe, is not confined to this institution. On its dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII., Lawrence, eldest son of Edward Cooke, Esq., Mayor of Doncaster in the years 1504, 5, 6, 7, and 8, was prior; who, with six brethren, was summoned to surrender up the house and its appurtenances to George Lawson, Richard Belasis, &c., the King's commissioners, who, in a letter to Cromwell, dated December 15, A.D. 1537, observe, "We have qwyetly taken the surrender, and dessolved the monastries of Wyeresope, Monkbreton, St. Andrew's in Yorke, Bylande, Ryvalle, Kirksum, and Ellerton. The freyers att Tykhill, Doncaster, Pontefract, and the city of Yorke, where we p'ceived no murmers or in any whay, but were thankfully received."* This, it must not be forgotten, is one of the many instances wherein the reports of the visitors have been brought to the touchstone of truth, and, much to their disgrace, found miserably wanting in veracity; for, it is a well known fact, that Cooke, the last Carmelite prior of this house, in a manly and consistent manner, worthy of a more general imitation, courageously opposed the sacrilegious overtures of those unprincipled dealers in sacred property, and undeservedly suffered on the scaffold at Tyburn, on the 4th of August, 1540.†

Within the walls of the church of this convent, were interred the remains of several persons eminent in character. Torr's list of testamentary burials, though an invaluable document, is on this, and some other occasions, not only very incomplete, but inaccurate. Leland observes, that under a "goodlie tumbe of white marble laid buryed a countiss of Westimoreland, whos name as one told me was Margaret Cobham. The image of the tumbe bee now translatid ynto St. George's chirch, and by it as the curnet is made, she shod be a duchess."‡ Sir Hugh Hastings, of Fenwick Hall, whose descendants

* Dods. Coll. Vol. xxvi, No. 4168. Bibl. Bodl.

† Gold was offered to the Prior, and a pension of £49 *per annum*; but he refused the bribe with indignation. The monks had five and six pounds each assigned to them.—Cooke's Coll. Willes's Abbeys, vol. ii, and Cole's MSS. No. 5628.

It was in this priory, most likely, that King Henry VII. attended the celebration of high mass, and afterwards heard a sermon in the parish church.—Lelandi Coll. Vol. iv. p. 126.

On the 21st day of September, 36 Henry VIII., the site of this priory, with much other property here and elsewhere, was granted to Henry Clyderenx and his participants, and is now the property of William Sheardown, Esq., Mayor.—Original. 36 Hen. VIII. B. M. No. 6366.

‡ Leland's Itinerary before cited. This tomb is now nowhere to be seen, neither does Dodsworth mention it.

for several generations owned that manor, was also interred here in 1370. Lord Willoughby and Elizabeth his relic were likewise here entombed; as also were John de Marr,* John Sutton, a Carmelite friar,† and, probably, John Colley.‡ To these Torr adds Nicholas Landgar, rector of the church of Briseley, in Norwich diocese, who died in 1381;§ Roger de Barkewell, rector of Bromfield, in 1386; Ellen Lycester, before the altar of the Virgin Mary, in 1455; William Lycester, in 1449; and Elizabeth Amyas, of High Melton, before the image of St. Mary.

GREY FRIARS.

According to Tanner, the house of Grey Friars was founded sometime prior to the year 1316; but by whom, does not seem to be correctly known. In the 9th Edward II. the monks obtained leave to enlarge their dwelling, through the munificence, it would appear, of Peter de Maulay the Fifth.|| The site of this house is not fully agreed on; but it is more than probable, that the area now occupied by the Infirmary was the seat of this establishment. Pryme, however, thinks otherwise, and says, that the house of Black or Dominican Friars was there situated. In this, however, we presume he is mistaken; and it is evidently apparent, that a complete confusion reigns amongst the casual and transient visitors of this establishment, during the latter part of its existence. Leland, as the reader will remember, places the Franciscan friary north of the bridge called Friar's Bridge.

This institution, ere the dissolution, had attained to a tolerable degree of eminence. Within its enclosures were a commodious church, a place of sepulchre, and a chapter house, in the interior of which latter place, on the 16th of August, 1478, was held a conference, convened by Richard Redman, commissary-general, for the purpose of examining into the conduct of some refractory canons of the house of Premonstra-

* John de Marr was born at Marr, a village near Doncaster, where he was brought up in learning. He was of the order of Carmelites, and was buried at Doncaster in 1407.—See our article *Marr*.

† John Sutton was a friar of the Carmelite order, and resident in the house at Doncaster. He was born in Yorkshire, was a doctor in divinity in Oxford, and the twenty-seventh provincial of this order in England, which office he held with credit and ability for three years. He wrote, amongst other things, "Ordinary Questions," and "Quodlibets," and died and was buried in this house in A. D. 1473. See Stevens's Add. Vol. ii. p. 173, and Fuller, p. 272.

‡ John Colley, a Carmelite friar in this house, was a character of great eminence. Leland is the principal person that commends him; which he does from a view of the productions of his pen. He wrote many excellent treatises, amongst which are enumerated, a piece "On the Passion of Christ;" "The Praises of the Apostles;" "Sermons and Epistles," &c. He flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century.—Stevens's Add. vol. ii. p. 171. Other eminent men were also educated and flourished in this convent, amongst whom was Henry Parker, D. D., who died in the latter end of the reign of Henry V.—See Fuller's Worthies.

§ Here some error, it would seem, has been committed. Torr says that he "gave &c. his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Dominicans in Doncaster." The Dominican Friars were Black Friars; therefore, either Torr is mistaken, or a house of Black Friars had existence in Doncaster, to which cemetery this inhumation ought to be transferred.—See Torr. MSS. pen. Dec. et Cap. Ebor.

|| Inquis. ad quod Damnum, 9 Edw. II. No. 11. Patent. Rotu. p. 1. m. 8.

tensians at Beauchief, in the county of Derby, (an establishment dependent upon the house at Welbeck,) and to inquire why the greater sentence of excommunication, denounced against them, "for their increasing rebellion and contumacy, should not be enforced;" and at the same time, he ordered the abbots of Welbeck and Dale, citers of the obstinate monks before alluded to, to require the presence of Robert Stavely, canon of Welbeck, in order that he might there exhibit certain letters written by the said Redman, to see that they were not forged.* The particular crime for which these canons were first cited before the Commissary-General at Tichfield, does not appear to be known by Pegge; but it is manifest, that the admonition they had there received had not the desired effect in reducing them to obedience; their assembly at Doncaster, therefore, was most probably either for the purpose of enforcing their former threats, or bringing them to subjection by more efficient means. Pryme, who was somewhat credulous, says that he observed the relics of a religious house in Doncaster, in the ruins of which he saw the entrance of a private subterraneous passage, which had its direction under the river, and extended a distance of from two to three miles.† We mention this, with a view to lessen the folly so generally prevalent amongst the unthinking part of mankind relative to those under-ground passages. There is scarcely a ruin, either of a castellated or monastic character, that has not, according to common report, a subterranean communication with some of its neighbouring institutions, through the medium of which an illicit intercourse has been maintained; and even Pryme was so weak as to believe that the one here, or that at the Carmelites, was connected with a neighbouring abbey, or some such establishment. Probably, the chaste nuns of Wallingwells were occasionally visited by the holy friars of Doncaster; but "*Humanum est errare.*"

On its dissolution, in the reign of Henry VIII., Thomas Kirkham or Kirkman, S. T. P., was prior; under whom were six brethren and four or five novices,‡ when the condition of the establishment and house was as follows:—Clear value, after the subtraction of the pensions, £3 3s. 4d. Stock, stores, and household stuff, realised £11 4s. 5d. Remainder of goods and chattels, £6 17s. 9d. Lead, forty-three foders. Four bells. Wood and underwood, sold or valued at £11. Plate, six ounces. Debts owing by the house, £11; and owing to the house, the same sum.§ In the 36th Henry VIII., its site, together with much other property, was granted to George Clifford and Michael Wellbore, as will be seen by the following extract:—"Rex 19 die Marcii concessit Georg' Clifford et Michael Wellbore d'nium et man'ium de Malchynge com' Essex' acceium man'ium de Wylsic, ac mess' &c. in Fedurestore,

* Pegge's Beauchief, p. 63. † Pryme's MS. Diary.

‡ Brown Willis names six brethren and four novices; but according to an article in the Bodleian Library, Dods. Coll. vol. xxvi. No. 4168, there were in the above institution eleven brethren, whose pensions collectively amounted to the sum of £20.

§ Dods. MSS. ut supra.

Wylsic, ac Thornehurste, ac scite prior' de fr'm minor' in vill' de Doncastre, et scite priorat' fr'm prædicator' juxta villa' Pontefract' ac mess', &c. in Pontefraet, Kellington, Corkelyffe, Scausby, Smeaton, Campsale, Worksydburgh, Bentley, Hardwycke, Exthorpe, et Ballby, in com' Ebor,' ac scit' priorat' fr'm minor' fr'm prædicator' de Wynchalsea, et terr', &c. in Stone et Deraunt, com' Kent', &c. &c. h'end', &c.*

The first on record that found a place of sepulchre within the confines of this cenobitical cemetery, was Thomas de Furnival, Lord of Hallamshire, &c. He died in A.D. 1333. To him Torr adds three others, viz., in 1381, Lord Peter de Maulay;† in 1389, Nicholas Taylor; and in 1451, John Mauleverere, Esq. Concerning the house of

BLACK FRIARS,

but few particulars have escaped the ravages of time; if, indeed, any such establishment ever had existence in the town or immediate neighbourhood of Doncaster. Leland, in his Itinerary, makes mention of a house of Black Friars in Doncaster;‡ and Torr, in his account of the testamentary burials in the church belonging to the Carmelite institution here, says, that in A. D. 1384, "Nicholas Langgar, rector of the church of Briseley, in Norwich diocese, gave, &c. his body to be buried in the church of the Friars Dominicans in Doncaster." Burton, also, as we have before had occasion to shew, remarks, that a house of Black Friars was founded in Doncaster, so early as the reign of Edward II.;§ and Cavendish, the faithful biographer of the celebrated Wolsey, gives the following narrative of the Cardinal's arrival at an institution of this order in the town of Doncaster, where he lodged one night. "The next day, my lorde removed towarde Donkastre, and cam into the toune by tourche-light, the which was his desire, because of the people. Yet, notwithstandinge, the people were assembled, and cried oute, 'God save your grace! God save your grace, my goode lorde Cardiuale!' running before him with candles in their hands, who causid me to ride by his side, to shadowe him from the people; and yet they perceived him, and lamented his misfortunes, cursinge his accusers; and they brought him to the Black Friars, within the which he lodged; and the next day, we removed and rode to Sheffield, where we remayned sixteen or eighteen days, in a state of deep dejection," when messengers arrived from London, to escort him to the metropolis, the theatre of his former glory; but, worn down by age, and the vicissitudes of fortune, this venerable but ambitious prelate expired at the city of Leicester, and thereby, it is probable, escaped the mortification of a public execution.

* Originalia, No. 6363, British Museum, pt. 4. Rotu. 81, 36 Hen. VIII.

† See Torr's Burials. Dodsworth names A. D. 1380. ‡ Vol. iv, fol. 38. § Mon. Ebor. Pref. p. 67.

These notices, with the exception of what is said by Pryme and Tanner, comparatively modern writers, are all that we have met with concerning a house of Black Friars in this borough; and whether any such foundation was established here, or whether by mistake—which we confess is scarcely probable—the White or Grey Friars were so denominated, we are at a loss to tell. Cavendish, we would fain suppose, could not be easily mistaken; for, on a knowledge of so august a visitant as Wolsey reaching the house, it is reasonable to conclude, that both the prior and his brethren would be clad in the robes of their order. Exclusively of these considerations, we know that the ruins of one or two edifices of a sacred character, beside the two already mentioned, were in being when Pryme visited it, about one hundred and thirty years since. One of them he thus notices:—"Returning therefrom, and going through St. Pulchre's chapel gate, and so into the High Street, and bearing down unto the river, there has, before you come thereat, been some religious place, but what kind, cannot now be known."* Whether, therefore, this ruin was the relics of the Dominican institution, or the one said to have been founded by Sir Thomas Wyndham, of Felbrigg, in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., we know not.† The whole matter is enveloped in much mystery. In the vicinity of the Three-cranes yard, were, until very recently, capacious cellaring, and ponderous doors and walls, denoting greater consequence than the premises now over them bespeak.

HOSPITALS,

for the reception of diseased persons, were objects that, at a very early period, demanded the attention of the charitably wise. That loathsome and contagious disorder, the leprosy, which gave rise to their foundation, made its first appearance in the reign of Henry I., and is generally supposed to have been brought hither out of Egypt, or the East, by the crusaders. This dreadful scourge was epidemic, and often fatally malignant; so much so, indeed, that such unfortunate beings as were the objects of its attack, were shunned by their fellow-men, and often driven from the bosom of society by royal edicts; houses and institutions, for their reception and support, therefore, speedily claimed the attention of the philanthropist, and numbers soon appeared in every part of England.

In Doncaster, there were two of this description of buildings; one of which was dedicated to St. James, and was founded in the early part of the reign of Henry III., probably by one of the Maulays. It was placed on the road-side, leading to Ballby. Previously to the general dissolution, it had been converted into a free chapel, having therein a chantry, whereof Roger Clarkson, being incumbent at its suppression, had a pension of sixty shillings allowed him, which he enjoyed in the first of Queen Mary.‡

* Pryme's MSS. Bib. Lansd. before cited. † See a note in Tanner's Not. Mon. p. 699. ‡ Willis, vol. ii, p. 291.

The other was consigned to the care of St. Nicholas, and, it would appear, was in some measure connected with the abbey of Bingham.* It was founded also in the early part of the reign of Henry III., and, like that of St. James, was diverted from its original intention, before its suppression, being then a chantry, in which divine service was regularly celebrated. In what part of the town we are to look for its site, we cannot tell.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY,

on the Mill Bridge, was a magnificent little structure,† most of which was standing in the reign of Queen Anne, and was then a common dwelling-house. In the gateway were niches, where the twelve apostles of our Saviour formerly stood. They were pulled down and demolished in the time of Cromwell. Into the chapel, says Pryme, “were a door and several open places like windows, for the monks that were appointed to watch, to gather alms, to see when the people came through.”

The house now occupied by Mr. Graham, north of the Mill Bridge, was formerly a great hall or hospital for the entertainment of strangers or pilgrims. At the southern entrance of the town, there was also a similar building, the residence of Mr. Pattinson, Mayor of Doncaster in 1678, 1695, 1701. It was placed directly opposite the old cross of Otto de Tilly. Both these structures were very eligible buildings, and added considerably to the dignity of the town.

North of the former old hall, and on the western side of the way, a little beyond the magnificent old cross which stood in the road leading to the hospitable mansion of the Fitzwilliams, at Sprotbrough, was an hermitage, “with the house hard by that found him with meat to keep body and soul together.” “I was in this hermitage,” continues Pryme, “and the people shewed me where the altar stood, where he (the hermit) digged every day a little and little of his own grave; and they told me also how that every day he gave the blessed sacrament to those who came to receive the same.” No part of this edifice is now in being, but the mound is still in existence, and a portion of the ruins was cognizable until a very recent period. “They were called hermits or ermites, because that they lived solitarily in desert places; and anchorites, because they lived alone, without all companions, immured between two walls, on the outside of some abbey or parish church, in which, by their rule, they were to live, die, and be buried; whose exercise was fervent prayer, hard labour, digging and filling

* Vid. Plac. et Assis. in Com. Ebor. 15 Hen. III. Capt. apud Doncastre in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, rotu. 19 de xii acris et uno tofto in Lunershall quæ magister hospitalis S. Nicholai non potest dedicere sine abbate de Bigham. —*Tanner*, p. 684.

† Pryme says that it was dedicated to St. James; but we have followed Leland.

up again their graves, which were to be within their lodgings."* The cell of Dunstan, in which he "pincered the devil," built against the walls of Glastonbury Abbey, was one of this description. It measured five feet in length, two and a half in width, and four in height,—a residence better calculated for the dead than the living.

In taking a retrospective view of the ecclesiastical history of Doncaster, the intelligent and attentive reader cannot but have observed its gradually improving condition in matters of sacred import. It was here where the first dawn of the Gospel began to dispel the clouds of pagan error in the south of Yorkshire; and although it was in some measure retarded in its progress by the enmity of Penda and Cadwalla, it eventually burst through its confines, and illuminated the vale of the Don by its resplendent glory. For some time, its benign influence spread with amazing rapidity, promising speedily to hurl from the throne of darkness and despotism ignorance, superstition, and craft; but the demon of abused power, and the most subtle bigotry, overawed the march of reason, and by the shackles of a mysterious faith, unhallowed in its original, cramped the energies of intellect, and rivetted on the mind of man, a species of intolerance disgraceful to its character.

Notwithstanding this early deterioration in the Christian creed, after the synod of Hatfield, the condition of Doncaster and its deanery continued to become more and more ameliorated. In Doncaster, the capital of the deanery, a church, dedicated to the only true God, was erected so early as before the middle of the seventh century; and although, as we have before observed, it soon fell a prey to the cruelty of pagan barbarity, one or two others, ere the advent of the Normans, succeeded its destruction. Christianity, in whatever garb it may happen to be received, is preferable to the gloomy creed of heathenism; hence, notwithstanding that it was still clogged by the dogmas of councils, the decrees of synods, and the trammels of a gorgeous hierarchy; churches, convents, &c. continued to multiply in a very rapid manner. In addition to the two churches that formerly graced this town—one of which, at least, was built immediately after the annihilation of that erected by Paulinus, under the eye of King Edwin—we find two or three friaries, and eleven chantries or free chapels, exclusive of some foundations of less note, not purely sacred, making a total of fifteen or sixteen distinct establishments, within the immediate confines of this small town. Previously to the age of Henry VIII., the towering battlements of four magnificent towers, in all probability, reared their proud heads from the bosoms of as many consecrated structures, and rendered venerable the aspect of this aged place. The Grey Friars' church, north of the bridge bearing that name, and the church of St. George, we know, were at that age ornamented with elegant towers; and no reasonable doubt can be entertained, but that the Carmelite friary, and the desecrated

* Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 150.

edifice of St. Mary in the Magdalens, were also furnished with those interesting appendages.

From Doncaster, the glad tidings of great joy traversed, with a bold and determined tread, the vicinity of its focus; and Christian temples, before the conquest, were erected in the towns of Hatfield, Conisbrough, Rotherham, Aston, Tankersley, Treeton, Belton-sup'-Dearn, Tickhill, Carlton, &c., most of which, it is undoubted, constituted a portion of the original churches of the deanery of Doncaster.

The progress of Christianity, to the philosopher and the Christian, is a pleasing and instructive study. The wayward and obstinately opposing passions of man have, in all ages, constituted a theme, on which poets, historians, and moralists have exhausted their descriptive powers; and, in delineating the arts, the craft, the subtleties, and the stratagems, which have been employed to deaden or thwart its benign intentions, have had their due influence on the mind of man, by calling into requisition powers that otherwise might have lain eternally dormant; and the ecclesiastical history of this immediate neighbourhood would afford a subject no less instructive than edifying to the Christian reader,—but it is not within the province of our present undertaking.

NETHER HALL.

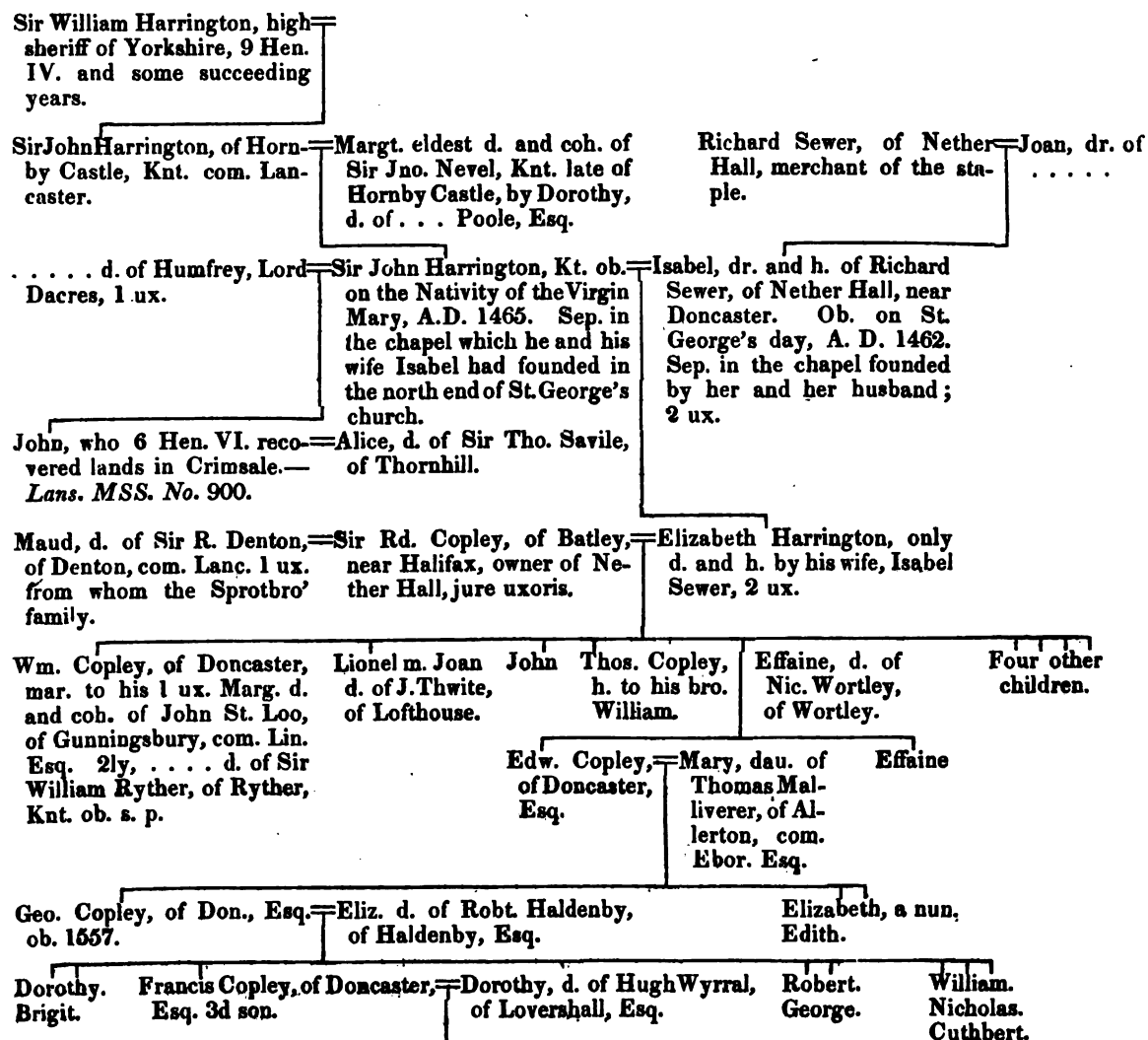
In the immediate vicinity of the town, is seated the retired old mansion called Nether Hall, formerly the residence of a family named Sewer. Through the medium of an heiress called Isabel, who became the wife of Sir John Harrington, Knt., son and heir of Sir John or William Harrington, by Margaret, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir John Nevel, Knt., in whose right he was seized of the castles of Hornby, in the county of Lancaster, and of Brearley, in the county of York;* it eventually became the patrimony of the Copleys, a younger branch of the house of Sprotbrough.

Sir John Harrington had two wives, first, ———, daughter of Humfrey, Lord Dacres, who bore gu. three escallops arg., by whom he had one son, John. His second wife was Isabel, daughter and heir of Sir Richard Sewer, of Nether Hall, in whose right, as we have above observed, he became seized of lands, &c. in Doncaster and Lovershall. The issue of this second venture was Elizabeth, heir to the property of her mother Isabel, who was bestowed in marriage on Sir Richard Copley, of Batley, Knt., from whom descended the respectable family of the Copleys of this place. Robert Wilmot Copley, son of Thomas, by Alice; daughter of Robert Wilmot, of

* Wilson's Coll. Leeds. Lib. Vol. i. fol. 171. It would seem, that both Wilson and Nalson copied chiefly from Hopkinson's MSS.

Mansfield, com. Nott., Esq., died unmarried and a minor, when, in conformity with the directing clause in the entail, it devolved upon Mr. Edward Wolley, of York, solicitor, eldest son of the Rev. Godfrey Wolley, formerly rector of Warmsworth and Thunscoe, by Catharine, sister and coheir of the Rev. Thomas Lamplugh, the last male heir of the ancient family of the Lamplughs, of Lamplough, in the county of Cumberland. This gentleman assumed the name and arms of Copley, by royal patent, and on his death, in 1813, was succeeded by his son, who now enjoys this fine estate.* The drawing which we have given of this hall is peculiarly interesting, as it exhibits to our view a perspective delineation of Doncaster in the back ground, as it appeared from the Hatfield road, nearly a century and a half ago. The original is

* The following is a pedigree of this respectable family, chiefly from Miller:—



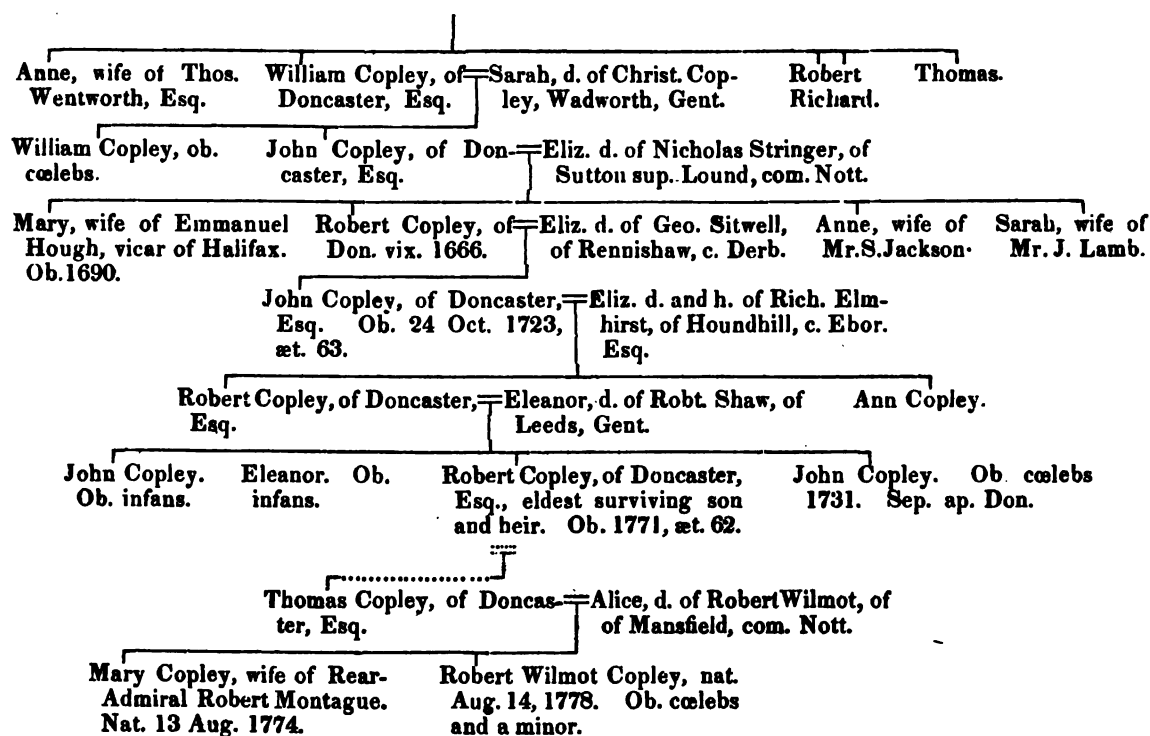
from the pencil of Kip, and is now preserved amongst the Lansdown collection of MSS. in the British Museum. In the same folio, is also a faithful but ill-executed drawing of Sprotbrough Hall, by the same artist.

CAR HOUSE.

About half a mile south of the town of Doncaster, is seated Car House, so named in consequence of its vicinity to Potteric Car. It was originally erected by Hugh Childers, Esq., who was mayor of Doncaster in the years 1604 and 1611, and one of the ancestors of the Childers of Cantley. It is now the property of George Cooke, Esq., third son of Yarbrough George Cooke, of Streetthorpe, Esq., by Mary, daughter of Richard Sare Newsome, solicitor. South of this house, is an extensive plot of ground denominated

POTTERIC CAR,

which contains a superficies of full 4,000 acres. Prior to the drainage in 1766, it was an impassable morass. This valley, like the one with which it communicates, was



It would appear, that the famous astronomer, Dr. Herschell, who added so greatly to our knowledge of the heavenly bodies, was first brought into notice by his connection with this family and Dr. Miller, the latter of whom relates two or three pleasant anecdotes in his History of Doncaster, worthy the attention of the biographers of that celebrated character.

originally a noble forest, and doubtless owes its prostration and flooding to the same cause. The rills that pervaded it were but small and flexuous streams, previously to their being united and made the principal vehicle of the drainage; since which time, the Torne, and a large drain that has its origin in the northern part of the plot, have also formed a junction near Awkley.

The vicinity of this car to, and its communication with the extensive fens in Lincolnshire, &c., caused it frequently to abound with a numerous progeny of the aquatic tribe of fowls, &c.; for the taking of which there was formerly a spacious decoy, nearly in the centre of the flat, that afforded good sport and a tolerable profit to the fowler. If what Pryme says be founded on fact, there was an hermitage, or some religious structure, founded in the midst of this wild, dedicated to St. John, the remains whereof were partly cognizable when he made his survey of this neighbourhood. Probably, the residences of the fowler, &c. were erected out of the ruins thereof,—all of which have now totally disappeared. Much rubbish was in being within our recollection.

Between the decoy and High-Ellers was, until very recently, a sheet of water of considerable extent, called the Old Dee, corrupted, probably, from the Saxon *de*, *aqua*. After the drainage of this plot, it was planted with ash, &c. by Henry Overton, Esq., the owner of eleven hundred acres of the car, but we believe the plantation made no progress whatever. This *meer*, or, as the Latinists would call it, *mare*, was peculiarly eminent for the number and size of pike and eels which it contained.

WHEATLEY.

Nearly north of the town of Doncaster, is seated Wheatley, the pleasant residence of Sir William Brian Cooke, Bart. This little village is a hamlet appendant to the parish of Doncaster, to which it would appear to have belonged from a very remote period. In the book of Domesday, the orthography of the name of this place is *Watelagh* and *Watelage*. Ere the invasion of the Normans, this hamlet was in the hands of Ulfi and Rainald, being two manors, in each of which were ten oxgangs and a half of land, liable to the impost of *danegeld*,* where there might be two ploughs. There were also six oxgangs of land in Doncaster, the sockage whereof belonged to this place. On the subjugation of England by the Normans, Wheatley,

* *Danegeld* was a task imposed in A. D. 991, in consequence of the frequent and desolating incursions of the Danes, who had frequently not only levied distress and want in the course of their ruthless march, but exacted from the wretched natives vast sums of money, for the purpose of inducing them to depart from the district. Finding, however, that concessions only augmented their demands, and caused fresh adventurers to become candidates for pillage, it became customary, in the infested parts of the country, for the residents to keep in readiness a number of soldiers, for the purpose

with the manor of Hexthorpe, &c., was given to Robert, Earl of Mortaign, the under-tenancy whereof was conferred on Nigel Fossard, as was generally the case with most of the Mortaign possessions in this immediate neighbourhood. From the Fossards, this place passed by marriage to the Turnhams, and from the Turnhams, by the same way, to the Maulays, one of whom, in the 37th and 38th Henry III., had free-warren granted to him, over the manors of Wheatley, Sandal, Doncaster, Hexthorpe, &c.* In the 13th Edward II. we find a neighbouring gentleman, John de Sandall, dying, seized of one messuage and one carucate of land, situate in the manor of Wheatley, near Doncaster,† who, in the 19th of the preceding king's reign, had also granted to him a charter of free warren over the same manor.‡ In the 4th Edward II., "Johannes de Sandale possit Kernellare mausum duum de Wheatley in com. Ebor.;" and in the 16th of the same reign, he is recognized as the King's treasurer. (Pat. Rot. 4 & 16 Edw. II.)

On what occasion the manor of Wheatley became alienated from the barony of the Maulays, we are unable to say; but, it is manifest, that it was sometime about the reign of the Edwards. In the 36th Edward III. was levied a fine between Robert Passlew, of Leeds, and Margaret his wife, plaintiffs, and Catharine, who was the wife of James Eland, deforcent, of divers lands in Wheatley and elsewhere, the right of the same Robert and Margaret, and to their heirs; remainder to the said Catharine.§ The length of time in which it continued in the Passlew family, and whether, like Barnby-sup'-Don, it descended to the Portingtons, does not appear. Indeed, this document is silent respecting the descent of the manorial rights, and we have searched in vain for materials by which we should have been able to connect the ownership of the Maulays with that of the Mountneys, of Cowley, in the parish of Ecclesfield. Dodsworth, who drew largely from the documentary matter in the possession of Thomas Mountney, of Wheatley, son of John of Creswick, who died in A. D. 1573, gives some interesting particulars relating to this knightly family, which will be

of repressing the encroachments of those ferocious freebooters. Such, however, was the frequency of their descents, and the havoc of their march, that the pecuniary means of local districts, and the ordinary revenues of the crown, were found insufficient to support an army adequate to the occasion. In the above year, therefore, the Wittenagemote found it necessary to levy a tax of one Saxon shilling on each and every hide of land, and likewise on all houses and their appurtenances, the importance of which rendered them of equal value.—*Spelman's Gloss.* Webb says two shillings on each hide. From one shilling, the tax gradually advanced, until it eventually rose so high as seven. Originally, this tax was imposed through actual necessity; and when the cause that gave it birth had ceased to operate, like too many others, it was still enforced with grievous and scrupulous attention. On the accession of Canute, a Danish prince, to the throne of Britain, in A.D. 1081, it constituted one of the most important parts of the aggregate of his annual revenue, as the purpose for which it was first applied had ceased to exist. The severity exercised by this monarch in its collection excited much dissatisfaction, and had the effect of rendering his reign arbitrary, and himself very unpopular. It was finally abolished in the reign of King Stephen, to the general joy of an oppressed people.

* Chart. Rotu. 37 & 38 Hen. III. before cited. † Esch. 13 Edw. II. No. 4.

‡ Chart. Rotu. 29 Edw. I. No. 22, pt. 1.

§ Lansd. MSS. No. 900, Art. Wheatley.

hereafter noticed. Thomas Mountney, the first resident owner of this manor of that name, married Mary, daughter of John Draycott, of Paynesley, Esq. and died December 5, 1615. To him succeeded Thomas, his son, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Cave, by whom the manor of Wheatley was sold to Sir Robert Anstruther, a family of high antiquity and noble in descent.

Here, however, it is observable, that Playfair and some other biographical writers say, that Sir Robert did not purchase the Wheatley estate, but that it had been previously bought by Sir Edward Swift, and descended to Sir Robert in virtue of his marriage with Catharine or Mary, daughter of the said Sir Edward.* The Cooke Collections say, that the Swift family had never any interest in Wheatley, but that the manor was purchased by Sir Robert Anstruther of the Mountneys.—With the latter account we are disposed to agree.

The numerous and honourable engagements of Sir Robert Anstruther, would preclude him from spending much time in his quiet and unostentatious retreat at Wheatley. Indeed, he had another of more paramount interest. In 1620 “he was sent ambassador extraordinary to the court of Denmark. In 1627 he was dispatched in a similar character to the Emperor and States of Germany, at Nuremberg, relative to the concerns of the Elector Palatine, and other affairs of Europe; and in 1630, by another commission, dated at Westminster, June 2d, and signed by King Charles, and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, with their seals appended, he was sent as their authorised ambassador and plenipotentiary, to the Diet at Batisbon, to settle all differences between the Roman Emperor, Ferdinand, and the said Elector,”† &c.&c. In connection with Sir Robert’s embassy to Denmark, a pleasant anecdote is told by Pryme. It is as follows:—“Having been repeatedly to Denmark on diplomatic errands, he was highly caressed by the King and the Court. On one occasion, when dinner was over, the King, Sir Robert, and such of the nobility as happened to be there on that day, being disposed to partake freely of the produce of the grape, made the following whimsical proposal: ‘Come,’ says the King to the ambassador, ‘I’ll send for my crown, and after setting it upon the table, you and I will drink for it; if you make me drunk, you shall wear it until I be sober; if I make you drunk, I will wear it until you be sober.’ The agreement being made, the crown was brought and set before them, and to work they went. Anstruther, however, proved the victor, and the crown was accordingly placed upon his head. Determined to mark the period of his reign by some important act, the secretary of state was sent for, and several laws were made and ratified by his highness, which are yet known by his name. The diadem sitting lightly on his head, he felt desirous of wearing it as long as he could, and the King was kept in a state of

* He is on some occasions, and more correctly, called Sir Robert Swift. † Playfair’s Baronet. vol.ii. p. 562.

inebriation for three days. Fearing, however, that a longer period might prove fatal, reason was permitted to assume her violated throne, the King his crown, and the ambassador to depart to England. Nine years subsequently, Sir Robert was again dispatched to Holland, when the King, 'meditating revenge,' sent for Sir Robert in all haste, and after having saluted each other, and probably descanted in terms of jocularly on the preceding adventure, they again did homage at the shrine of the 'jolly god,' until Anstruther became so overpowered by the bounty of his kingly host, that he at once fell a victim to both Bacchus and Morpheus. In this state of insensibility, his pockets were rifled by the King, who, on learning the nature of his mission, by the papers which he there found, immediately complied with his errand in all its parts, and after signifying the same by a document sealed and signed, he, with the decrees and ordinations for which he was sent, was put on board the vessel which carried him thither, and orders given by the King for his immediate return to England. Sometime ere their arrival at a British port, Sir Robert fully recovered from the state in which his intemperance had left him, and learning that they were in full sail to his native shores, became both amazed and alarmed, and demanded of the captain how it was, that he dared to thus usurp a power lodged in himself alone. To this the captain replied, that the king had commanded him to leave his coast forthwith, and sail directly for England. In this state of fear and trepidation, Sir Robert proceeded to examine his papers, when, to his joy, he found that His Majesty, the King of Denmark, had searched his pockets, become acquainted with his errand, and acceded to the terms proposed by the British government. On his arrival in England, he immediately repaired to the court, and being met by the King, was saluted in no courtly terms, 'by my shoul mon, thou art not fit to gang about any business, thou art so slo,' &c.—the King thinking that Sir Robert had not yet set out on his embassy, but on learning the contrary, and the cause of his speedy return, he was induced to laugh at the joke, and pardon the folly of his servant."*

This Sir Robert was a direct descendant from his ancestor, William de Candella. They derive their name from the barony of Anstruther in Scotland, on which they have lived for a period of seven hundred years. He married Catharine or Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Swift, of Streetthorpe, knight, by Ursula, his second wife, daughter of Stephen Bramham, of Lewis, in Sussex, and sister of Lord Viscount Carlingford, by whom he had two sons and a daughter, viz. Robert, Philip, and Ursula. Robert espoused Ann, daughter of Sir John Corbet, of Stoke, in Shropshire, but leaving only female issue,† he was succeeded in his honours and estate by his brother.

* Pryme's Journal.

† Beetham says he died s. p.

Philip, who was a loyal and patriotic character. On the arrival of Charles II. from Breda, in 1650, he espoused his cause with great zeal, and had an important command in the army of that prince. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, for which offence he had the honour to be noticed by the sequestrators. He married Christiana, daughter of Major-général Lumsden, of Innergelly, in Fifeshire.*

The motive which induced Sir Robert to purchase the Wheatley estate, is not apparent, unless it was for the purpose of residing, occasionally, in the immediate vicinity of Streetthorpe the residence of Sir Robert Swift, his wife's father. It is hardly reasonable to expect, that, after the ties of blood were dissolved, the Anstruthers would prefer Wheatley to the noble barony on which they had so long resided, and it is probable that Robert, elder brother of Philip and son of Sir Robert, by Catharine Swift, sold it to the Cookes of Doncaster.

Old as the family of the Cookes unquestionably is, we are unable to trace their pedigree to a very remote date. The blood that courses the veins of the Cookes, the Fitzwilliams, the Copleys, &c. once wielded the falchion grasped by the hand of the Norman conqueror, and we are proud to say, that it has not become polluted or debased, by the channels through which it has flown.

The evidences of the Cookes do not warrant us in extending their pedigree to a period beyond the age of Richard III. Robert and Laurence, two brothers, as will be seen by the annexed table, gave additional importance to two families, at once respectable and extensive. The successors of the elder branch are those to which our attention will be chiefly turned. "Robbarde de Arneholme equit et miles,"†

* Playfair's Baronet. vol. ii. p. 554.

† Is it too much to suppose, that "Robert of Almholme" is a true rendering of the "Robbarde de Arneholme" of the text? Almholme is a place in the immediate neighbourhood and parish of Arksey.

The family chronicles go back to the age of Edward III., but the pedigree cannot be connected. John de Cooke, of the forest of Hatfield, was bailiff to Sheriff Langton in 1341, in company with John de Acome, and John de Rippon. In 1492 we also find a Peter Cooke in the same character. There lie also interred in the church of St Michael, in York, two Cookes; one of whom was brought up "at the foot of that famous and worthy man of his time, Sir Edward Coke, knight, Lord Chief Justice of England," all of whom claim descent from the same family. In 1668, Christopher and his brother Thomas were sheriffs to Henry Tyreman, Lord Mayor. Thomas again occurs sheriff in 1683. In 1582, a Cooke of the West-riding branch, aided one Portington, his kinsman, who lies interred at Arksey, in behalf of Charles, and was imprisoned by Cromwell. He had a brother, a lieutenant in Sir George Wentworth's division, who escaped the general fate of the besieged army at Pontefract. The garrison, which consisted of 500 men, were reduced to 100; out of which, by Paulden's account to Colonel Bright, of Badsworth, more than 50 were sorely maimed and diseased.

The John Cooke, of Hatfield Chase, before mentioned, had two sons, one of whom settled at Doncaster or its immediate neighbourhood, and the other at York, the posterity of whom pursued the professions of the church and the bar. From the former, the present family is supposed to be directly descended. *Cooke's Coll.*

was the father of Edward Cooke, of Arksey, whose brother Richard usually bore the appellation of "Dick of the Sands," a name supposed to be derived from his residence, and given as a mark whereby he might be distinguished from his cousin, "Dick of the Carrs," hence it has been suggested, that "Dick of the Sands" referred to Sandal.

Richard the Third, son of his father Laurence, the brother of 'Robbarde,' entered the ranks of the rebels, who, under the command of Sir John Egremont and his confederates in 1488, opposed the mandates of Henry VII. at York and Durham, and attacked the Earl of Northumberland at the Castle of Wressel, and put some of his adherents to the sword. For this base and faithless conduct the memoirs of the family inform us, that he was "pardoned and scuted." Richard, the second son of "Robbarde," ever loyal to his sovereign, opposed the measures of his cousin, by joining the cause of his legitimate prince, and was one of the surviving victors under Surrey. To Edward, the elder brother of Richard, succeeded

EDWARD COOKE,

who was mayor of Doncaster, in the years 1504, 5, 6, 7, and 8. He married, and had issue Laurence, William, Ralph, and John, the former of whom, embracing the cenobitical profession, never married. He was the last prior of the Carmelite friary in Doncaster; and, with a soul highly elevated above the craft of Henry VIII. and his unprincipled minions, refused the bribe offered by the visitors, and resisted unto death the sacrilegious measures of those modern Goths. He was executed at Tyburn, August 4, 1540.* Edward was succeeded by his second son,

WILLIAM COOKE,

who married, and had issue

BRIAN COOKE,

of Doncaster, whose son,

BRIAN COOKE,

of Sandal, married Sarah, daughter and heir of Henry Ryley, of Doncaster, Esq., merchant, and purchased of Sir Robert Anstruther, the Wheatley estate.—

* The act for attainder of Richard Featherstone, Thomas Able, Edward Powell, William Horne, Margaret Tyrrel, and Laurence Cooke, for adhering to the Bishop of Rome, passed the 32d Henry VIII.—*Cooke's Coll.*

In the bloody and unnatural war between Charles I. and his subjects, this eminent character, with some of his neighbours, took an active part. After the surrender of Pontefract Castle, and the cessation of hostilities in that neighbourhood, the Cookes and Copleys retired to their respective estates; but, as it was well known, say the collections of Dr. Cooke, of Stokesley, that Godfrey Copley, of Sprotbrough, and Brian Cooke, of Doncaster, Esqrs., held commissions from the King, they were closely watched, and, under various pretences, severally and severely fined for their delinquency.*

In a volume, amongst the Harleian MSS., is a confirmation of arms and crest unto this Brian Cooke, gentleman, by Henry St. George Norroy, dated August 27, 1635. The document proceeds, "and being requested by Brian Cooke, of Doncaster, in the county of York, gentleman, to make search in the registers of myne office, for the arms and crest of his ancestors; whereupon, at his reasonable request I have made search accordingly, and I do find, that he may lawfully bear those arms and crest following, i. e., or. a chevron gu., between two Lyons passant guardant, sa. armed of the second; and for his crest, a demy Lyon rampant, sa. armed gu. gorged with a coronet about his neck; or. out of a crown mural, arg. mantled gu. double arg."† By his wife Sarah, he had three sons and four daughters.—Susanna, his eldest daughter, became the wife of Charles Butler, of Coats, in the county of Lincoln; Mary, to Acton Burnal; Sarah, first to John Copley, of Batley, secondly to Thomas Nevell, of Thorney, in the county of Nottingham, Esq.; and lastly to Christopher Ayscough, Esq., son of Sir Edward Ayscough, of Kelsey, com. Lincoln, Knt.; and Alice, who was first the wife of Adam Bland, and secondly of George Ellis, Esq. He died in 1653, at the advanced age of 83, leaving his son,

BRIAN COOKE,

to succeed him, who died unmarried, in 1660. By his will, dated in the same year, he gave the whole rectory of Arksey to five trustees, for the payment of as much to the vicar thereof as, with his stipend of £12 13s. 4d., will amount to £100 per annum; also £40 per annum to a schoolmaster, and £60 for the purpose of erecting an hospital for twelve poor people, with £5 per annum each. His re-

* The amount levied by the sequestrators on Brian Cooke, of Doncaster, Esq. was £1,833, or, according to other documents, £2,400, exclusively of what they compelled him to settle on the teachers. Playfair, but on what authority we know not, says that they were fined £15,000 at different times.

† No. 1470, fols. 189 and 252. This document was hastily transcribed by John Withie, who omitted to trick the achievement. The arms, &c. at present borne by his successors differ in some measure from the above.

mains lie interred in the north aisle of Doncaster Church, over which was as follows:—

Hic depositum est Corpus Briani Cooke de Wheatley, in Comitatu Ebor: Armigeri fili primogeniti Briani Cooke de Doncastre, Generosi. Obiit Cœlebs 5o. die Januarii, Ao. Dni. 1660, Ætatis suæ 41.

*In eodem fere tumulto requiescit Sarah uxor Briani senioris, et Mater hujus Briani; quæ ex hac vita migravit 3o. die Decembris Ao. Dni. 1647, Ætatis suæ 48.**

GEORGE COOKE,

the second son of Brian the elder, succeeded his brother, and like him died unmarried, in 1683. In order to render more fully effective the benevolent designs of his brother Brian, he left, by will, £200 and two cottages, for the purpose of building a school-house, at Arksey. Willing to reward loyalty, it was on this proprietor of Wheatley, that the King conferred the honour of a baronet, with remainder to male issue. To him succeeded his brother,

HENRY COOKE,

third son of Brian, by Sarah, daughter of Henry Ryley, of Doncaster, Esq. By his first wife, Diana, daughter of Anthony Butler, he had four sons, Sir George, his successor; Anthony, who died s. p.; Henry, of Newhall, but afterwards of Owston, (who married Ann, daughter and co-heiress of the Rev. Mr. Eaton, Rector of Darfield, by whom he had five sons, viz.: Henry, Brian, Ralph, Anthony, and George;) and Anthony, who died without issue. And three daughters, Jane, Sarah, and Catharine. The latter daughter was the wife of Gervise Eyre, of Rempton, Com. Notts, and M. P. for several successive sessions for that county. His second was Ann, daughter of William Stanhope.

SIR GEORGE,

the third baronet, added considerably to the dignity of his family, by marrying Catharine, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Godfrey Copley, of Sprotbrough, Bart. By this lady he had a numerous and hopeful family; first, Sir Brian, his successor; second, George, high sheriff for the county of York in 1739, he married Ann, daughter of Tobias Harvey, of Wormley, and widow of John Battie, of Warmsworth, from whom the Cookes of Streetthorpe and Campsmount are descended; third, Henry, D.D., rector of Stokesley, and prebendary of York and Southwell, fourth, Godfrey; fifth, William, who died in 1741; sixth, Alexander, M.D.; and seventh, John, who married Margaret Mosley, of or near Manchester, from whom the Cookes

* Le Neve's Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 78.

of Darfield. His daughter Elizabeth became the consort of Jonathan Acklome, of Wiseton Hall, Esq., whose son Jonathan, by daughter of Constable of Wassand, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, had Richard, whose only daughter was the wife of Lord Althorp; Sir George, died October 18, 1732, and was succeeded by his son,

SIR BRIAN,

the fourth baronet, who took to wife Priscilla, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Squire, M.P. for the borough of Scarbrough, by whom he had two sons and three daughters, viz., Sir George and Brian, Priscilla, Catharine, and Elizabeth. Sir Brian represented in Parliament the borough of Retford in 1710, and died at the Hot Wells, near Bristol, in December, 1734. His lady died about five years previously. He was succeeded by his son,

SIR GEORGE,

the fifth baronet. He married Catharine, daughter of John Sunderland, of Doncaster, Esq., by whom he had issue two daughters, Catharine and Priscilla; the former, who was born June 17, 1772, married John Cooke, of London, Esq.; the latter died unmarried. The title, and such of the estates as were entailed upon male heirs, passed therefore to his brother Brian. This Baronet was high sheriff of the county of York in 1739. He died August 6, 1756, aged forty-two years. He was succeeded by his son,

SIR BRIAN COOKE,

the sixth baronet, whose wife was Mary, daughter of Colonel Foley, by whom he had a daughter, Mary, who died at Doncaster the 3d of June, 1825, aged seventy years. He died March 4, 1766, and left, as his successor, his only son and heir,

SIR GEORGE COOKE,

the seventh Baronet, who died June 2, A. D. 1823, aged 80 years. To his first wife he took Frances, sister of the late Sir William Middleton, of Belsay Castle, in the county of Northumberland, Bart., who died in 1796, leaving a numerous and highly respectable issue, viz. George, who married a daughter of Charles Mellish, of Blyth, Esq., but died s. p.; William Brian, the present baronet; Frances, wife of the Rev. John Ramsden, Vicar of Arksey; Catharine; Harriet, wife of John Cooke, of Maltby, son of John Cooke, of Ryder; Georgiana, consort of Admiral Sir George, son of A. Eyre, of Grove Hall, Esq.; Louisa-Lucia, wife of Sir

Charles Miles Lambert Monck, of Belsay Castle; Charlotte, the second wife of Brian Cooke, of Owston; Julia and Sophia. To his second wife he took Harriet, relict of Thomas Hewet, of Bilham, Esq., and daughter of the late James Farrer, of Barmbrough Grange, Esq., by whom he had no issue. She died in July, A.D., 1814.

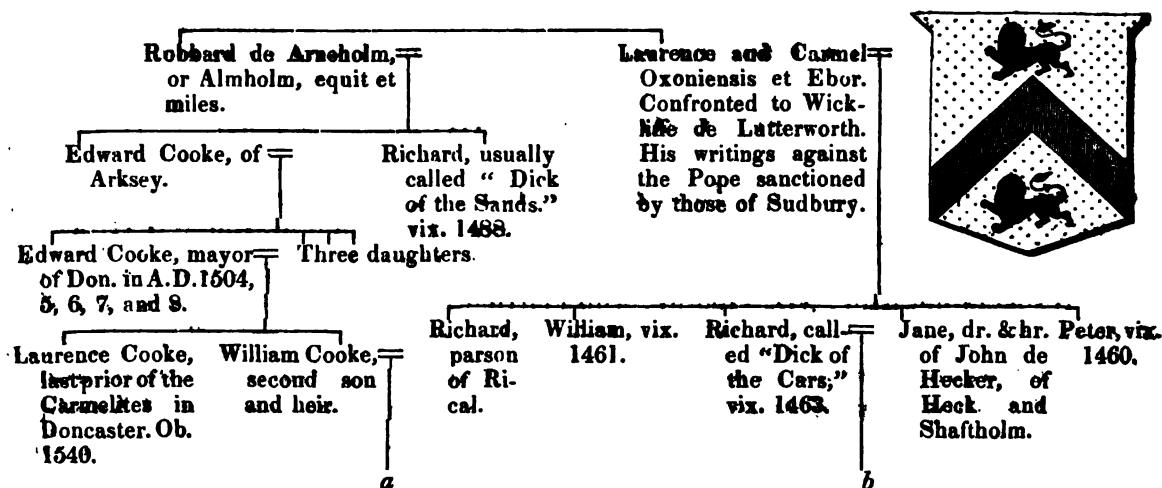
Respectable as were the various owners of the Wheatley estate, it is questionable, whether the predecessors of the late proprietor have left behind them a fairer reputation. His name, although it will not be emblazoned in the annals of war, and the pages of civil discord, will be held dear in the memory of those that had the honour of his acquaintance, while the poor and destitute, who partook of his bounty, have lost a warm and sincere friend. His affable and courteous demeanor in the higher walks of life, rendered his company endearing, while his suavity of manners emboldened the most humble to approach him without temerity. May his son long tread in his steps.

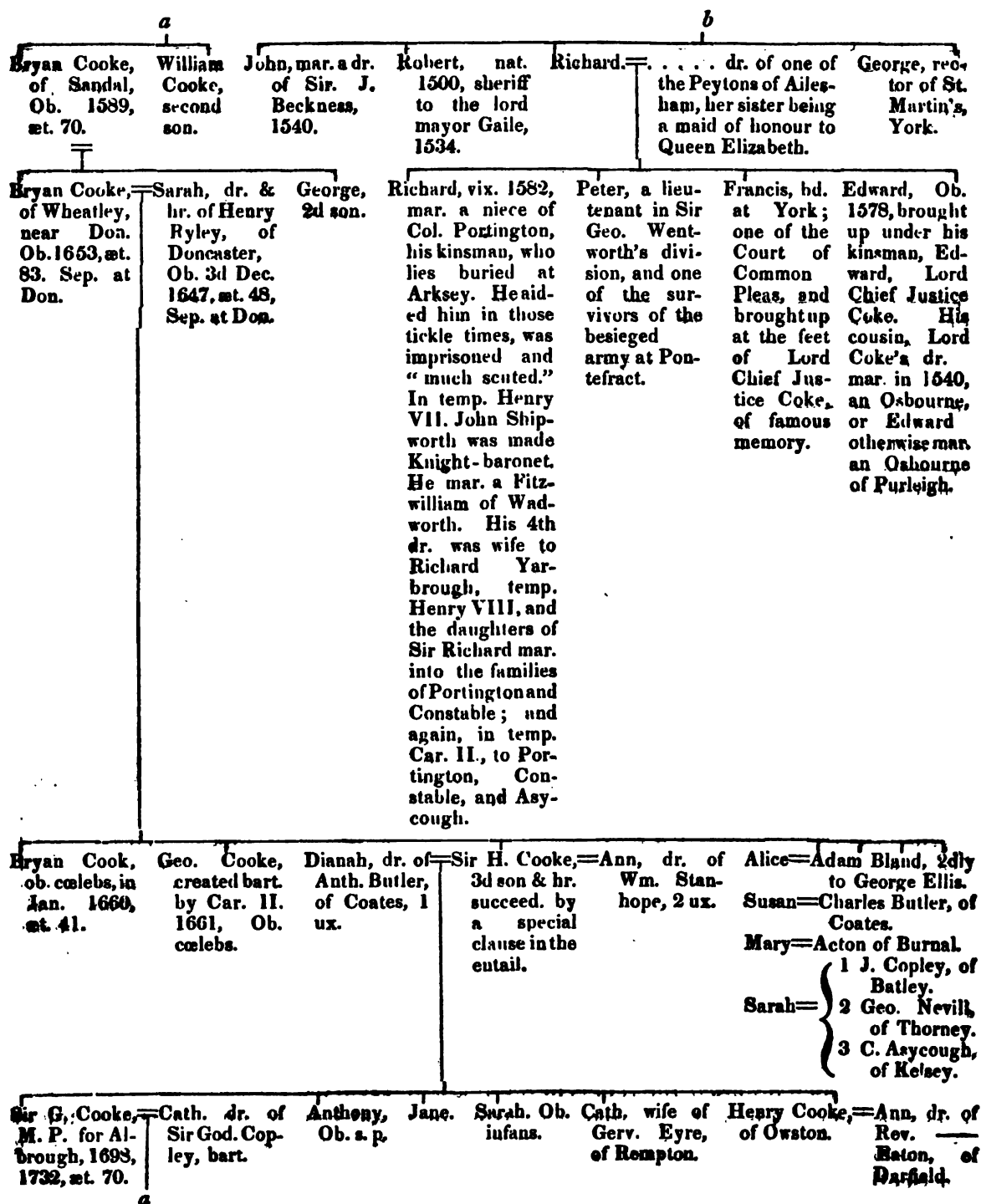
Sir George was for some time Colonel of the third battalion of the West Riding Militia, and formerly an officer in the royal regiment of Horse Guards (blue.) On his death he was succeeded by his second son,

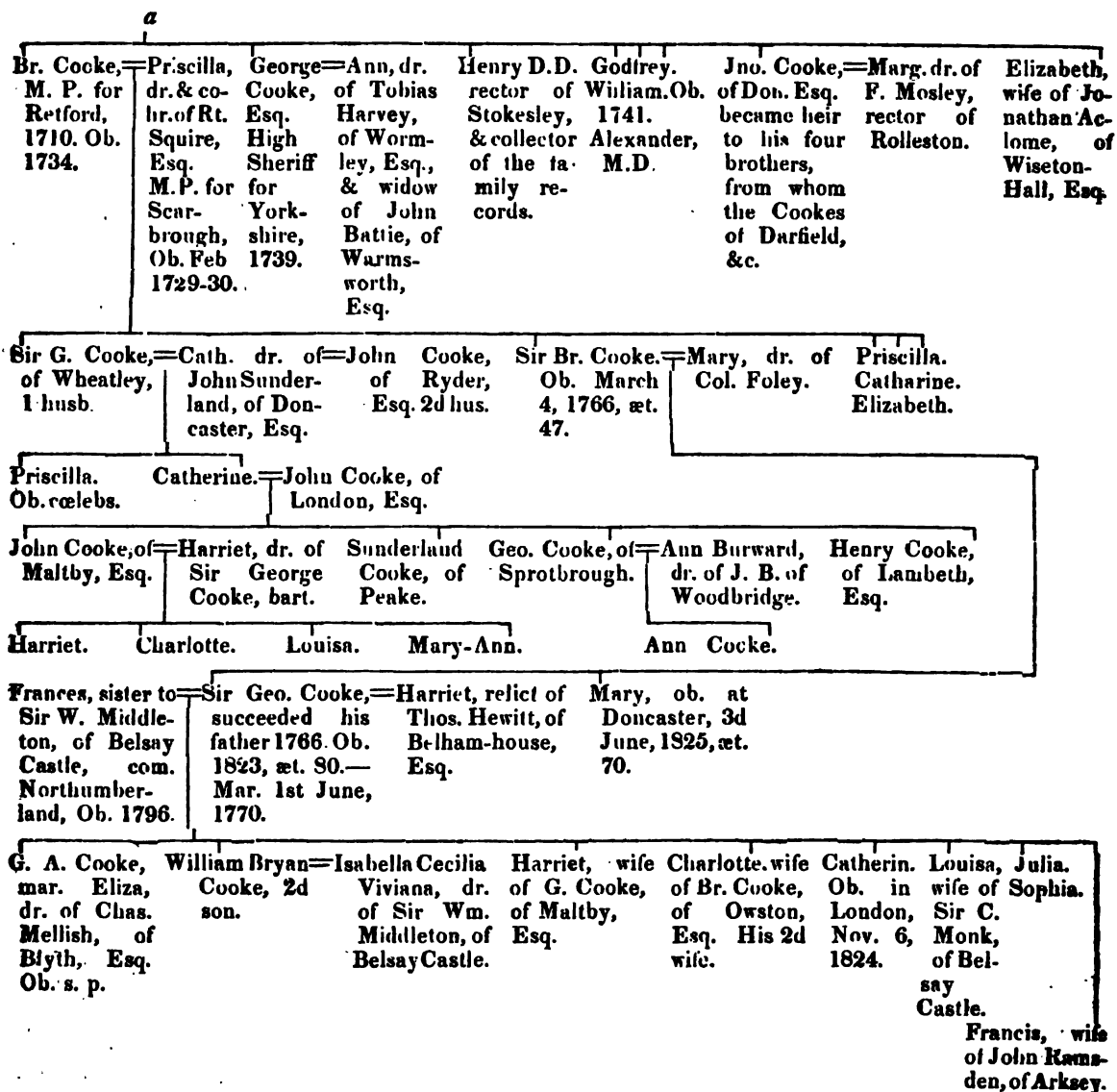
SIR WILLIAM BRIAN COOKE,

the eighth and present baronet, for some time a lieutenant in the first regiment of Foot Guards. On April 8, 1823, he married Isabella-Oecilia-Viviana, the second daughter of Sir William Middleton, of Belsay Castle, niece to his mother.

COOKES' (OF WHEATLEY) PEDIGREE.







On the hills denominated Wheatley Hills, about a mile north-east of Doncaster, the army, which opposed the rebels in the reign of Henry VIII., was encamped for a short period; and in 1744, a force, consisting of 6,000 English and Hessians, under the command of General Wade, rested here for fifteen days, when they marched for Scotland to meet the rebels.

SANDALL,

generally denominated Long Sandall, in contradistinction to Kirk or Little Sandall. This village is a hamlet appendant to the parish and soke of Doncaster, over which the Lords thereof have, ever since the Saxon era, extended their jurisdiction. Of its exclusive history, but few memorials of note have reached our age; and whether the following extract be applicable to this or some other Sandall, we are at a loss to say:—"Rex in consideratione manerii be Sandhall in com. Ebor, et pro his mille libris regi dat' per Gerard. Salveine nuper vicecomitem Ebor, et escaetorem citra Trentam pardonavit ei certas oppressiones et extorsiones."* At no time previously to the age of Henry V. are we aware that the village of Long Sandall in anywise belonged to the Salveyn family, when, in virtue of a marriage before noticed, it passed to George Salveyn, of North Duffield, Esq., and eventually to the burgesses of Doncaster, in whom the manorial rights are now vested. The village next claiming our attention is

HEXTHORP,

or, as spelt in the book of Domesday, *Estorpe*, a term chiefly relative, and denoting locality of situation, being a compound derived from the Saxon *East*, *oriens*, east, and *Dorpe* or *Torpe*, *villa*, a village. Here we are again led to the ancient site of the Roman Danum, and Saxon *Estorpe*, to the former of which it is probable the latter refers. Doncaster, at every period of its history, as well as at the present time, excepting the era at, and immediately preceding, the conquest, was recognised as the principal town in this neighbourhood, and the focus, as it were, of its vicinity; hence, we are naturally led to suppose, that the village of Estorpe was due east, or nearly so, of the former place. Admitting, however, that Hexthorp was never removed from its present site, the etymology we have ventured to assign to it is wholly inapplicable, being placed nearly true south of both the old and present town of Doncaster.

To detail at length the history of the place is wholly unnecessary, as it would be a repetition of much of what we have already said on a former occasion. We shall, therefore, be brief.

In the 30 Henry III., the town of Hexthorp, with the village of Ballby, was assessed at one mark, when tillage was levied by the authority of that King, whilst Doncaster, on the same occasion, paid twenty-seven, and Rossington five marks, a circumstance which strongly marks the relative importance of each place at that remote period; a proof, that the fairest portion of the Saxon Estorpe was,

* Pat. Rotu. 22 Edw. iii. Ter. pars. m. 13.

speedily after the conquest, engrossed by the inhabitants of the Roman Danum. The disappearance of the Saxon *Dadestenu* is a parallel case.* In the Inquisitions after death, taken 15 Richard II., Ballby and Sandall are said to be members of the manor of Hexthorp, and it is on other occasions called a manor. In the immediate neighbourhood of this place is seated

BALLBY,

an hamlet, appendant to the parish and soke of Doncaster. In the age of the Confessor it was in the possession of Suen the Saxon, which, together with Sprotbrough and Cusworth, formed one entire manor: consisting of taxable land to the extent of eight carucates, where there might be four ploughs. After the subjugation of England by Duke William, it became the property of Roger Builli, who had in the same manor, three ploughs and twelve villanes, ten borders,† and eight Sockmen,‡ having eight ploughs. Coppice-wood, one mile long and two quarentens and a half broad. In the Confessor's time it was valued at eighty shillings, but on the survey at only sixty.

Although Roger Builli is here recognised as the Norman owner of this village, we have deemed it proper to annex it to the soke of Doncaster, from a persuasion, that it never was totally independent of the Lords of that borough. In another portion of the Winchester rolls, it is appended to the fee of the Earl of Mortaign, and in some documents of a very early date, it is recorded to be a member of the manor of Hexthorp. Like Hexthorp, and some other places of the Fossard barony here, it would appear to have had several owners of a subinfeoffed character. Miller, on the authority of an old roll, says, that the manor of Ballby, near Doncaster, was sometime in the hands of Hugh Morker, Lord of Normanton, &c., in the county of Nottingham, but he is silent as respects the age in which he lived;|| and in our account of the ancient owners of the manor of Doncaster, &c., the

* Madox's Hist. Exch. p. 490.

† Borders, or *Borderii*, are often mentioned in the book of Doomsday, "and some think they mean Boors, husbandmen or cottagers. In the Doomsday Inquisition they were distinct from the Villani, and seemed to be those of a less servile condition, who had a bord, or cottage, with a small parcel of land allowed to them, on condition they should supply the Lord with poultry and eggs and other small provisions for his board or entertainment."—*Jacob on the Authority of Cowel.*

‡ Sockmen, or Socmen, says Jacob, are such tenants as hold their lands and tenements in *socage*; but the tenants in *ancient demesne* seem most proper to be called socmen, *F. N. B. 14 Briton, cap. 66.* After the conquest, the *Socmanni*, or *Sokemann*, so often mentioned in Doomsday, were tenants, who held by no servile tenure, but commonly paid their rents to the Lord, as a soc or sign of freedom; though they were sometimes obliged to customary duties for the service and honour of the Lord of the manor. *Vid. also Spelman on Feud. cap. vii.* Thoroton says, that the generality of Sockmen were such as the Saxons called lesser thanes; the Danes youngmen, and we yeomen, being free of blood and fit for honourable services.—*Vid. also the Glossary affixed at the end of Bandwin's Dom. Boc.*

|| Miller, p. 60.

reader will have already learnt the history of this place. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to pursue this subject any further on this occasion.

In this village, observes Dr. Miller, it was, where the Quakers first held their religious meetings. One of these assemblies he particularly notices. In an orchard, belonging to John Killam, it was usual for these novel schismatics to assemble, with a view of rendering to our universal parent such homage as they deemed consonant with his expressed will, made known through the medium of the Gospel of Jesus and his apostles. In A.D., 1660, a concourse, more numerous than customary, was brought together, consisting of several thousands of souls, chiefly collected by the novelty of the occasion. Of this assemblage the police of the neighbourhood seems to have been fully aware; and, fearful of its consequences, solicited the interference of the military. A troop of horse was therefore sent from York, and stationed in the neighbourhood until the appointed time. On the stipulated day the harmless multitude repaired to the appointed place, which, together with the followers of Fox, swelled the meeting to a 'countless throng.' Fortunately, however, the troop that was ordered to co-operate with the police in the dispersion of the multitude, was commanded by a man of tolerant principles; who, on the suggestion of Fox, suffered the military to remain inactive, until signs of insubordination and riot manifested themselves; and finding the whole peaceably inclined he withdrew his men saving six, thus teaching practically the timid, or rather intolerant magistracy, that their hopes or fears were unjustly founded; and that the calling in the assistance of the sword to repress the efforts of the mind, can only be tolerated in a government at once ignorant and despotic. The village of

LOVERSHALL

is also in the soke and parish of Doncaster. The orthography of the name of this place may not be easy to either settle or derive. In the survey of William, it is spelled *Guereshale* and *Loureshale*, and in some other documents Lovershall, Limershall, &c.

In the age of Edward the Confessor the manor was in the occupation of Tosti, of whom it was held on Saxon tenure by Nigel Fossard. By the rolls of Winchester it would appear to have been divided into three parts, and occupied by three distinct owners, all of whom paid suit and service to the Lord of Hexthorp, and that Nigel Fossard held here liable to the public geld, two carucates; Faulk de Lusoriis two oxgangs of land, which had been Ulfmers, and Goisfred Alselin held four oxgangs of land, which belonged to Tosti.

The manor of Lovershall does not seem to have followed the fate of most of the property annexed to the manor of Hexthorp, and although the Fossards and their successors, the Maulays, were, in most cases, deemed the supreme Lords, they do not appear to have ever exercised any acts of absolute ownership in this place, save in the instance which we have noticed from the pages of Doomsday. From an inquisition, taken in the 6 Richard II., we learn, that the Maulays held it by the service of a fourth part of one knight's fee;* and we are further informed by the "Testa de Nevill," that Robert de Riparis held in Lovershall, of the fee of honour of Peter de Maulay, one-fourth part of a knight's fee. It would, therefore, seem, that the Riparis held it of the Maulays on the same tenure that the former held it of the King, rendering annually as subinfeoffed tenants the trifling sum of 2s.†

From a charter amongst the Rockley evidences, it would appear, that the Riparis family did not acquire their property in Lovershall directly from the Maulays, but that William de Middleton gave to Robert de Riparis, or Rivers, and to his heirs in homage and service all the lands, &c. in the village of Lovershall, without any retention, "as in demesne, villanes, homage, services of freemen and escheats, and in all liberties and easements, &c. To have and to hold to the same Robert, &c. in fee tail, rendering yearly to the said William, &c., forty-three shillings at two several terms; to wit, twenty-one shillings and sixpence at Whit-suntide, and twenty-one shillings and sixpence at the feast of St. Martin in winter, for all secular services, and, excepting foreign services, as much as belongs to one-fourth part of a knight's fee; for this gift, &c."‡

Speedily afterwards, it would seem, the conditions of the above grant became a matter of dispute, and that, in the 25 Henry III., a final concord was made by the justices of the King, in virtue of which it was fully confirmed to the above Robert and his heirs. ||

In addition to the above concession it would also appear, that at a subsequent period, a remission of forty shillings, out of the forty-three provided by the before-mentioned grant, was made by the aforesaid William de Middleton, brother of Geffrèy de Warwine, in favour of Robert de Reparis and his heirs.

This Robert, it is probable, died in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., leaving his widow to survive him, who, it is likely, took for her second husband,

* Inqui. port. Mortem, 6 Rich. ii. No. 206.

† Test. de Nevell. p. 363 See also Miller, p. 214. And the Esch. 7, Edw. I. No. 11.

‡ Har. MSS. No. 801, Plut. from Dods. Coll. Bodl.

|| Ibid.

Jordan de Vavasour, who, according to Kirkby, held the village of Lovershall in the reign of Edward I. of Peter de Maulay, by the fourth part of a knight's fee; and in the 9 Edward II., John de Riparis owned this manor.

In the 7 Edward IV., the Court rolls of the manor of Hexthorp show, that, "the manor of Hexthorp was then held by Sir John Salven, knight, and that the jurors found that Thomas Ruparis had the manor of Lovershall of the lord of the manor of Hexthorp by Knight's service, and the said lord of Lovershall died, seized thereof, 10th February, 5 Edward IV., and that Robert was son and heir, being then eighteen years of age."*

Of this respectable and extensive family we have not been able to obtain a well authenticated pedigree. Amongst the collections of Dodsworth in the Bodleian at Oxford, and in No. 801, Harleian MSS, are several notices of this family, many of which refer to the village of Lovershall, but they are not important. In the "Liber Niger Scacc.," we find them often mentioned; and the "Testa de Nevel," and other ancient documents also frequently record their name; all of which declare them to have been of fair importance in their day and generation.

From the family of the Riparis the manor of Hexthorp passed to the Wyralls, about the time of Henry VII. or VIII.

The first of this family that we find connected with the village of Lovershall is a John Wyrall, who married daughter of Hugh Wombwell, of Wombwell, Esq., and was mayor of Doncaster in the years 1514 and 1524. To him succeeded

HUGH,

his son, who likewise filled the office of chief magistrate in the borough of Doncaster, in the years 1544 and 1548. He married Ann, daughter and heir of Philip Knottesworth, by whom he had one son and six daughters. 1st, Margaret, married first to Frankish; secondly, to Thomas Ricard, of Hatfield; thirdly, to William Swift, of Rotherham; and lastly, to Sapcoates. Secondly, Ann, wife of Ralph Westby, of Ravenfield. Thirdly, Elizabeth, wife of George Mallony. Fourth, Dorothy, wife of Francis Copley, of Nether Hall, Esq. And fifth, Edith, wife of Jervise Boswell, of Newhall. He was succeeded by his son,

* Miller, p. 214.

THOMAS,*

who was living in A.D., 1585. He married three wives: first, Beatrix, daughter of Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth-Woodhouse, Esq.; secondly, daughter of Grosvenor, of Shropshire; and lastly, Frances, daughter of Christopher Malorye. By his first wife he had two sons and two daughters, and by his third two sons and three daughters; and was succeeded by his son

HUGH,

who was aged twelve years, in A.D. 1585.† Married to his first wife Ann, daughter of John Armitage, of Kirklees, Esq., by whom his son John, who was aged eighteen years, A.D., 1612. By his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Montford, of Killenhurst, he had Hugh, George, and Charles; Elizabeth and Luciana, all of whom were unmarried in A.D., 1612. What ultimately became of this family we know not. They do not seem to have appeared at the visitation of Dugdale.—The name often occurs in the church register of Conisbrough.

From the Wyrrals this fine estate passed, by purchase, to Sir Francis Jones, knight, and Alderman of London, afterwards into the family of Sir John Wolstenholm, knight, and baronet; then into that of Thomas Dixon, Esq.; from Wm. Dixon, to Henry Overton, Esq., one of the co-heiresses of his family: then by will to his relict; and lastly, by her will, to John Thomas Dawson, Esq., now of Bedford, (second son of William Dawson, of Islington, gentleman, in the county of Middlesex,) on the first of January, 1800.‡ Subsequently it became the property of Fenton, Esq., and is now in the occupation of the Rev. Alex. Cooke, second son of George Cooke Yarbrough, late of Streetthorp, Esq.

The population of the town of Lovershall, in 1821, was 131, inhabiting twenty-five houses.

* Miller calls him William.

† In a pedigree amongst others in No. 900, Lanad. MSS. This Hugh is said to be the grandson of Thomas Wyrrel, of Lovershall, and son of Jervice, by Hellen, daughter of Richard Coutes, a younger son of the house of Woodcote, in the county of Salop. We, however, have followed the authority of the Heralds, the former not being founded on any documents, on which we can rely. Thoroton, however, tells us, that George Lascells, of Elston, married Ann, daughter of Jervaise Wyrrel, of Lovershall.

‡ Miller, p. 215.

THE CHURCH

is an irregularly patched up structure, built at different times, and on different occasions; it, therefore, exhibits a motley and rude specimen of architectural skill.

Over the western door that leads into the interior of the southern chancel, are depicted in relief the arms of the Wyrrels, to whom, it is probable, this part of the edifice owes its origin. Near to these insignia is a stone, bearing the following inscription :—

Joh's Wirral,
Pater
Hugonis Wirral ;

and on the southern face of the same chancel,

Joh's Wirral.

The tower is a plain structure, mounting an embattled parapet, and is graced by eight short pinnacles. The body of the building consists of a nave, and one side aisle supported by columns and arches of the thirteenth century. Over the porch, prior to its reparation by Henry Overton, Esq., in 1784, was the following inscription in the Arabic character :—YEBO eht DROL. A great number of

MONUMENTAL REMAINS

are visible, but most of them are in a very dilapidated condition. One or two, however, it will be necessary to notice.

In the chancel is a ponderous monument of the altar kind, whereon is the effigy of a human subject. Not a letter has escaped destruction; and, were it not for the faint remains of the armorial ensigns which formerly decorated it, we should have been wholly unable to point out to whom it belongs. Fortunately, however, these are yet so far in a state of preservation, that we can, with a tolerable degree of safety, attribute it to one of the Copleys, of Wadworth Hall. The figure is enwrapped in a shroud, and lay for many years in a very dirty and neglected state, until it was cleaned and placed on the site it now occupies, by Wm. Dawson, Esq.

Of a very recent date are some other monumental memorials of the Dixons, Overtons, &c.*

In the church yard, and near unto the south wall of the chancel, is an old table-tomb stone, curiously constructed. The bearers are rudely ornamented, in the pointed stile of embellishment, by a profusion of uncouth and ill executed bordering. Its attribution to any particular period would be very liable to mistake, in consequence of its decayed condition, but it would appear to have been placed there before the age of Henry VIII., and may probably cover the remains of a knight of the religious military order.†

West of this curious monumental remain lies an horizontal stone, on the borders whereof are the relics of an inscription, much mutilated. On the centre is portrayed a cross, and an instrument shaped in the form of an old axe. In what sense we are to receive the latter article, or what it might be emblematical of, we are at a loss to say: unless it may be regarded as a token of martyrdom, as is conjectured by Miller.

Although the history of the church of Doncaster, to which this establishment pertained, comprises, in a great measure, the ecclesiastical history of this place, there are traits in its character with which the church of Doncaster had no concern.

In the extensive grant made, by Nigel Fossard, to the Abbey of St. Mary, at York, noticed in a preceding article, the interest in this place was included; but no mention is made of a chapel in Lovershall, and it is doubtful whether such an edifice had then existence here. So early, however, as the reign of King John, we find the chapels of Rossington and Lovershall, "belonging to the church of Doncaster," made the subject of a fine between Robert de Turnham and Joan his wife, plaintiffs, and Robert, abbot of York, and the convent of the same place, deforciant of the advowson of the church of Doncaster; whereof a plea was summoned. To wit,—that the aforesaid abbot and convent, granted, &c. to the aforesaid Robert and Joan, and to their heirs, the advowson of the chapels of Rossing-

* Mary, relict of Henry Overton, Esq., who died on the first of January, 1800, charged her manorial estate here, with £40 per annum for a minister to do duty at this church; and with £25 per annum for the education of the poor children of the village; under the management of her cousin, William Dawson, of Islington, in the county of Middlesex, gent., Joseph Colbeck, of Balby, and her adopted son J. T. Dawson, Esq. (second son of the said William Dawson,) their heirs and assigns for ever.—*Vid. Miller, p. 216.* This bequest became void, by the statute of Mortmain, when the stone which bore the memorial of this charitable deed was taken down.

† The knights of St. John of Jerusalem had some little property in this place before their suppression, for which the town now pays a fee farm rent of one shilling annually.—*Miller, p. 215.*

ton and Lovershall, belonging to the church of Doncaster, upon this condition, viz. that Mr. Peter de Doncaster, and Eudo, parson of the church of Doncaster, for all their lives shall receive, of the aforesaid chapels, the due and ancient pensions as of the gift of the aforesaid Robert and Joan. And, after the decease of the aforesaid Peter and Eudo, the advowson of the aforesaid chapels shall remain to the aforesaid Robert and Joan, and to the heirs of the same Joan, quit of the payment of the aforesaid pension.*

Subsequently to this fine, we have met with no records that exclusively affect the history of this place.

ROSSINGTON

is a neat village, placed about a mile south-west of the great northern road, and has, at all times, been a portion of the soke of Doncaster.

Of this place no notice whatever is taken in the Winchester rolls, although it is manifest, from what remains of the church, that the town was established speedily after the survey of William. The earliest mention that we have met with, relates to its ecclesiastical history, and occurs in a fine of the 9th King John.

In the 30 Henry III., John Gumband and Richard de Talisden, sheriffs, were commanded to levy a tallage throughout the county of York, when this place was assessed at five marks, while Hexthorp and Ballby, collectively, answered in only one; a circumstance which, in some measure, exhibits the relative condition of those three dependents on the barony of Doncaster, and corroborates the opinion, that Rossington was in existence in the Saxon era.†

In the 3 Edward III., Peter de Maulay held certain lands and tenements of the King *in capite*, in the county of York, together with the advowson of the church of Rossington, in the fee of Doncaster; together with the manor of Baynton with the advowson of the church,‡ by the service of two knights' fees and the twelfth part of one fee, and of finding the King two soldiers in the time of war, in the presence of the King

* Harl. MSS. No. 801. Plut.

† Madox, p. 490.

‡ In the 2d Edward II., Peter de Maulay was found to be seised of the manor of Bainton, with the advowson of the church, by the service of finding two knights and four esquires in the king's army for forty days, in time of war; and to provide a steward to do suit for him at the king's court of York, from six weeks to six weeks.—*Blount*, p. 74.

only, for forty days, at his own charge; and of finding a steward to do duty for the same Peter, at the Court of York, from six days to six days.*

In the 35 Edward III., an extensive transfer was effected by Peter de Maulay the third, to his brother Robert for life, in which was included the manor of Rossington, but as this grant has been before noticed, we shall not again record it. Indeed, the history of Doncaster contains, in a great measure, the history of this place.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Hunster, Hunster Wood, and the wood known by the name of "the Park," became a subject of litigation between the crown and the burgesses of Doncaster, and on the information of Sir James Crofts, the attorney-general exhibited his bill of intrusion against the corporation, which, on being formally heard at York, were adjudged to be the legal property of the body corporate, and confirmed accordingly. Hunster Wood, it is probable, never formed a part of the patrimony of the Maulays, or it had otherwise been alienated by them or their predecessors at a very early period, for we are told by Bishop Gibson, that Robert Byrks gave to the public that portion of the burgesses' property. The indefinite expression "the public," might probably throw an air of doubt on the real intent of the donor, and suggest an idea, that the term did not exclusively refer to the corporation, but that it contemplated a sense less restricted. It was this doubt, probably, that gave origin to the inquiry.† The singularly eccentric epitaph in Doncaster church, so frequently copied by the curious, is commemorative of this gentleman. Were the instrument, by which he disposed of his property, couched in language so vague and unintelligible as is his monumental memorial, we cannot wonder when we find gentlemen of the long robe exercising their criticising powers in its definition.

Near the wood denominated the park, vestiges of an ancient edifice are yet observable. On this area, which comprises above 1,000 square yards, the ruins were, until very recently, tolerably extensive, but on the rebuilding of the town in the latter part of the last century, the whole was removed, and the identity of the site is fast verging to the "night of time." The encircling dikes are yet to be seen, but the rivulet which replenished them with the means of defence, has ceased to perform its functions. Rafters, which appear to have sustained a draw-bridge, or some such construction upon the moat, were, before the enclosure, clearly evident. The road which led to this quondam hoary mansion, was below the present rampart, and seems to have made directly to the bridge that crossed the enclosing foss. Near to it was found a brass dial-plate, but its date is posterior to that of the demolition of the house.

* Harl. MSS. No. 801, Plut.

† Gibson's edition of Camden, vol. ii.

To attempt successfully to unravel the mysterious history of this foundation, would be a task of no ordinary character. That a residence of some importance was established here is more than probable. This is evinced by what remains of the foundation, as well as by the testimony of popular tradition. The wood that flanks its northern side is called the park, a sheet of water environed its eastern bank, and the whole plot bears the significant appellation of the "Draw-dikes;" but by whom or when erected, must, we are afraid, remain an eternal secret. Its local situation and defensible attitude, vest it with an air of antiquity that reaches beyond the age of our eighth Harry. Within the immediate precincts of this place, we are not aware that any family of note took up its residence, and whether it, with the park, &c., passed from Byrks to the burgesses, or was the occasional residence of the Maulays, is not within the circle of our knowledge. Such ensigns as betoken wealth, and denote more than ordinary consequence, have, however, occasionally shewn themselves; but all, or the major part of them, had reference to the Barons de Maulay. Previously to the church being repaired, some of the venerable old windows exhibited a limited, but rich display of painted glass; and until a very recent date, one of the windows in the chancel preserved the effigies of Maud de Maulay, lady of Doncaster, as she was then stiled, but now the hand of art has repaired the encroachments of time, and scarcely an article in the village, save the church, can aspire to the age of one hundred years.

Over the common, east of the church, the Roman road that pervades these parts has its direction. Several of its vestiges are frequently rendered manifest through the effects of agricultural processes. It comes east of Martin, or Morton, and crosses the river Torn near to the present pass. A curious and antiquated brass key was found in the vicinity of this place, and is now in the possession of Mr. Bradford.

Connected with the history of this village, is a singular and curious specimen of Egyptian manners, as practised by the itinerant gipsies of the British empire. In a letter, which we had the pleasure of receiving from the Rev. James Stovin, D.D., the worthy and learned rector of this place, it is remarked, that, about one hundred and twenty years ago, the gipsies commenced here a curious custom, which they practised once in almost every year, occasioned by the interment, in the churchyard of this place, one of their principal leaders, Mr. Charles Bosville, on the 30th of June, 1708 or 9.* "Having, from a boy, been much acquainted with this village, I have often heard of their (the gipsies) abode here, and with them Mr. James Bosville, their king, under whose authority they conducted themselves with great pro-

* Miller calls him James Bosvile, king of the gipsies. Sep, 1708, near the chancel door.

priety and decorum, never committing the least theft or offence. They generally slept in the farmers' barns, who, at those periods, considered their property to be more safely protected than in their absence. Mr. Charles Bosville, (but how related to the king does not appear,) was much beloved in this neighbourhood, having a knowledge of medicine, was very attentive to the sick, well bred in manners, and comely in person. After his death, the gipsies, for many years, came to visit his tomb, and poured upon it hot ale; but by degrees they deserted the place.— (These circumstances must yet hang on their remembrance, as, only a year ago, (1821) an ill-dressed set of them encamped in our lanes, calling themselves Boswells.*) The words in the parentheses came within my own knowledge." The

CHARITABLE DONATIONS

made to this place, consist of a rent charge of £6 13s. 4d. for the maintenance of a free school. The land was at that time in the hands of a Mr. Warrie. This donation was made by William Paxton, A.D., 1652, and became litigated soon after by his executors, the Wilsons, of Wormley Hill, near Fishlake, who at that time lived upon the property. In the 20 Charles II., an inquisition was taken touching this bequest, occasioned, as it would seem, by a refusal on the part of the executors, to comply with the conditions of the will of the testator, when, after entering minutely into the nature of the case, an award was decreed in favour of the parish, with £6 13s. 4d. costs.

Still wishing, however, to get rid of the impost, the defendants appealed to the Lord Chancellor's court, under pretence, that they were taken unawares, and had not time to get their challenges ready. This objection, however, was over-ruled, and the decree of the inquisition confirmed, excepting the costs, which were disallowed. The sum then in arrears was £26 13s. 4d. The conditions of the bequest require, that the master whom they shall choose, shall be qualified to teach Latin, the English language, and to write a fair hand. The children of both rich and poor belonging to the parish are eligible objects.

The other bequest was made by Thomas Hall, in 1670. Its views are confined to the poor, and consists of only five shillings per annum, payable out of a close in the township of Awkley, then called New-Close, and in 1786 was in the occupation or ownership, or both, of Mr. Pointon.

In 1821 the population of this parish was 383 souls, inhabiting 58 houses.

* *Boswell's Gang*, is an appellation, very generally applied to a collection of beggars, or other idle itinerants, which we often see encamped in groups in the lanes and ditches of this part of England.

On the assessment of the ninth and fifteenth by the commissions authorised to collect them, in the reign of Edward III., this village answered as follows:

ROSYNGTON.

Cuj' p'chi v' Henr' le Warner Nich's Jay Joh's Uttyng Rog's fil' Rc'i p'och'i ecc'e de Fynynglay Th'm' Roger' Joh's Cutt Joh's Conhird Ric'us Gilb' Th'm' fil' Rob'ti Th'm' de Sandale Will's Roger & Th'm' Blegh'm p'och'i ecc'e de Rosyngton ad hoc jur' sup' sacr'm suu' p'sentant p', indentur' int' se & Priorem de s'to Oswaldo & soc' suos confect' & alt'nativum sigillatas q'd nona garbar' veller' & agnor' de tota p'och' de Rosyngton valet hoc anno vj^{li} et non plus q' oblato'es & alie minute deci'e valent xl^s.

It'm dic' q'd eccl'ia de Rosyngton' e' om'ino in com' Ebor.

THE CHURCH.

before it underwent the process of improvement, was a venerable and highly interesting piece of architecture; but it now exhibits an aspect difficult to bring within the pale of technical description. To the world a sample of taste is left by its renovators, highly derogatory to the chastity of their views, and inimical to the end for which the edifice was originally reared.

The era of its erection, like that of most others, cannot be precisely ascertained. The few remains of the original structure bespeak an early foundation, and throw back its building to an age coeval with the reign of King Stephen.

The archway, under which we pass into the chancel from the nave, presents, in its mouldings, a genuine specimen of the Anglo-Saxon or early Norman mode of decoration. The inner pilaster is short, round, and massy, and entwined with a spiral band, which is succeeded by some ornamental tracery work and a number of rude devices. Above these is placed a square abacus, whence springs a circular arch ornamented with a chevron border and other Saxon embellishments.

The pedestal, whereon the western pilaster is placed is unusually high, and corresponds in make with the abacus. The outer or eastern side of the same opening shews a face somewhat different to that of the western, being formed by columns taller and more slender, but in other respects it partakes of the same order and age.

The door leading into the interior of the place from the porch wears also an antiquated aspect. On each side are plain round pillars, headed by square abacuses,

supporting a circular arch with a billeted moulding, corresponding in age with the residue of the primeval structure.

The ambo or pulpit is an aged oaken box, carved in the stile which prevailed before the reign of Henry VIII. On the upper border is the following mutilated inscription :—

Ricardi Stansile, et uxoris ejus.

The residue is hidden by the wall, to which it is fastened. This venerable piece of sacred furniture is reported to have been brought from the desecrated church of St. Mary, in Doncaster.

The tower is placed at the west end, and is of an age subsequent to the original erection of the church. It is divided into four parts by embossed partitions, flanked with light buttresses, and surmounted with eight pinnacles.

The fatality attendant on the alteration of the church, in reference to its architecture, was not less subversive of its monumental remains, for not even one, of either note or antiquity, has escaped the fangs of modern Goths. The injury done to the cause of truth by this wanton demolition of ancient tomb-stones, is incalculable. To the biographer and the local historian the preservation of monumental memorials is of greater moment than is generally supposed. Not content with a bare recital of the good deeds, &c. of the defunct, the ancient as well as modern epitaphs often preserve, with scrupulous accuracy, much genealogical information, and bear forth to posterity, historical and biographical notices, with a fidelity unequalled by any other documents whatever, save testamentary writings.

This Church is an ancient rectory, and, from its foundation, has belonged to the patronage of the De Maulays, from whom it descended to the Salveyns, of New-Biggin; and, in the reign of Henry VII., passed with the manor to the burgesses of Doncaster, in a way already noticed.

In its ecclesiastical character, it belongs to the deanery of Retford, in the arch-deaconry of Nottingham; is a living in charge, and valued in the King's books, at £11 1s. 5½d. Archiepisc. pro syn. 4s.; Archidiacon. pro Prox. 6s. 8d. In the age of Queen Elizabeth it bore the estimated value of £10, and in that of Pope Nicholas IV. £8. It is dedicated to St. Michael.

Torr found only two testamentary burials to have taken place within the walls of this edifice, viz., Robert Wright, rector in 1493, in the choir; and John Longley, in 1444. The will of Wright was proved 25th of September, 1493, and his successor was not inducted until November in the year following.

A CATALOGUE OF THE RECTORS OF ROSSINGTON.

<i>Temp. Inst.</i>	<i>Rect. Eccle.</i>	<i>Pat.</i>	<i>Vao.</i>
10 Kal. May, 1250	Joh. Silvester, cl.	H. iii. Rex ut custos heredis de Petri de Malolacu.	
18 Junii, 1309	Will. de Bonington, p'br.	Petr. de Malolacu mil.	
12 Kal. July, 1312	Tho. de Stayngrave, p'br.	Idem.	Resig.
4 Id. Jan. 1322	Edm. le Brun, p'br.	Idem.	Resig. pro vic. de Everton.
12 May, 1349	Will. de Kernesaly, cap.	Petr. de Malolacu mil.	Resig. pro vic. de Edenston.
4 July, 1360	Will. Andrew, cap.	Idem.	Mort.
20 Nov. 1369	Robt. Grenhowe vel Grenwod, cl.	Marg'ta de Malolacu, vid.	Resig. pro eccl'ia de Staynton.
11 Nov. 1372	Tho. de Lyndeley, p'br.		
	Joh. de Wyverthorp, p'br.		Resig.
9 Dec. 1383	Will. de Irton, cap.	R. ii. Rex	
	Joh. Harwood, p'br.		Resig.
29 Sept. 1409	Joh. Poynton, p'br.	Petr. de Maulay.	Resig.
7 Aug. 1410	Joh. Wyntringham	Idem.	Resig.
28 Aug. 1418	Joh. Gower, p'br	Idem.	Resig. pro eccl'ia de Calverley.
20 Apr. 1437	Robt. Wynskip, cap.	Idem.	Mort.
24 Jan. 1464	Robt. Wryght, cap.	Joh'es Salven, mil.	Mort.
15 Nov. 1494	Will. Malliverere, cap.	Tho. Bevercotes Assignat. Regis.	Resig.
	Will. Maliverer, (ut prius)		Resig.
28 Sept. 1515	Tho. Waite, p'br	Major Comunitas de Doncaster.	Resig.
28 Apr. 1517	Jacobus Tuthill, p'br.	Idem.	Resig.
12 Aug. 1523	Ric. Olyver, p'br.	Idem.	Mort.
16 Sept. 1551	Robt. Hobson, M. A.	Eorundem Assignati.	Mort.
18 Feb. 1556	Will. Palmer, cl.	Mayor & Com. Donc.	
	Joh. Hudson, c.	Idem.	Idem.
17 Feb. 1591	Arth. Kaye, cl.	Eorundem Assignati.	Mort.
16 Jan. 1613	Will. Plaxton, cl. M. A.	Idem.	
	Joh. Lambe, cl.	Idem.	Mort.
27 Feb. 1667	Joh. Jackson, cl. M. A.	Idem.	

AWKLEY,

in the parish of Finningley, and soke of Doncaster, is distant from the latter place about four miles and a half.

The name of this place has probably been derived from the Saxon *ac*, *quercus*, and the *ley*, *terra inculta*, of the same language.

In the age of the Confessor it was the property of Earl Tosti, and passed with the manor of Doncaster, to the Mortaigns and Fossards, where they had two carucates of land; but the manorial privileges, it is presumed, together with the land, &c. soon found another owner, in the person of Sir Roger Mowbray, who succeeded the Tysons in much property in this neighbourhood.* Indeed, after the survey, we find no mention of the Fossards or their successors, in the barony of Doncaster, as being connected with this place, save in the character of judicial lords.

In the hundred rolls, which are the results of inquisitions, taken in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., or the early part of that of his successor, Edw. I., Awkley and Finningley are recorded to be then the property of Sir William Darell and John de St. Helena, held by the service of one knight's fee of the Lord Mowbray, who held them of the King *in capite* as a portion of his barony.

On the death of Sir Roger Mowbray, in the 26 Edward I., it was found, that Nicholas de St. Helena and Alice Touke held lands, &c. in Awkley and Finningley of the said Lord, for which they rendered the service of one knight's fee; and in the 9 Edward II., William de St. Helena, son and heir, we presume, of the said Nicholas, and Walter Touke, or Toka, were returned joint lords of the same places.†

In the 1 Edward III., John de Mowbray, grandson of the aforesaid Roger held amongst many others, the manors of Awkley and Finningley, as appurtenances to the manor of Burton.‡ He married Joan, one of the daughters of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and died 35 Edward III., leaving

* Gilbert Tyson, who owned much property in this neighbourhood, was also lord of Bridlington, Malton, and Alnwick, "*cæsus in prælio ex parte Regis Haraldæ contra Normannos.*" He was succeeded by Richard, his son, whose great grandfather carried much property to the Hillons in the Bishoprick of Durham.

† Nom. Vill. & Test. de Nevel.

‡ Esch. 1 Edw. III., M. 87.

JOHN,

his son and heir, to succeed him in his vast possessions. This John was born at his father's residence, at Epworth, in A.D., 1328, and married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Lord Segrave, by whom he added much to his wealth.*

In the 21 Edward III., John de Averham held, of the same lord, one knight's fee in Awkley and Finningley.† Subsequently to this period, we do not find the Mowbrays, or their heirs and successors, had any interest here or at Finningley.— In the 21 Henry VII., John Cley, proprietor of the manor of Blyth, &c., held considerable possessions in Awkley and Finningley, but it does not appear whether he had any interest in the manor.

In the 9 Elizabeth, John Wormley, of Hatfield, gentleman, and John Park, claimed, against Richard Fenton, gentleman, one messuage, thirty acres of land, ten of meadow, and forty of pasture, &c., in Awkley, and called to warrant Thomas Fairfax, Esq., who, it would appear, was lord of the manor of Finningley. In the 17th of the same reign, Hugh Jones and John Ingram claimed, against Richard Shearboorn, knight, the manors of Awkley and Finningley, and divers lands in those towns.‡ Subsequently to this period, as well as before, the manors of Awkley and Finningley have always been closely connected. The latter, together with a moiety of that of the former, was lately in the possession of the late John Harvey, of Ickwellbury, Esq., but now in that of the Rev. William Childers, rector of Cantley, who purchased it about two or three years ago. The other moiety is divided between John Childers, of Cantley, Esq., nephew of the above Reverend gentlemen; and Tuke Smelter, of Richmond, near Sheffield, Esq., who hold courts alternately for that part of the manor situated in the county of Nottingham. On the inclosure, Mr. Harvey was awarded one-tenth of the waste land; Mr. Childers Walbank and Mr. Killam one-fifth each.

In the age of Elizabeth, and in that of her successor James I., the Frobishers, of nautical notoriety, had much interest here, and in the neighbouring township of Finningley. The manor-house, or the grange, now occupied by Mr. Thomas Robinson, belonged to the priory of Mattersey, which, on the suppression of that institution, was given by Elizabeth to Sir Martin Frobisher, and on which that brave seaman, it is presumed, occasionally resided.

* Dugdale, Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 194.

† Regis. de Novo loca, p. 140.

‡ Thoroton's Nott.

Their first connection with this village would appear, however, to have taken place a short time before the age of Sir Martin, as we are informed by his biographer, that the manor of Finningley was purchased by his grandfather, William Frobisher, of Altofts, Esq., to which place, it is more than probable, he removed his family, a little prior to the year 1568. Before the period in which William Frobisher became proprietor of the manor of Finningley, it would seem, that they had become residents of that village; and that William Frobisher, ere the demise of his father, resided at Doncaster, where his first four children were baptised, and removed thither on the event of his father's death, which, it is probable, occurred in the years 1567 or 1568. He was interred at Finningley.*

It is generally supposed that Sir Martin died having no issue; this, however, would appear to be a mistake. In the registers of Finningley church, under the year 1592, is recorded the baptism of Martin, son of Martin Frobisher, Esq., "but it is manifested by his will, that on his death his son Martin was not in existence, as he left the whole of his property to his relative, Captain Peter Frobisher, who, it is supposed, scattered the whole of this ample patrimony.† In addition to the property at Finningley, Sir Martin was seized of the fee farm of the manor of Altofts, (where he built a fine seat near to the park, the manors of Warnfield, with that of Heath and Whitwood, with several other lands and leases of great value. He was justice of peace in the 36th of Elizabeth, and married Dorothy, daughter of Lord Wentworth, of the south, relict of Sir William Widmerpool, who survived him; she was thirdly betrothed to Sir John Savell, knight and baronet.

In the year 1576 he was dispatched, with two small barks, &c., from Blackwall, on a voyage of discovery in the north seas. Upon the first of July he came within sight of a portion of land, which he judged to be Freeland, near to which he had the misfortune to part with the bark, &c., that accompanied him. Unappalled by the groundless fears of his less adventurous comrades, he prosecuted his course north-west to a higher latitude than any previous person had dared to approach; and, on the 20th of July, he reached a portion of high land, which he called after the name of his Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and then returned to England.

On the 31st of May, the year following, he again sailed on a similar enterprise, from Harwich, and soon reached the Queen's foreland, when, after proceeding thirty leagues north-west, he went on shore, and again found much of the same

* Torr's MS.

† Of the probability of that event, Sir Martin was apprised by a friend, who, when about to make his will suggested, that as Peter was a very weak and extravagant man, and not thought able to manage so large an estate, he was advised not to give it all to this Captain Frobisher, but he, sailor-like replied, "That as the greater part thereof was got at sea, it would not thrive long on land." *Harl. MSS. No. 4630.*

black stone which he procured on his former voyage, but which eventually turned out to be of no value. At this time he caught three of the natives, and landed with them at Milford Haven, in Wales, the August following.

Still bent on his favourite scheme, in A.D., 1578, he again sailed from Harwich towards Cataia; and on the 30th and last day of July, after many attempts, and sundry times being put back by islands of ice in the straits, he recovered his long wished port, and came to anchor in the islands, newly named by Her Majesty, *Meta incognita*, where, as in the year before, they fraught their ships with the like stone, or gold ore, out of the mines; and then on the last of August, returning thence, arrived safely in England about the first of October.*

Highly advantageous to a British public as were these three voyages of discovery, the part which he took in the memorable defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, seems to have encircled his name in colours the most durable and resplendent, and to which he chiefly owed his subsequent honours and emoluments. On this famous occasion he hoisted his flag on the Triumph, and, like a British seaman, dared death in its most frightful form; and had eventually the glory to die before the altar of Mars. In defending Brest, in 1594, he had the misfortune to be struck by a ball, which subsequently carried him to his grave.† Fuller says, "he was very

* Fleming's Chron. fol. 1272.

† FROBISHERS' PEDIGREE.

ARMS.—Ermine, on a fess ingraled, a greyhound courant, arg. collored gu. lined or. between three griffins' heads erased sa.

John Frobisher, of Chirk Com. Flint, in
North Wales, Esq.

John Frobisher, of the same.—Jane, dr. of John Antigam, of Wingham, Esq.

John Frobisher, of the same.—Eliz. dr. of Thos. Bulkley, of Beaumaris, in Anglesey.

Thurston Frobisher.—Grace, dr. of John Hyde, in Com. Chester.

John Frobisher.—Cecilia, dr. of John Ardren, of Holt Castle, in Wales, Esq.

Thurston Frobisher.—Jane, dr. of John Pearcie, Esq.

John Frobisher, Esq. of Altofts, vix. circ. 1366.—Joan, dr. of Sir Wm. Skargill, of Thorp Hall, near Leeds, knt.

John Frobisher, of Altofts, Esq.—Cath. dr. of Rev. Mr. Freston or Preston.

John Frobisher, of the same.—Cath. dr. of Robt. Drax, of Woodhall, near Darfield, Esq. relict of Mr. Thos. Wakefield, of Newark.

valiant, but withal harsh and violent, faults which may be dispensed with in one of his profession."

THE CHARITABLE BEQUESTS

concerning this town are so intimately connected with those of Finningley, that it is difficult to identify them. The first which is recorded in the parliamentary return was made by Mr. William Hall, in 1668. It consisted of a rent charge of 10s., viz., 5s. to the poor of Finningley, 3s. to the poor of Awkley, and 2s. to those of Blaxton. In 1786 it was vested in the hands of Anthony Hartshorn, Esq.

The other, which is the only one belonging exclusively to this hamlet, was made by an unknown hand to the poor. It consists of land to the value of 10s. annually, and is vested in the overseer of the poor.

Francis Frobisher, Esq. Recorder of Doncaster. Sepult. at Finningley. He was also Mayor of Doncaster in 1535. Christiana, dr. of Sir Bryan Hastings, of Fenwick, knt.

William Frobisher, of Altofts, Esq. purchaser of the lordship of Finningley, where he was sepult. 1577. Margt. dr. of Sir Matthew Boynton, of Barmston, knt. Frances, ux. of Sir Tho. Boynton, of Barmston, knt.

Fran. Frobisher, of Finningley, sep. at Finningley, 1602. Cressy, dr. of Mr. Rodgers, of Everton, Com. Notts. John. Darcy, bap. 1564. Matt. bap. 1566. Wm. .. 1569. Christ. ux. of Thos. Lee, of Hatfield, bap. 30 May, 1561. Cath. Eliz. bap. 1567. Ann.

Francis Frobisher, of Finningley, vix. 1612. Sir Martin, 2d son, resident occasionally at Finningley and Altofts. Justice of Peace, 36 Elizabeth. Ob. 1594. Dorothy, dr. of Lord Wentworth of the south, relict of Sir Wm. Widmerpoole. She mar. 3d Sir John Saville, knt. and Baron of the Exchequer. George. Martha.

Martin, ob. infans.
bapt. Oct. 6, 1592.

It is generally thought that Sir Martin was born in the vicinity of Doncaster, but Miller seems disposed to give that place the honour of his birth. In this conjecture, however, he is not supported by a probable inference. From the time of Francis, his great grandfather, to that of his own, their chief residence appears to have been at Finningley. From the year 1586 to that of 1627, there are no fewer than sixteen or eighteen entries in the parish register, and according to Torr, the family resided there some time ere the first of these two dates. Captain Peter Frobisher, the devisee of Sir Martin, had a regrant of the Grange of Finningley, in the 40 Elizabeth, A. D. 1598, but whether he resided there generally we are not informed. In the year 1612, Francis Frobisher, elder brother of Sir Martin, and William, his uncle, are returned owners of property in Finningley; and fifteen years subsequently, the family was still resident at the former place. Whatever might be the fate of such property as fell by the will of Sir Martin into the power of Captain Peter Frobisher, it is probable that the family, through the medium of the elder line, still existed in comparative affluence, and maintained a very respectable rank in society. It is therefore extremely probable that Sir Martin drew his first breath in his father's house, and that Finningley had the honour of his birth; but the register does not extend to the era in which we have reason to suppose that he was born.

The entire parish of Finningley contained, in 1821, a population of 782 inhabitants. The parish is chiefly in the Hatfield division, of Bassetlaw. com. Notts.—Of the above number Blaxton contained 117.* Although

AUSTERFIELD

does not at this day acknowledge in anywise the judicial authority of the lords of Doncaster, in the Saxon era they had soke here, and visited by their power the evil deeds of the residents.

By Tuke this township is placed in the parish of Blyth, in the County of Nottingham, to which it was attached by its early Norman lords.

The derivation of the name of this place is probably referred to a Saxon original. In the book of Domesday, the orthography is *Oustrefelt*, or, as in the Saxon tongue, *ǣrtan*, *ab oriente*, and *felo vel felt*, *campus*, making, when united, *ǣrtanfelo*, or *Eastenfelt*. The Rev. Abraham de la Pryme, whose industry and research rendered him a very respectable antiquary, supposes it to have been derived from the famous Roman, Ostorius Scapula, who was governor in Britain for three years, and who, in the consulate of Antistius Vetus and Suillius, first subdued the refractory spirits of the Brigantes.† Although Mr. Horsley has used the significant word “conquered” the Brigantes, it can be only understood as referring to the most western part of that extensive district;‡ for it was not until the age of Vespasian, that the Brigantes were compelled to acknowledge the sway of their Roman adversaries; there is, therefore, we conceive, a total absence of proof, either direct or collateral, that the battle fought in this neighbourhood was contested by Ostorius; the former etymon consequently seems most entitled to our acceptance.

The military entrenchments on the common, which are unquestionably Roman, are situate north-west of the village, and if the adjunct *felo* be allowed to designate

* In the centre of the village is seated the residence of Mr. John Bigland, a gentleman well known in the literary world by the able and elegant productions which have issued from his pen. Although the meridian of life had passed, ere his talents shone forth, and the strength of manhood was yielding to the scythe of time, his mind, untrammelled by the lapse of years, burst through the confines of its obscurity, and illumined by its refulgent beams every object to which it was directed. High as his fame stands in a literary point of view, the benevolence of his heart is not less conspicuous to those with whom he is best known. Frugal in his domestic concerns, and habitually regular in all his duties as a man, the inroads of age, notwithstanding his intense application, are less apparent than the length of his days would naturally induce one to suppose; and, although on the verge of eighty, his locomotive powers are amazingly energetic, and would rival the hale limbs of youth in the accomplishment of pedestrian exploits.

† Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 37.

‡ See. Tac. Ann. lib. xii. cap. 8.

the site of an ancient encampment, earth-work, or contest, this place has, most certainly, strong claims to entitle it to a Saxon origin; especially so, if the earth-works to its south-east are allowed to have been formed at a period subsequently to the year 50, the era in which Ostorius is said to have conquered the Brigantes.

To point out the precise time at which the formation of the neighbouring encampment took place is now, probably, impossible, but we conceive that event to have happened prior to, or in, the age of Septimus Severus, who, it is likely, laid in ruins the vast forest which covered the whole of this district, as we have before premised. The violent and continued hostile movements of the natives, especially in the immediate vicinity of their more important fastnesses, kept the Romans in a state of active preparation, and compelled them to establish camps and stations, as their conquests were effected, particularly so in the early part of their dynasty here; hence, we may probably venture to suppose, that, to the invincible bravery of the Brigantes, and their means of defence, the camp in this neighbourhood owed its origin.

The memorable Roman way, which we have traced in our preliminary discourse, came first in contact with the Caledonian forest at Bawtry, where a host of British warriors would always be ready to assail their common enemy, a circumstance, that would naturally suggest the propriety, if not the necessity, of the establishment of a camp, or some precautionary post, to cover the military operations of the Romans.* It is probable, however, that the principal Roman ways, in this portion of Britain, were not formed so early as the year 50 after Christ, and the vicinal roads were undoubtedly thrown up at a period subsequently to that event. Ostorius, therefore, can scarcely be supposed the former of the fortifications under review.

On the survey, and for some centuries subsequently, the supreme interest in this place seems to have been centred chiefly in those of the lords of Hexthorp, who, in the time of the first William, had here two carucates of land, liable to taxation. Speedily afterwards, however, much of the property and privileges in this place passed, either directly, or through the medium of the heiress of the De Buillis, to the Veteri Ponte, or Vipount family.

In the early part of the reign of Henry III., the great heiress of the Buillis, tainted by the religious enthusiasm of the age, "*dedisse, concessisse et præsentī carta mea confirmasse deo and beatæ Maria, et fratribus militiæ Templi, tresdecem*

* The Rev. Abraham de la Pryme assures us, (and we have had opportunities of confirming his assertion,) that a great number of Roman implements of war have been found in the neighbourhood of these earth-works, and more it is probable, yet lie hid in their vicinity.

bovatas terræ et dimidium, de hæreditate mea, in Oistrefeld, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, &c. Habendas et tenendas eisdem fratribus militiæ Templi in liberam puram et perpetuam eleemosinam.”* The charter further adds, that the grant was made for the purpose of maintaining one chaplain to celebrate divine service for ever in the house of his brethren in London, for the soul of Robert de Veteri Ponte, formerly the husband of the said Idonia, and for her own soul, and for the souls of all her ancestors and successors. In the 7 Edward I., by virtue of a plea of the crown, before John de Vaux and his associates, it was found that the master and brethren of the Knights Templars, held the village of Austerfield.†

On an inquisition, taken in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., or in the beginning of that of his successor, Edward I., the jury averred that “ Robt. de Veteri Ponte xvi annis elapsis fuit warennam apud Bautrie et Oustrefeld nesciut quo war’o. Item Ric’s de Sandeby ap’p’vit warennam in bosco suo qui vocat’ Smalker decem annis elapsis. Item Petr’ de Malo Lacu h’t infra omnes terras suas warenn’ a t’pe q’ d’ns H. Rex ultimus fuit in Gasconia et d’r q’d p cartam d’ci R.”‡

From the Vipounts, this place passed to the Leybourns through the medium of a co-heiress, in a manner which will be noticed in a future article. In the 12 Edward I., the jurors say, that Roger de Leybourn held the manor of Austerfield, &c. of Peter de Maulay of the inheritance of his wife by the service of one Sparrow-Hawke, and that John de Leybourne was his son and heir, and of the age of three years. § This John, however, it would seem, died in his minority, for the lands, &c. acquired by his wife, devolved upon her second husband, John de Crumbwell, “ quod Joh’es et Idonia uxor ejus possint concedere Edwardi le Dispenser filio Hugonis le Dispenser junioris in feodo maner’ de Es singden in Com. Rotel’ tent’ de Rege in capite.” ||

Whether this document may also affect the property under our review, we know not, but in the 16 Edward III. we find “ Edwardus le Dispenser, et Ann uxoris ejus” were seized of Bawtry “ maner’ ext’ Oysterfield quedam terr’ Idel’ aque passag’ Com. Ebor” ¶, and in the 49th of the same king’s reign, “ Edw. le Dispenser Ch’r et Elizabetha uxoris ejus filia et heres Barth’i Burghershe” died, holding the manors of Kimberworth, Maltby, and lands and tenements in Bawtry

* Dug. Mon. Ang. tom. ii. p. 522. According to an inquisition taken speedily after this period it would seem that the Templars held “ villam de Oustrefeld de dono Job. de Builli nesciut a q’o t’pe.” Hund. rotu. If this were the fact, and we have no reason we presume to question the evidence; the charter of Idonia, his daughter and heir was only of a confirmatory character.

† Harl. MSS. No. 801 Plut.

‡ Hund. Rotu.

§ Harl. MSS. No. 801 Plut.

|| Rotu. Parl. 17th Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 22.

¶ Each. 16 Edw. III., No. 49.

U

Bawtry and Austerfield,* How long the Le Dispensers maintained their interest here we have not yet been able to learn.†

In the 6 Edward III., Edmund de la Forde obtained a grant of free warren over the manor of Austerfield, near Bawtry.

On an inquisition *post mortem* taken after the demise of Peter de Maulay the fifth, in the 6 Richard II., it was found that Peter de Maulay the sixth and Constance his wife, held of the king *in capite* amongst much other property, Langthwaite and Tills by the service of a fourth part of one knight's fee; and in Bawtry and Austerfield, two knights' fees; and on an investigation in the year following, the same Peter de Maulay is said to hold "divers' terr. in Bautre et Austerfield."‡ It is probable, however, that the first case refers wholly to their supreme jurisdiction, and the latter to an ownership more immediately operative; for it would appear by the verdict of a jury found in the reign of the first Edward, that the Vipounts had free warren at Bawtry and Austerfield, and that Peter de Maulay, "h't infra omnes terras suas warenn' a t'pe q' d'ns Hen. Rex ultimus fuit in Gasconia."

On the 20th of March, in the 7 Henry VIII., were granted to Henry Clifford, jun., the manors of Bawtry and Austerfield, with their appurtenances, "h'end' ei p' t'mio vite sue."§ This Henry was a descendant from the Vipounts, through the medium of Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Roger de Vipount, by Isabel Fitz-Geoffrey, sister and co-heiress of Richard, baron of Berkhamstead, and chief justice of England. Whether the ownership were continued beyond the termination of the life of Henry Clifford we know not, but, it is probable, that the manorial rights followed the fate of much more of the Vipounts' property in this neighbourhood, which subsequently became the inheritance of the Saundersons, and were as part of the possessions of Viscount Castleton, sold by Richard, late earl of Scarborough, to John Lister, Esq., lord of the freehold estates of this manor, the whole of which were sold to Pemberton Milnes, Esq., and are now owned by the Galway family. Further notice will be taken of this place in our account of Bawtry, &c.

Within the confines of this parish are also situated the manors of Stockewell and Bramcroft; both of which acknowledge, as owner, the lord of Finningley, the late John Harvey, of Ickwellbury, Esq. These manors, from a very remote date, have

* Esch. 49 Edw. III., pt. 2, No. 46.

† The Dispensers here named, were a minor branch of the family of the same name, whose ill-timed advice plunged Edw. II. and themselves into the abyss of irretrievable ruin.

‡ Esch. 6 and 7, Rich. II., Nos. 55, 206, and 59.

§ Origin. No. 6360. Harl. MSS.

been engulfed by that of Finningley, from which they are now scarcely distinguishable. Had they generally recognised different proprietors, their respective boundaries would have been defined with greater accuracy. The

CHARITABLE DONATION

to this place is confined to one solitary instance; and what renders the circumstance extremely singular, is neither the object, the donor, nor the time of the bequest are known. It consists of money, to the amount of £15, and is now, or was in 1786, vested in the hands of Mr. William Hett.

THE CHURCH,

or Chapel, bears the marks of high antiquity, but such remains as are yet identified with the original structure are but few. On our entrance from the porch into the interior, we gain access under an arch, evidently of Anglo-Norman construction. This ingress is formed by four receding pilasters, each sustaining a capital variously decorated by rude Saxon devices, too greatly mutilated to suffer a definition.—Round the circular arch is a chevron moulding encircling a specimen of a dog's tooth, or bird's beak mode of decoration. The inner columns are connected by a sculptured transom, above which is a rude device representing a serpent, or some such reptile, marking the era of its building. In the room of that dignifying appendage to a sacred edifice, the tower, is a small elevation, holding, exposed to the "rude blasts of many a winter's storm," the brazen sides of two small bells, which remind the rustic villager of a duty he owes to God, to himself, and to society. There are here no grave-stones, nor any other sepulchral remains whatever in the interior of the edifice.

It is a chapel of ease to the church of Blyth, in the County of Nottingham, and, according to an agreement, made between the prior and convent of Blyth, and William, the perpetual vicar of the church of the same place, in A.D., 1287, "the vicar, for the time being, was to serve the church of Blyth by himself, and by another fit presbyter; and the two chapels of Beautre and Hoystrefeld, by two other fit presbyters, which was to be his whole burthen; and the said vicar was to have, of the prior of Blyth every year, eight days before Easter, a robe, of the price of 20s., or 20s., whether the said vicar should choose."*

* Thoroton's Nott. vol. iii. p. 426.

Conisbrough,



LIKE Doncaster, is a place of very high antiquity. By the Britons it was called *Caer Conan*; by the Saxons, *Conanbunzhe*; and, by Robert of Gloucester, *Borough-Conan*. *Caer*, *Cair*, *Kair*, signifies, a place of strength.* The Welsh denominate a city, *Caer*, *Dinos*, &c. In the old Irish tongue, the same word implies, “a throne, an oracle, and a place of address,”† and is supposed to have its origin from the *Gadher* of the Hebrews, a wall. In this instance, as well as in many others, the Saxons substituted for the British *Caer*, their *bunzhe*, a word bearing the same import. Whence *Conan* may be derived is not so manifest; and whether its origin be attributable to locality, or, as being the residence of some eminent person of that name, we are equally ignorant. Had we evidence to prove that Conan was attached subsequently to the British era, we might be induced to draw it from the Saxon *Cyning*, *rex*, in which case it would signify, the royal city, or town of the King. To the latter mode of derivation the orthography in Domesday gives some countenance, *Coningesburg*. *Konnen*, in the Teutonic, or High Dutch tongue, and *Connan* in the Saxon, imply power or knowledge, and is supposed to be synonymous with the Greek *Αἱ Εξουσίαι*, and *Δυνάμεις*, the powers.‡

The earliest manorial proprietor of this village and its dependencies on record, we presume, was Harold, a Saxon earl, and successor of Edward the Confessor, as King of England. He was the second of that name, and son of the famous Godwin, by Githa, daughter of Duke Wolfe, and sister to Sweyne the younger, King of Denmark. The limited period which this brave, but ambitious, potentate, swayed the sceptre of Britain, was tormented by a succession of circumstances at once vexatious and ruinous. In April, 1066, he was opposed in his views of aggrandisement, by the Norwegians, who, commanded by Harold, their King, and

* Somner's Cant. p. 8.

† Camden's Brit. vol. ii, p. 298.

‡ Gazophylacium Anglicanum. Art. King.

Tosti, younger brother of the English monarch, met him at Stamford Bridge, near York, where the invaders experienced a complete defeat. Scarcely, however, had the British monarch time to calculate upon the advantages that might accrue from this decisive victory, before he had the mortification to learn, that Duke William, with a numerous army, was already encamped near Hastings, intending to "battle with him," for the British diadem. Flushed by his late success in the north, he made vigorous efforts to meet the Normans, ere they penetrated too far into the interior of his kingdom. Imprudently parsimonious in the distribution of the spoils, taken from the enemy at Stamford, and a considerable reduction in the numerical strength of his force, he was not considered—in a condition, by his best friends, to meet the daring bravery of his opponents. Deficiency in number, however, is often counteracted by energy in action. After the various attempts of compromise, which were made by the friends and advisers of Harold, he determined, like one more brave than wise, to stake the fate of his kingdom and his life on the issue of a combat. To both the event proved fatal. Harold, after performing prodigies of valour, was at last defeated by a stratagem as old as the art of war. His body was found on the field of battle, and, after a reign of only nine months and nine days, was interred in Waltham Abbey.

The possessions of the Godwin family were extremely extensive; but whether what Harold held here and in the neighbourhood were his by right of his crown or inheritance, we know not. According to the Winchester rolls, it would seem, that he held in Conisbrough, subject to the imposition of Danegeld, five carucates of land, and land to five ploughs. William de Warren had then five ploughs in he demesne here, together with twenty-one villanes, and eleven borders, having eleven ploughs. There were also a church and a priest, and two mills, worth 30s. Pasturable wood one mile long and one broad.

To this manor belonged the soke of the following places, viz.: in Ravenfield, one carucate and a half; Clifton, three carucates; Braithwell, eleven carucates; Barmbrough, six carucates; Hoyland, one carucate; Bilham, one carucate; Dalton, three carucates; Wilsic, fifteen acres; Harthill and Kiveton, thirteen carucates and a half; Aston, six oxgangs; Sandall, two carucates; Greasbrooke, three carucates; Cusworth, three carucates; Bramley, three carucates; Aughton, two oxgangs; Whiston, three carucates; Warmsworth, one carucate, and six oxgangs; Dinnington, two carucates; Anston, two carucates; Stainford, three carucates; Bramwith, six oxgangs; Fishlake, five carucates; Thorne, five carucates; Tudworth, one carucate; Hatfield, eight carucates; Streetthorpe, two carucates; Sandall, one carucate and three oxgangs. Together, to be taxed, fourscore and six carucates and fifteen acres. Land — to fifty-four ploughs.

On an inquisition *post mortem*, taken 1 Richard II., this survey is particularly referred to, the result of which is, in some measure, at variance with what we have above cited. It is as follows:—“*Heraldus comes et alii extent’ Hatefelt maner’ et eccl’ia cum membris. Coningesburgh dec’ caruc’ terr’ et 21 villani et 11 bordarii habentes 11 caruc’ terre; Ravensfeld, Clifftone, Bradeweale, Bamebrugge, Holand, Billam, Dalton, Wilesmuce, Hartile et Centone, Estone, Sandale, Gresburg, Cuze- worde, Brameley, Actone, Witestan, Wemesford, Dunstone, Anestane, Stenforde et Braunte, terr’ et ten, Fixcale 11 soc’, &c. Torne 5 soc’, &c. Tudeworde 7 soc’, &c. Hedfeld 12 soc’, &c. Sterestorpe et Sandale 3 feod’, &c.* These will be noticed under distinct heads in this chapter.

From these notices, and what will hereafter appear, it will be seen, that the village of Conisbrough, in the Saxon era, was a place of very considerable consequence.

In that ample and magnificent list of nobility which accompanied the Conqueror in his hazardous but successful expedition to Britain,

WILLIAM DE WARREN

may with justice be regarded as one of the most eminent in power, popularity and splendour in descent. His ancestry, indeed, was in every case, equally dignified with that of his companion in arms, William the Conqueror. The same blood coursed the veins of each, both having their origin from the same Danish knight and the same mother.* Close, however, as was the connection between these two noble chieftains, the alliance was rendered still more dear and intimate in the person of William, the first earl of Warren, by his marriage with Gundred, the fifth daughter of the Conqueror.

The original name of this family, it would appear, was that of St. Martin. Brady, in his history of England, tells us, that their name of Warren is derived from *Guaremma* or *Varemma*, a district in France, belonging to that noble family, named *de Sancto Martino*;† and other documents cited by the Rev. John Watson, and others, prove the same case. Dugdale informs us, that it is manifest William de Warren was Earl of Warren before the conquest,—a position, we believe, which has not been questioned, but the era in which the English title of Surrey was added to that of Warren is not so obvious. Camden, in his *Britannia*, has asserted, on the authority of the foundation deed of Lewis priory, that the Earldom of Surrey was

* Vid. Watson’s tabular view of this family.

† Watson, on the evidence of a MS. in the Coll. arms.

conferred on the said William by William Rufus; Brooke, however, with more virulence than prudence, questions the accuracy of Camden's assertion, and avers, that the addition of Surrey to the Warren's title, was bestowed on them by the Conqueror. To prove his position he adduces from the Leiger-book of Lewis priory the following passage: "*Willielmus de Warrenn' primus comes Surr' et fundator ecclesiæ Lewenn' diem suum clausit extremum viii Kal. Julii, Anno graciæ 1088, et foundationis ecclesiæ prædictæ xi. et a Conquestu 23. Iste primo non vocabatur nisi solummodo Willielmus de Warrenn' postea vero processu temporis a Willielmo Rege et Conquestore Angliæ cujus filiam disposauit plurimum honoratus est atq'; Comes Surriæ factus, et appellatus est, iste jacet in Capello Lewenn' juxta Dominam Gundredam Comitissam suam, et filiam predicti Regis Conquestoris, Duravit est comes toto tempore Regis Willielmi primi Conquestoris per 20 Annos et tempore Willielmi Rufi secundi Regis per unum Annum.**" This extract would seem to have silenced our worthy and learned Clarenceux, for it does not appear to us, that he ever attempted to do away with the impression it was calculated to make on all impartial judges.

At a subsequent period, however, Vincent, a careful and industrious genealogist, undertook the task of vindicating the character of Camden from the aspersions of Brooke. In this essay he cites a passage from the Leiger-book of the same priory, which is as follows: "*Ego Willielmus de Warennæ—pro salute anime mee, et anime Gundrede uxoris mee et pro anima Domini mei Willielmi regis qui me in Anglicam terram adduxit, et pro salute Domine mee Matildis regine matris uxoris mee, et pro salute Domini mei Willielmi regis filii sui, post cujus adventum in Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci et qui me comitem Surregie fecit, &c.*" Both of these transcripts, it is probable were, however, made from documents, written at a period long subsequent to the age in which the parties lived, and may not therefore be infallible evidence. Ignorance in the scribe, want of attention, or the mistake of a single word, or the omission of a line might create errors, and the extract might materially differ from the original. This, indeed, is proved to be the case from the transcripts of Vincent, made from an old roll of documents relating to the foundation of Lewes priory, discovered in the Exchequer, in which was the following passage:—"Willielmus de Warennæ primus comes Surregie et fundator ecclesiæ Lewensis, &c. Iste primo non vocabatur comes sed solummodo Willielmus de Warennæ postea vero, processu temporis, a Willielmo Rufo filio Regis et Conquestoris Angliæ cujus filiam disposaverat, plurimus honoratus est atque comes Surregie factus, et appellatus est." Here, if the extract may be relied upon, is a conclusive proof that the Earldom of Surrey was conferred upon the Warren family by William Rufus, and not by his father the Conqueror. The veracity of Vincent is not

* Brooke's discovery of errors in Camden's *Britannia*, p. 53, ed. 1724. See also his *Cat. of Honour*, p. 332.

to be questioned, but the testimony of the monks is not infallible. Brooke asks, how Gundred, wife of the first William, could assume the title of Countess, unless her husband were an Earl? This question is easily answered. He was Earl of Warren in Normandy; she, therefore, was legally entitled to the distinction of "Comitissa de Warennæ." In a writ of *quo warranto*, issued in the early part of the reign of Edward I., John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, pleaded also that his ancestors were Earls of Warren in Normandy, and that they lost their lands there in consequence of their adherence to the kings of England.

In the memorable battle of Hastings, the result of which placed Duke William on the throne of Britain, this manorial proprietor of Conisbrough had assigned to him an important post, and the exemplary manner in which he conducted himself on that occasion, insured to him a large share of royal bounty. In addition to a vast number of manors in various parts of the country more south, he had given to him, the lordship of Conisbrough with its dependencies, consisting of twenty-eight towns and hamlets. These have been enumerated in our transcript from Domesday book, and will be further noticed in due course.

In what manner, remarks Watson, "King William the first infeoffed this Norman earl cannot now be ascertained, as no written evidence is found relating to it. He was not, however, in fact an English baron till he was created Earl of Surrey by King William Rufus, notwithstanding his name appears in the list of magnates, 20 William I., printed in the end of Du Chesne's collection of Normannic historians, for it was sufficient to put a person on that list, if he held lands immediately of the king, or *in capite*, though he had no actual pretensions to a barony.* This, it is to be lamented, is the case with the major part of land-holders, whose infeofments dive so far into the abyss of antiquity as does that of this noble Norman.

Amongst our monuments of a religious character, as well as those of a military nature, the acts of this William stand memorably conspicuous. In the erection and endowment of monastic houses he spent great sums of money, and the most noted performance of this kind on record, is his foundation of the Cluniac priory, at Lewes, in Sussex. The causes which led to the institution of this magnificent establishment are fully detailed in the charter of its original, which, after a warm eulogy on the inmates of the house at Clugni, proceeds to enumerate the property and privileges conceded and confirmed to the monks of St. Pancras by this William, his wife, and sons; prescribe their powers, and constitute their house the head of the Cluniac order in England, and concludes, "*Hanc donationem & cartem meam feci dominum*

* P. 39, vol. i.

meum regem apud Wincestriam in concilio concedere et testimoniari per signum sancte crucis de manu sua et per signa et testimonia episcoporum et comitum et baronum qui tunc fuerunt filiciter, Amen. Venientibus contra hæc et destruentibus ea occurrat Deus in gladio iræ et furoris et vindictæ et maledictionis æternæ; servantibus autem hæc et defendentibus ea occurrat Deus in pace gratia et misericordia et salute æterna, Amen, Amen, Amen.*

He also founded a priory of the same order near Castle-Acre in Com. Norfolk, and liberally endowed it with a variety of property; and to the abbey of St. Mary at York, he gave the Isle of Henes, "cum mora et marais quæ circa sunt Henes ad faciendum inde commodum suum tam in mora quam in terra lucrabili et marais et Munkeflete, cum omnibus piscariis suis.†

The edifices of a baronial or military character reared or renovated under the immediate eye of this powerful baron, were equally imposing with those of a religious order. To him has been ascribed the erection of the Castles of Holmsdale or Reigate, in Surrey, Lewes, in Sussex, and Castle-Acre, in Com. Norfolk, all of which were extremely strong and well adapted for the exercise of either tyranny, domestic comfort, or defence. The Castle of Conisbrough, like one of those we have just named, is, by some antiquaries, supposed to have been raised in the Saxon era. This position, in reference to that at Conisbrough, will be examined by and by.

By his wife Gundred, who died in child-bed at Castle-Acre, 27th May, 1085, he had two sons and three daughters; William, his successor, Reginald, Gundred, Edith, and; Reginald married Alice, daughter and heir of William de Wirmgay. Edith was twice married; first to Gerrard de Gurney, and afterwards to Drew de Monceaux.

This noble Earl, after exhibiting to the world a specimen of valour, piety, and manly conduct, expired 24th June, 1088, and was buried with his wife in the chapter-house of Lewes priory, over whom, it is said was laid a white marble tomb-stone, bearing the following inscription:—

Hic Gulielm comes, locust laudis tibi fomes
Hujus fundator, et largus sedis amator.
Iste tuum funus decorat, placuit quia munus
Pauperibus Christi, quod prompta mente dedisti.
Ille tuos cineres servat Pancratius hæres,

* Dugdale's Mon. Ang. vol. 1. p. 615.

† Ibid, p. 408.

Sanctorum castris, qui te sociabit in astris,
Optime Pancrati, fer opem te glorificanti;
Daque pole sedem, talem tibi qui dedit ædem.

This monumental eulogy, bears on its face the stamp of being the composition of some fawning monk, who, willing to flatter his memory, raised this proud memorial, with a view, it is fearful, of courting the goodwill of those who had still the means of adding to his store. Had it been written by his enemies, the monks of Ely, it is questionable whether terms of very different import would not have been used. The controversy between those monks and the Earl is adverted to more largely by the Rev. Mr. Watson, in his elaborate memoirs of this family. *

WILLIAM DE WARREN,

second Earl of Warren, was, on the death of his father, a minor, and on his first coming to England lodged in the chapter-house of Lewes priory.

In the inveterate dispute which occurred between William Rufus, and his brother Robert, this William, contrary to the conduct of his neighbour, the Earl of Mortaign, took part with the successful candidate for royal honours, for which, it has been conjectured that he was rewarded with the earldom of Surrey. "Which Earl of Warren was he," says Thoresby, "though not taken notice of by our historians, who took prisoner Robert Curthose, eldest son of William the bastard, anno 1106, for which service King Henry I. gave him the lordship of Conisbrough and its dependencies, Wakefield, Normanton, and Soke." How far the historian of Leeds may be borne out by facts in some portion of the above transcript, we are at a loss to say; but that Conisbrough and its soke were not conceded to him in consequence of that service is rendered manifest by the Winchester Rolls; and according to Nalson, Wakefield formed no portion of his property, until A.D. 1116. On this occasion, it is thought by some, the earldom of Surrey was added to that of Warren, having some time enjoyed the earl's penny of that county.

The first historical notice which the early annals of our nation take of this second earl, is, according to Dugdale, to be found in the account of the military transactions between Hugh Grentmesnell, and Robert de Belesme. The meetings on this occasion "seem to have been contrived, in order to strengthen the conspiracy then forming in favour of Robert, Duke of Normandy; accordingly, when Robert landed in autumn, 1101, at Portsmouth, he was joined by many of the nobility, and

* Vol. i, p. 64.

amongst the rest by this our earl, as also the two great men above named, who continued in the duke's army till the agreement was made between him and his brother King Henry. In this agreement it was stipulated, as some historians say, that such as had their estates taken from them, both in England and Normandy, for the part they had borne in that dispute, should have them restored without composition; but others, with more probability, that the fomenters of discord should be punished, for Earl Warren, having forfeited his estate, could not re-gain the possession of it, but was obliged to go with Duke Robert into Normandy; not liking, however, his situation there, he soon after complained to the duke, that on his account he had lost his earldom of Surrey, worth yearly a thousand pounds of silver, which Lord Littleton computes to have been equal to fifteen thousand pounds a year at present. But at Robert's intercession, all this was restored to him, and he was ever after one of the King's best friends.*

This William, who had already confirmed several of his father's gifts, made to the religious, added a number of rich and magnificent donations to several houses, but as they do not affect the property here, we would beg leave to pass them over unnoticed. To the priory of St. Pancras, founded at Lewes by his father and mother, he gave the church of Conisbrough, with all its dependencies, viz., the churches of Braithwell, Dinnington, Harthill, Fishlake, Hatfield, with the chapel of Thorne, the church of Little Sandall, and the chapel of Armthorpe, &c., with their appendages, as will be seen by the following transcript:—"Scieat presentes et futuri quod ego Willielmus comes de Warrena dono concedo et hac presenti carta mea confirmo Deo et S. Pancratio de Lewes et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro salute anime mee et Willielmi patris mei et omnium successorum nostrorum ecclesiam de Conningsburgh cum ecclesiis capellis, terris et decimis et omnibus ad eas pertinentibus, scilicet, ecclesiam de Braythewell cum pertinentiis, ecclesiam de Donigthon cum pert., ecclesiam de Herthill cum pert., ecclesiam de Fishlake cum pert., ecclesiam de Hetefeld, cum capella de Thorne et omnibus pert., ecclesiam de Parva Sandale cum capella de Hernoldesthorpe cum omnibus pert., ecclesiam de Wakefield cum capella de Horbyry et omnibus pert."† This grant, with others, was afterwards confirmed, by a deed of the same earl, which concludes, "Hæc supradicta ego pro salute animæ meæ et pro animabus antecessorum meorum prædictis monachis concessi et hac mea presenti carta confirmavi quando feci dedicari ecclesiam sancti Pancratii et de decima denariorum de omnibus redditibus meis de Anglia dotaui ipsam ecclesiam, et inde seisiui eam per capillos capitis mei et fratris mei Radulphi de Warena, quos absceidit cum cultello de capitibus nostris ante altare Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis Teste. &c.‡

* Watson, p. 82, vol. i.

† Dug. Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 617.

‡ Selden, p. 340.

This circumstance, of a livery of seisen upon the altar by the hair of the head, &c., has been referred to in our Introduction, and, however curious, it is not a singular mode of release. Whatever was capable of being delivered upon the altar would seem to have been a solemn consecration of the act, whether it were a knife, hair, a horn, cup, candlestick, or book. For the form of conveyance, says Selden, "in perpetual right, both to the church and laity, was to give into the hands of the grantee, or feoffee, some such thing; as at this day a twig or a turf is in feoffments, or as in institutions, (according to the formularie of the church of Rome,) a ring is to be given, and the altar was usually made the place of such a leverie. But, in the examples of cutting the hair, especially in this case, when Henry, Bishop of Winchester, did it, perhaps more was understood than only a livery upon the grant. Had it not also some reference to the ancient ceremony of cutting the hair at a confirmation? which was usually done by the godfathers, as may be collected out of that of Adrevald."* Alberic de Veer, in his charter of donation of Hatfield, affixed thereto a black-hafted knife, "like unto a old halfpenny whittle instead of a seal"† In a deed of William Rufus, we read, "*Hoc denique sciant omnes quod rex, per cultellum eburneum quod in manu tenuit, et abbati porrexit hoc donum peregit apud curiam, testimonio virorum illorum nomina quorum infra scripta dinoscuntur.*"‡

Bishop Flambard, after having violated every rule of right, and feeling, in the hour of death, a sad and afflictive remorse of conscience, attempted to seal his peace with his offended God, by restoring to the church, all his sacrilegious acquirements, by the ceremony of offering, with the restoration, a ring at the high altar; "*Per annulum altari impositum omnia restituit ecclesia ablata cartaque sua et sigillo confirmavit restituta.*"§ The same may also be observed in the charter of Bishop Ranulph. "*Restitutione bonorum quæ a monachis abstuleret.*"§ Dr. Gale, in his dissertation on the horn of Ulphus, in the Cathedral church of York, would seem to think, that the use of those tokens was for such as had received them with endowments, which, in case of disputes, they were obliged to produce, or plead prescription."¶

It was this earl likewise, who gave to the convent of Roche, the tythe of eels throughout his vast fisheries, in the lordship of Hatfield.

In a charter of agreement, made between Henry, king of England, and Robert, earl of Flanders, at Dover, we find this William, with Robert, bishop of Lincoln,

* Selden, p. 342.

† Lambarde's Perambulation, p. 406.

‡ Mon. Ang. tom. i. p. 997.

§ Monch. Dunelm. c. 1.

§ Surtie's Durham, app. p. 125.

¶ Archæologia, vol. i. p. 178.

and others, present on the part of the king,* and an attesting witness to a great number of monastic grants.

The confidence which the king placed in the fidelity of this noble chieftain was not ill-founded, "for, amidst the many attempts abroad, to set up William, son of Duke Robert, he faithfully adhered to king Henry; and when the said king lay on his death-bed, at his castle of Lyons, in France, he was one of the five earls, who, with other great men, attended there, and settled with him the succession of the crown of England; having, at that time, Rohan and the country about Calais committed to his care." On other occasions we also find him a faithful counsellor of of the crown."†

He espoused Isabel, who died A.D. 1131, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Vermandoise, usually called the great, who bore the Warren's arms, and widow of Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters, William, Reginald, Ralph, Gundred, and Ada, a circumstance which has caused great confusion and obscurity in this portion of the pedigree, in consequence of having a brother Reginald, each of whom had a son named William.

Gundred, who is described as being a virago of manly courage, married first, Roger de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick, by whom she had three sons and a daughter, Agnes; secondly, William, surnamed de Lancaster, baron of Kendal, by whom two children.

Ada, the youngest sister, married in 1139, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, eldest son of David, King of Scotland, by Maud, daughter and co-heir of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, &c. which Waltheof had espoused Judith, niece to the Conqueror. By the said Henry she had issue three sons and three daughters, viz. Malcolm and William, both kings of Scotland, and David, Earl of Huntingdon, &c. to whom the borough of Doncaster was given by King Stephen, as we have before remarked. He died in A.D. 1138, and was succeeded by his son,

WILLIAM DE WARREN,

the third earl, whose fortune seems to have been under the influence of his "evil genius;" for, as Watson remarks, he was always on the losing side, though, when he joined it, there was an appearance of it being the strongest. He was one of the many noblemen that fled from their colours in consequence of the mutiny which occurred in the army of Stephen, when desirous of giving battle to Geof-

* Liber Niger, p. 16.

† Watson, vol. i. p. 86.

fry of Anjou, husband of Maud, the Empress. Matthew of Paris, has also stamped on the character of this earl, a stain not easily obliterated, in reference to the town and Abbey of St. Albans. We next find him in the ranks of Stephen, contending against Maud, the empress, when his usual fortune attended him, being defeated near Lincoln, in 1141. Bountiful as had been the hands of his ancestors, in deeds of charity to the religious institutions of those days, this noble proprietor of Conisbrough was not found deficient in acts of benevolence on the same occasion. He confirmed the magnificent donations of his father and grandfather, and added many of his own, some, indeed the majority of which, are noticed by the venerable biographer of the family.

To his wife he took Ela or Adela, daughter of William Talvace, Earl of Pont-thou and Sais or Sagiens, by whom he had one daughter, named Isabel,* who, for her first husband, married

WILLIAM DE BLOIS,

youngest son of Stephen, King of England, and Earl of Warren and Surrey, in right of his wife. In the charter of agreement between Stephen and Henry, Duke of Normandy, it is stipulated, that "whatever he (William de Blois) receyved with the daughter of Earl Warren, cyther in Englande, or Normandie, and likewise whatsoever apperteyneth to those honours; and the duke shali putte my sonne William, and hys menne that are of that honour, in full possession, and seisine of all the landes, boroughes, and rentes, whiche the duke thereof nowe hath in his demaine; and, namely, of those that belonge to the honour of the earle of Warrenne, and namely, of the castles of Bellencumber and Mortimer, so that Reginald de Warrenna shall have the keeping of the same castles of Bellencumber and Mortimer, if he wyll; and thereupon shall gyve pledges to the duke, and if he wyle not have the keepinge of those castelles, then other liegh men of the saide earle Warrenne, whome it shall please the duke to appoynte shall by sure pledges, and good suretye keep the sayde castelles.†"

* Concerning the issue of this Earl, Biographers are not agreed. Brook, in addition to Isabel, notices three sons, William, Patric, and Philip. *Catal. of Honour*, p. 334. Milles, however, gives to him only one daughter, with whom Dugdale agrees, citing, as his authority, the Norman Chronicle. Nicholas Trivet observes, "Hanc comitissam genuerat Willielmus tertius comes de Warennia, qui cum rege Ludovico perexerat Jerusalem, et ibidem obiit, relicta ista comitissa unica filia et herede." Vincent, whose exertions on this occasion seem to have been roused by the undue choler of Brook, appears to admit the birth of male issue by his silence. If, however, the Earl had issue male, they died in infancy, unless we subscribe to the opinion of Milles, who assigns to the second husband of the Countess of Warren the male issue mentioned by Brooke. This opinion is not only countenanced by the baronage, but is in fact confirmed. Vid. p. 175. vol. i. She survived her husband, the Earl of Warren, 26 years.

† Holinshed. See also Brooke, p. 334.

On his marriage with Isabel, he must have been considerably in his minority, for his elder brother was only eighteen years of age on his death, which occurred a few months before the agreement was ratified, and William was then espoused to the heiress of the Warrens. Dr. Kuerden supposes the marriage to have taken place during the lifetime of her father, if so, it is probable she had not attained her thirteenth year.

In this union, which proved more honourable than wealthy, she had a chance to obtain the enviable rank of queen consort of England. Much of the property given to this earl by his father forsook him ere he paid the debt of nature, "for, when he became the only surviving son of the king, and must, for that reason, have had hope of succeeding him, he was obliged to renounce every claim of that sort to another, and to be content with such a provision as could be secured for him in the act of settlement, between his father and the Duke of Normandy,"* before noticed. It was well, therefore, that he had the immense possessions of the Warrens, in that time of need, or he would have been wholly unable to support himself with credit, in that dignified rank, in which his birth had placed him.

The titles which this noble proprietor of Conisbrough enjoyed, were numerous and honourable. To these of Warren and Surrey, we may add those of Moreton, Bologne, and Lancaster, "lord also of the honours of Eagle and of Pevensey, &c. He is, likewise, in some MSS, called 'Dapifer Regis Angliæ,' by which, I suppose, is meant steward of the King's household." He died, when attending King Henry II. in his expedition against Thoulouse, in 1160, without issue,† when

HAMELINE PLANTAGENET

married his widow, and thereby became the fifth earl. He was natural son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, generally called the king's brother, as is instanced in the chronicles of Normandy, where it is said, sub. Anno. 1163, "*Hamelinus naturalis frater regis Henrici, duxit comitissam de Warennæ, relictam Willielmi comitis Moritonii.*" Littleton observes of this earl, "In consequence of the decease of William de Blois, King Henry had the means of making an ample provision for Hameline, his natural brother, by marrying him to the widow of that prince, who was daughter to William de Warren. She brought to her second husband the earldom of Surrey, with all the other honours and possessions of her father in England and Normandy; possessions so great, that without alarming the jealousy of the

* Watson, vol. i. p. 146.

† The Lewes register places his death in A.D. 1159, and says, that he enjoyed the earldom eleven years. If this be true, Isabel was not married before the demise of her father, as is surmised by Dr. Kuerden.

crown, they could not have been added to the wealth of any other noble family; especially, as the lady to whom they had descended, was very nearly allied in blood to the Kings of France and Scotland. It was, therefore, not only from affection to his brother, but from the maxims of good policy, and reason of state, that Henry interested himself in this match.* High as was the descent of this noble personage, he chose rather to assume the arms of the Warrens, than wear those of his own; but whether out of compliment to his wife, or through a persuasion of greater dignity, we know not.

In the 12th of Henry II., an aid was levied for the marriage of the King's daughter, when he was charged with holding sixty knights' fees. The first act, after the marriage of King Richard I., and one of the most early feats subsequent to his coronation, was, a journey to Normandy, whither he was accompanied by our earl, and on his detention, when returning from the Holy Land, Hameline Plantagenet, together with Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury; Richard, bishop of London; William, Earl of Arundel; and the Mayor of London; were joint treasurers, when the sum of seventy thousand marks of silver was deposited in their hands, in order to effect his ransom—towards which he paid £340 8s. 7d. In the sixth year of the same King, he was at Nottingham, when John, Earl of Montaign, was summoned to appear in forty days, to answer the accusations to be then and there alleged against him; and, on the second coronation of Richard, he bore one of the swords, used on that occasion. He was also present on the coronation of King John, at Westminster, in A.D., 1199.

To the monks this earl was extremely bountiful. Not satisfied with confirming the numerous grants, made by his predecessors, the Earls of Warren, he made a number of valuable donations. By a grant, entered on the back of page the sixteenth of the Leiger-book of Lewes priory, he gave to that fraternity, "*totam culturam suam in campis de Cunningsburgh et aliis campis in pur. et perpet. eleam.*" And ratified a prior grant, whereby the "Church of Cunningsburgh, with tythes and homages, lands and pastures, and the chapels and churches belonging to it,"* were conferred on the same convent. He also granted some privileges to the town of Wakefield.

The precise era of his demise is not known. The register of Lewes, where both himself and wife lie buried, records the year 1202, with whom, on one occasion, Vincent agrees, but subsequently names 1201, which he does on the authority of the following transcript :—"Rex omnibus hominibus tenentibus de terra quæ fuit comi-

* Hist. King Hen. II., vol. ii. p. 107.

† Watson, p. 161.

tis H. de Warena, &c. Sciatis quod audita morte predicti comitis, cepimus homagium Willielmi filii ejusdem comitis, de terra quæ idem comes de nobis tenuit.— Et ideo vos mandamus, præcipientes quatinus eidem Willielmo faciatis fidelitates, et alia quæ ei facere debetis, de terris quas tenuistis de predicto comite, salva fide matris suæ. Teste rege apud Pontem, Arch. 12 die Maii, anno regni nostri tertio. Pat. 3, Joh. Rot. 2.*

The issue of this match, were one son and two or three daughters, viz :—William, his successor, Ela, and Margaret. Milles asserts, that the first daughter died young; but we have abundance of evidence to prove, that she became the wife of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord of Sprotbrough and Elmley, by whom he obtained the lordship of Gretewell, paying yearly, at Whitsuntide, two pair of gilt spurs.† Margaret is assigned to Hameline, by Brooke and Yorke, who was married to Baldwin Rivers, Earl of Devonshire, but she is not mentioned by either Milles or Dugdale; indeed the latter notices only one son. Watson has given to him a daughter, who was the wife of Gilbert de Aquila.

WILLIAM DE WARREN,

the sixth earl, succeeded his father, and did homage to his sovereign in the 3d John. Before his advancement to the dignities of his high birth, he would appear to have assumed the name of De Warren. This is a singular circumstance, and highly honourable to the Norman proprietors of Conisbrough.

In the sixth of John, he had committed to his charge the custody of the castle and honour of Eye, in Suffolk, and the same and following years, he was constituted one of the barons of the exchequer.‡ On the loss of Normandy, in this king's reign, the immense possessions of the Warrens fell a sacrifice in the general wreck, when, in part compensation for the loss sustained by them on that occasion, this William had given to him, "Grantham and Stanford, with the appurtenances, to hold until he shall recover his lands in Normandy, or until we shall, elsewhere, make him a competent exchange."|| These were confirmed to him by the charter of King Henry III., in A.D., 1220; and thus it was that the Warrens became deprived of their "caput baroniæ." On the formation of the conspiracy amongst the barons, with a view to obtain the revival of the laws of King Edward the Confessor, this William was suspected, by the King, to have been an accomplice with Eustace de Vesey and Robert Fitz-walter, the chief promoters of it; but, learning that his

* As cited by Watson. † Collins, vol. v. p. 263. This lady will be further noticed in a future article.

‡ Madox, p. 745.

|| Peck's Stanford, lib. vii. p. 6.

suspensions were unjustly founded, he was again restored to royal favour,* and was one of the five sureties for the due performance of certain conditions, on the part of the king, stipulated in the charter of agreement, between King John and his haughty barons.

“Historians say, that the barons, having seized upon London, sent circular letters to such as had not joined them, threatening, that in case they did not concur with them in support of the common cause of the kingdom, their estates should be plundered and their houses demolished; amongst whom was Earl Warren; but it does not seem as if he paid much obedience to this summons, for, on the 15th of June, when the contending parties met, by consent, on Runingmede, near Windsor, he was one who appeared on the king's side; and, what certainly redounds much to his honour, ‘was one of the few counsellors, by whose advice and persuasion, the king put his seal to Magna Charta.’ He was likewise one of the thirty-eight, who were sworn to be obedient, and assisting to the twenty-five barons, chosen to see that the king did not break the charter, which he had just granted; and was a witness to the charter, which King John passed in the New Temple, at London, to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, for confirmation of the rights of the church and the clergy of England.”†

Madox, in his “*Baronia Anglica*,” adduces this earl amongst others, as an instance, in which several baronies were vested in one man. The document he cites remarks, “Comes de Warennæ debet xliii℥ xvs. de xxxv. feodis de feodis Gilleberti de Aquila, de feodis Moritonæ. et c. et xx℥ de lx feodis de Baronia sua.”‡—In several ancient writings, the Warren barony is said to consist of sixty knights' fees. “Comes Warennæ debet cxx marcas de lx feodis de Baronnæ sua.”§ And, on another occasion, “De primo Scutagio Regis H. tercii assiso ad ii marcas. Comes Warennæ debet cxx marcas de lx feodis de Baronia sua.”§

Concerning the barony of Gilbert de Aquila, mentioned in the first of these three transcripts, it is recorded, in the “*Testa de Nevill*,” that “*Villa de Westcote que fuit Gilberti de Aquila capta fuit in manu d'nis Regis q' idem Gilb' obiit in Norman. cont. volu'tate d'ni Reg' ut dicit'. Et comes Warenn. finivit pro sorore sua que fuit uxor ip'ius Gilberti p' d'ca villa qua' habuit in dote et est in man' comitis et est in baronia Gilberti de Aquila.*” This fine, imposed upon Earl Warren, was, according to Watson, “on account of his sister Maud's dower, from those

* Watson, p. 181.

† Ibid, p. 183, cited from Matthew, of Paris.

‡ P. 33.

§ Madox *Baronia Anglica*, p. 93.

§ Ibid, p. 67. It is manifest, however, that the number here given is only a part.

lands, to which she became entitled, 6th John, in which year her husband died, in Normandy. 9th John he paid three hundred marks for the custody of the said lands, and, it is not to be doubted, but she enjoyed her dower through life in consequence thereof.*

In what number of knights' fees the manor of Conisbrough and its dependencies consisted, has not reached our knowledge. In the "Testa de Nevill," we have not been so fortunate as to find the name of this place recorded, but some of its appurtenances are thus noticed.†

FEODA DE HONORE COM' WARENN'.

Adam de Nova Mereato tenet in Barneburg' et Bilham' unu' feod.

Idem Adam tenet in Wermeswith' unu' feod.

Rad. de Frescewill' tenet in Custewith' dim' feod.

In Walefon, Skelflay, Schepelay, Dalton, Quermeby, Bretton, Thurstanland et Cumbewath, unu' feodu' de eodem honore.

Sum' III. feod. et dim'.

On an inquisition, taken the 30th June, 1347, it would, however, appear, that Hatfield, with its members, was held of the king, by the service of one knight's fee, and the manor of Wakefield, the manor and castle of Sandall, and the manor and castle of Conisbrough, by two knights' fees.

According to the Hundred rolls, "Comes Warenn' h't apud' Coningbure furcas ass'm panis et c'vis' et o'ium m'sura' plac' de sanguinis effus' namii vetiti et o'imoda' alia' t'nsqr' et clamat wayf et hec xx ann' elaps' nescit q' war'o." This, as will be seen by and bye, was also urged on a subsequent occasion, by his son and successor, John.

In 1227 he joined the refractory barons, and was one of the nobles who sent a message to the king, requesting him to make satisfaction to Richard, his brother, Earl of Cornwall, concerning the castle of Barkhamsted, an appurtenant to that earldom, which Henry had unjustly alienated to Waleran, a Fleming, during the absence of the earl; and also to observe the great charter of the forest, which he

* Watson, p. 187.

† The principal cause why the property in the north belonging to this earl has not been more distinctly noticed, arises, probably, from the custom of classing, with the caput baroniæ, its dependencies; and, although Conisbrough does not seem to have been dependent upon any other of the Warrens' possessions, it was, most likely, upon every general scutage, included with his barony of Lewes. This was particularly the case with the Builli fee at Tickhill.

had rendered void at Oxford, or he would be compelled, by the sword, to that restitution. On a subsequent occasion, he was one of the four barons, under whose care was lodged the produce of the thirtieth part of the moveable goods, granted to the king by his subjects; and in 1237, when the king put from him some of his evil counsellors, this Earl Warren, with William, Earl of Ferrars and Derby, and some others, were admitted in their stead.*

To the monks of Lewes, &c., this earl seems to have been very bountiful. To the numerous and princely donations of his ancestors he added others, and confirmed whatever had been given to the church by his predecessors. In 1222, he founded the priory of Cluniacs, at Slewsham, which he dedicated to the care of the blessed virgin, and made it subordinate to Castle Acre.† Other of his religious donations are recorded by our ecclesiastical writers, but we shall not follow them.

He espoused, for his first wife, Maud, daughter of William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, who died 6th of February, 1215, without issue, and was interred in the chapter-house of Lewes priory. For his second wife he took Maud, eldest daughter, and, at length, co-heiress of William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, widow of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Dugdale, therefore, was mistaken, when he asserts, "*Matilda prima filia Willielmi Mareschalli post mortem predicti Hugonis le Bigod viri sui nupta fuit iterum Johanni de Garrene comiti de Surrey, de quibus Johannes de Garren comes de Garren et Isabella de Aubini soror ejus et comitissa de Arundell.*"‡ By his last wife he had John, his successor, and Isabel, to whom Brooke adds a daughter, Margaret, who married into the Percy family. This is affirmed by the Warren pedigree, but that of the Percys is silent on the occasion. Isabel became the wife of Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel, by whom she had no issue. In her widowhood she founded a nunnery of the Cistercian order, at Marham, near Lynn, in Norfolk, which she dedicated to the blessed virgin. After the usual preliminaries, the grant proceeds to state the object of the donation, viz:—*pro salute anime mee, et pro anima Willielmi Comitis Warrennie patri mei, et anima Matildis Comitisse Warrennie matris mee; et pro anima Hugonis Comitis Arundellie quondam viri mei; et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum meorum, dedi, concessi.*"§ This charter is attested by John de Warren, her brother, and others, and was confirmed by a royal insepimus, 36 Henry III.

Of this lady a most curious account is told by Dugdale. In 1252, she petitioned the king relative to the wardship of a certain person, which she challenged as her

* Watson.

† Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 639.

Dug. Mon. Ang. tom. i. p. 725. Brooke gives to him only one wife.

‡ Dug. Mon. Ang. vol. ii. p. 222.

right, and not succeeding, she boldly told him, that he was by God appointed to govern, but that he neither governed himself or his subjects as he ought to do; adding, that he wronged the church, and vexed the nobles; to which the king replied, 'what is this you say? have the peers framed a charter, and made you their advocate to speak for them by reason of your eloquence?' 'No,' said she, 'they have made none at all, but you have violated that charter of liberties which your father did grant, and which you, by oath, obliged yourself to observe; and, notwithstanding you have often extorted money from your liege people, for the ratifying thereof, yet you have broke, so that you are a manifest infringer of your faith and oath. What are become of those liberties of England, so often solemnly recorded, so often confirmed, nay, so often purchased? I, though a woman, and all the free-born people, do appeal to the tribunal of God against you; and heaven and earth shall bear witness how injuriously you have dealt with us, and the God of vengeance will vindicate us;' at which speech the king, much astonished, knowing his own guilt, said, 'Do not you desire my grace and favour, as you are my kinswoman?' to which she replied, 'Forasmuch as you have denied me that which is right, what hope have I for favour? But I do, in the presence of Christ, appeal against those who have by evil counsel so misled you from justice and truth, for their own private ends.'**

In the 20 Henry III., Maud, the second countess of this earl, had committed to her, the custody of the castle of Conisbrough, and in the 30th of the same reign, she had livery by the hands of the king of the marshall's rod, being inheritrix thereof by the death of her brothers.† To the nuns of Thetford she gave clothing, and three marks yearly out of her mill, near her court in the village of Cesterford, in pure and perpetual alms.‡ As to the precise period at which this countess died, her biographers are much divided. The register of Lewes names the year 1236, and erroneously calls her the daughter of William Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, whereas we have seen that she was the widow of Hugh Bigod. Milles, in one portion of his Catalogue of Honour, places her demise in 1237, while, in another part thereof, he affirms that she became the wife of Walter Dunstanville, baron of Castle-Combe.§ It is manifest, however, that she was living in 1246, and might probably expire in the year 1248, as Milles, on one occasion, asserts she did.

In addition to the children which this Earl had by his second wife, it would appear, that during the existence of his first, he had a natural son, whom he named Griffin, but by what lady we have not learnt. Of this son and his issue, a full account is given by Watson, to whose elaborate work we would beg leave to refer

* Cited by Watson, p. 212.

† Watson, p. 213.

‡ Madox's Exchequer, p. 183.

§ Compare p. 506 with 627.

our readers. The death of this earl is placed, by the Lewes register, in A.D. 1239 but Vincent, on the authority of Matthew of Paris, Matthew of Westminster, &c. names 1240. He, like the generality of his ancestors, found a place of sepulchre in the chapter-house of Lewes, "In medio pavimenti, coram summo altare." With the register of Lewes, Brooke agrees; indeed, we have no doubt but that document was his authority.

JOHN DE WARREN,

the seventh earl, was only aged five years on the death of his father, and was, therefore, a ward to the king. In 1247, at about the age of twelve, he married Alice, daughter of Hugh le Brun, earl of the marches of Aquitaine, "and sister, by the mother's side, to King Henry III. Concerning the additional title of Sussex, which some writers give to this earl, genealogists are not agreed. On this matter Brooke and Vincent are again at issue, and, as in the former dispute relating to the earldom of Surrey, the latter would seem to have the advantage.*

During the minority of this earl, a portion of his estate was in the custody of Peter de Savoy, but this portion would appear to have been confined to Surrey and Sussex. The appointment took place in A.D. 1241. At the age of seventeen he was permitted to cohabit with his wife, when the following order relative to her jewels was issued by the king:—"De jocalibus faciendis ad opus Alesie sororis regis Rex mittit W. de Hanhull. P. Chacep. et E. de Westm. quendam cedulam presentibus interclusam mandans quod ad opus Alesie, uxoris Johannis de Warennæ ea quæ in dicta cedula continentur quærant hiis exceptis quæ per P. Chacep. in Warder. regis inveniri possunt provisuri quod omnia inventa de prædictis tam in garderoba quam alibi sunt parata ad mandatum Regis."

In 1254, he would seem to have arrived at age, when a mandate was issued by the king, ordering, that the third penny of the county should be confirmed to him. In 1258, he was one of the twelve nobles, chosen by the king, to meet the like number, selected by the barons, to settle a dispute between the parties, relative to the treaty at Oxford. To bind him more firmly to the crown, he had, in 47 Henry III., given to him the custody of the castle of Pavensey, in Sussex; but if that were the intent of the grant, it would appear to have been ineffectual, for he speedily afterwards joined the confederacy against the crown, and, with Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, &c. was chosen chief captain. Conscious, however, of doing wrong, or induced to desert the cause which he had

* Brooke, p. 335, and Watson.

so recently espoused, he again attached himself to the standard of Royalty, joined the king at Windsor,* and subsequently defended the castle of Rochester with consummate bravery ; but, in the spring of 1264, he, with the king, experienced a complete defeat near Lewes. The earl's conduct on the latter occasion, has been, in some measure impeached, but probably without a cause. The issue of this contest between the barons and the king, proved highly detrimental to the interests of our earl. The barons, having now every thing within their own power, determined upon punishing the royalists by confiscation of property, and the possessions of John de Warren were granted to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,† to hold during the king's pleasure. Fearing that his person, as well as his property, might feel the effects of a reverse of power, he fled into France, where he continued about twelve months, and returned at Whitsuntide, 1265, with William de Valence, and others. " On his landing, the earl sent the prior of Monmouth to Hereford, to the Earl of Leicester, to move for the restitution of his lands, alleging, that he had done nothing to deserve the forfeiture of them ; and was answered, that if he would go thither in person, and submit to a trial in the king's court, he should have safe conduct so to do ; which, deeming not safe, he confederated with the aforesaid Earl of Gloucester, (who had deserted the barons,) and such other nobles as stood for the royal interest, and on the escape of Prince Edward from his captivity, joined him and his forces at Ludlow.

After much manœuvring and parley on each side, the two armies met at Eversham, where victory declared for the king, when the possessions of the Warrens were restored to our earl. This event again placed the proprietors of Conisbrough on the pinnacle of prosperity, and rekindled the blaze of enthusiasm in the embers of misfortune. In 1266, he was commissioned to arrest the progress of Robert de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, at Chesterfield, and he was fortunate enough to surprise him in his quarters. Concerning the particulars of this enterprise, historians are not unanimous in their accounts, and any attempt to reconcile them here would tend to lead us into a tedious detail. Two years subsequently, he received the cross from Ottobon, the Pope's legate, at Northampton, when that prelate came to publish the will of his master relative to a crusade to the Holy Land.

In this year he had also a dispute with Henry de Lacy, concerning a pasturage in a certain piece of ground, when, instead of having recourse to a jury, they assembled their respective tenants, &c. resolutely determined to decide right by the " ul-

* The annals of Dunstable by Hearne say, that he was won over to the king's cause, " per maneria sua quæ dedit eis." Vid. Watson. p. 232.

† The castles of Reigate and Lewes were excepted in this grant.

timatum of kings," but Henry III. interposed, and prevented the mutual slaughter which must have ultimately ensued.

The credit which our earl had hitherto sustained, became in 1270, most deeply tarnished. The grievous litigation in which he had been long implicated with Allan Lord Zouche, of Ashby, relative to a certain manor, began now to assume an aspect highly unpleasant. During the investigation of the subject before the king's justices, in Westminster Hall, De Warren, with his armed retainers, attacked Lord Zouche, and his son Sir Roger, with drawn swords, so that, according to Dugdale, "he almost killed the one, and wounded the other." For this offence he was fined in the sum of 10,000 marks, and with fifty of his followers that had been parties in this disgraceful scene, was obliged to walk on foot from the New Temple, to Westminster Hall, and there, by oath, affirm, that what he had done was not of "malice prepense," but a sudden gust of passion. These conditions being complied with, the earl next sought a general pardon for himself and followers, with which, all that were concerned accorded. The pardon was as under:—

"The king, to all, &c. greeting. Whereas our well-beloved and faithful John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, for himself and his men, hath put himself upon the king's mercy, to be fined at his pleasure, for a certain trespass and assaults, lately committed by the same earl and his men upon Allan la Zouche, and Roger, his son, in the king's hall, in Westminster, as it is said: Whereupon the said Allan hath summoned the said earl in the king's court, before the king himself.

"Now we have remised to the said earl, and to all his men, and to all those that can be discharged of that trespass, all indignation and anger of mind which we had conceived against them by occasion of the aforesaid trespass.

"And we have pardoned to them the suit, (or breach) of our peace, which to us belongs, or to any other manner can belong to that trespass, in whatsoever manner happening, either by the death or other harm of the aforesaid Allan and Roger, or either of them by means of the trespass and assaults aforesaid, in testimony, &c.

"Witness the king, at Winton, the 4th August.*

The high, haughty, imperious and tyrannical spirit of this arrogant chieftain,

* Pat. Rotu. 54 Henry III., m. 7, cited by the Rev. Mr. Horsfield, *Hist. Lewes*, p. 128. "Robert of Gloucester says, that Earl Warren slew the Lord Zouche,

'So that the erl of Warene slou, atte verste touche,
Bioure the justices atte benche, Sir Alein de la Souche.'"

Vid. Watson, p. 242, where this matter is examined at some length, and a copy of the original pardon given.

would not permit him to yield obedience to the mandate of the king, until he was pursued by Prince Edward to the castle of Reigate, where he took shelter. Here, however, he was obliged to implore mercy, when the fine was reduced to 8,400 marks, payable by 200 each and every year, until the whole mitigated penalty was discharged.

In the 2d of Edward I., the king was most honourably entertained by this earl at his castle of Reigate, for several days; and at his coronation, De Warten turned loose five hundred great horses for any one that could catch them. In a MS. in the Herald's Office, denominated "Records of the Tower," it is said, that an inquisition was taken in the 4 Edward I., touching the value of the tythes of this earl. This inquiry affected his tythes, toll, market, &c. in the town of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, and most of his property in the south. In the sixth of the same reign, in virtue of a writ of "*Quo Warranto*," the daring spirit of this intrepid nobleman was again roused. The king having need of money, and being conscious, that during the anarchy of civil commotion, many charters had been lost, and much property acquired by means not the most honourable, he caused an enquiry to be instituted, and, amongst others, our earl was summoned to shew on what authority he held his vast possessions. His answer is given in our introductory discourse,* to which we will here add a more expressive one from Watson: "*Produxit in medium, gladium antiquum evaginatum, et ait, ecce domini mei, ecce meum warrantum! Antecessores mei vero cum Willielmo bastardo venientes, conquesti sunt terras suas gladio, et easdem gladio defendam a quocunque eas occupare volente; non enim Rex terram per se devicit, et subjecit, sed progenitores nostri fuerunt cum eo participes, et coadjutores.*" To which he adds, "This was the original of that motto, which was inscribed about some ancient seals of arms, belonging to the Warrens of Poynton, in Cheshire, viz. "*Gladio vici, gladio teneo, gladio tenebo*;" the last word of which is the present motto of the family.†

About three years subsequently to the event just noticed, he was again required to exhibit by what warrant he "claimed gallows, and assize of bread and beer, and of measures, pleas 'de vetito namio,' and for shedding of blood, and waif at Conisbrough; and also by what warrant he claimed to have free warren, and his lands quit from suit in Brampton and elsewhere," "and by what warrant also, he refused to permit the king's bailiffs to enter his lands, to perform their offices, except his own bailiffs were present."

"The earl came and said, that he claimed gallows at Conisbrough, and Wake-

* P. cxlii.

† Watson, p. 250, where a fine historical picture, painted by Pine, is given, representing this transaction.

field, and the power of doing what belonged to a gallows, in all his lands and fees; and that he and all his ancestors had used the same, from time immemorial. He claimed to have the assize of bread and beer in the said manors, because there had been a market and one fair at Wakefield, from immemorial time; and he had also another fair there by charter of King Henry III., which he produced in evidence. He likewise claimed the assize of bread and beer elsewhere, throughout his whole lands and fees, and the power of punishing transgressors against the same at Wakefield and Conisbrough, and that he and his ancestors had used the same from time immemorial. And, as to the settling of measures, he claimed to have the standard of all measures at Wakefield, from the kings marshalls and bailiffs at their coming, and by that standard to regulate all the measures, in all his lands and fees; yet so that the said marshalls and bailiffs, at their coming there, should have the emendation of all measures, where they shall find any transgression; and after their return, the said earl and his bailiffs should have the emendation of the same till their next coming; and this he said that he and his ancestors had used time immemorial. Concerning the pleas 'de vetito namio,' he claimed nothing; but claimed to have the pleas for shedding blood, in form of simple transgression; yet so that there be no appeal from thence, or nothing found against the king's peace; and this, he and his ancestors had used time immemorial. He also laid claim to waifs on the same account. And, as to being quit from suit, he said, that he and his ancestors, from time immemorial, were free from suit in all their lands and fees in that county, (York,) which were of ancient tenure. With regard to his appropriation of a forest, he claimed no forest in the aforesaid lands, but said, that he and all his ancestors had free chase in the same, from time immemorial, as well in fees as demesne lands, viz. in Wakefield, Horbury, Sandal, Criglestone, Osset, Gawthorpe, Heaton, Chickenley, Halifax, Heptonstall, Rastrick, Langfield, Midgley, Shircote, Saltonstall, Northland, Rishworth, Hipperholm, Ovenden, Haldesworth, Wadsworth, Routonstall, Stansfield, Northowram, Shipden, and in half the wood of Soothill, Hanging-Heaton, Woodkirk, Thorne, Fishlake, Donsthorpe, Hatfield, Stainford, Conisbrough, Butterbusk, Dalton, Braithwell, Clifton, Crookehill, Firesby and Mikelbring; unless some interruption had happened in time of war, or when some of his ancestors were in wardship to the kings of England. He also claimed to have free warren, as well in his fees, as in demesne lands, which he had of ancient tenure, viz. in Wakefield, Sandall, Criglestone, Chickenley, Osset, Soland, Halifax, Heptonstall, Rastrick, Langfield, Midgley, Skircote, Horbury, Saltonstall, Ovenden, Haldesworth, Foketonstall, Wadesworth, Routonstall, Stansfield, Norland, Hipperholm, Northouram, Skipden, Rishworth, Hanging-Heaton, Woodkirk, Donsthorpe, Hatfield, Fishlake, Stainford, Conisbrough, Dalton, Braithwell, Mikelbringe, Stanley, Alverthorpe, Meveringthorpe, Woodhall, Eaffarthorp and Bethome; and that he and all his ancestors had used free warren in the said lands, from time im-

memorial; and that King Henry III., granted to him by his charter, (which he produced,) dated 27th January, in the 37th year of his reign, free warren in all his demesne lands which he then had, or which he should acquire; and by that charter he claimed to have free warren in Brampton, which he had purchased. And, as to the king's bailiffs, he said, that the bailiffs of him, the earl, and all of his ancestors, from time immemorial, had exercised all the offices which belonged to the king's bailiffs, except what belonged to the crown.

“ On the part of the king it was answered, that the aforesaid liberties belonged merely to the crown, and that no long seisen, or prescription of time, ought to prejudice the king; and that the earl had no special warrant for the said liberties, therefore judgment was desired, if the seisin could be to the earl a sufficient warrant. Upon an inquisition taken afterwards, it does not appear that anything was found for the king.”* The earl, therefore, would become settled, and fully confirmed in his possessions.

On what occasion it was that this earl became so great a favourite with the clergy, or whether it were through the influence of the king, that the precepts directed to the bishop of London, the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbots of Westminster, St. Augustines, in Canterbury, Waltham, St. Albans, &c. requiring of them that prayers should be offered up to the throne of grace, for the health of the soul of John de Warren, we know not; but it is manifest, that the mistaken view of religion prevalent in those times, induced the king to so far interfere on behalf of his favourite. The mandate of the king was fully effective, for Watson informs us, that the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Chichester, Durham, Carlisle, Lincoln, Coventry, and Litchfield, granted to all that should perform this acceptable service, forty days of indulgence, and the bishop of Rochester, thirty. His concessions to the religious, and confirmation of grants, &c. were, however, less numerous than those of any of his ancestors.

In the hands of Thomas Astle, Esq., was formerly a grant, which is attributed to this earl, made to the prior and convent of Christ church in Canterbury, whereby he decrees, “ q'd venerabit' pat' R. dei gr'a Cantua' Archiep' totius Anglie p'mas, et successores sui. Et id. p'or et convent' Eccl'ie x'pi Cantuar' et successores sui, et homines eo', et omnes tenentes de feodo' eo,” be free from tolls in all our markets, villages, lands, and fairs, and those of our heirs, throughout all England, without any hindrance of us or our heirs for ever. This document is dated at Hatfield, on the 10th day of April, in the fourth year of Edward I. Whether the Hatfield

* Watson, vol. i. p. 261.

mentioned in this deed, be our Hatfield, we know not. Some of the witnesses were, most certainly, residents of this neighbourhood. From a paper, cited by Watson, it would seem, that, "Robert, son of Eudo de Tevelsby, by consent of Dicoisia, his wife, grants, to Ralph, their son, all the conquest that he had gained by the stroke of war, in the court of the Earl of Warren, at Kuningburgh," viz. seven oxganges, with tofts, in Braithwell, one oxgang in Fislake, and all his lands in Tadworth, (Tudworth,) doing service due to the earl.

By his wife, Alice, who died in 1290, he had William, an only son, and two daughters, viz. Eleanor, who married first, Henry, Lord Percy, by whom she had issue. She married, secondly, the son of a Scotch peer; and Isabel, who became the wife of Baliol, king of Scotland.

William, his only son, who married Joan, daughter of Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, died in the lifetime of his father, and left a daughter, Alice, who was the wife of Edmund, Earl of Arundel, and a son, named

JOHN DE WARREN,

the eighth earl, and grandson of the last proprietor. On the demise of his grandfather, in 1304, he was something short of eighteen years of age.* Ever desirous to ensure the interest of the De Warrens' potent house, the British monarchs never failed to use every opportunity of binding them by the ties of blood, and affinity of relationship. At the age of nineteen years, King Edward I. offered him in marriage, Joan, daughter of Henry, Earl of Barr, the king's grand-daughter, by Eleanor, his daughter, which offer was accepted by the young earl; but it would seem, that the rites were not consummated for some time afterwards.

In the 34 of the same reign, he was one of the two hundred and sixty-seven young bachelors, that were sent against Robert Bruce, and afterwards knighted at London. On this occasion, the chronicler Langtofts remarks, that,

His sonne, Edward the prince, & fiftene for his sake,
Three hundred of the prouinee, knyghtes wild he make;
It was the kynges costage, for ilk a knyghte was gest;
Also thei mad mariage of some that were the best.
The yong erle of Warene with grete nobley was thare,
A wif thei han bikome, the erle's douhter of Bar.
The erle of Arundelle his landes laucht he then,
And toke a domyselle, William douhter of Warene.

* Dugdale, vol. i. p. 80. Perck lib. ix. p. 16, names the year 1287 as the period of his birth, which makes him to have attained only his seventeenth year, on his grandfather's death.

The year following he had summons to parliament, and speedily afterwards attended the king in his journey to Scotland. In the retinue, which accompanied Edward II. to France on his marriage, our earl was one; and in 1308 he joined with Anthony Beke and others, to support the dignity of the crown, and the interests of the country. In 1309, he again enlisted himself in the service of his prince, and attended him to Scotland, for which, and other services, he obtained a grant of the castle and honour of Peak, in Derbyshire, together with the whole forest of High Peak, to hold during his life, fully and as ample as William Peverell formerly enjoyed the same before it came to the crown by escheat.*

Bountiful as had been this king to the earl, he had too high a sense of his duty, both to the country, to the king, and to himself, to suffer a person, so ambitious as was Piers de Gaveston, to continue the sole adviser of the crown; he therefore joined in the league with other great men, which had for its object the expulsion of that proud foreigner from the council of the king.

In the 9th Edward II., 1316, John, Earl of Warren, was returned as holding the manor of Conisbrough, and some of its various members, in the Wapentake of Strafford, in the county of York, viz., Wermesworth, Herthill, Dalton, Haytefeld, Sandale, Stainford, Clifton, Bramley, and Braithwell. In the 10th year of the same reign, with Roger de Mowbray, Nicholas de Segrave, Robert de Everingham, Peter de Mauley, &c., he was summoned to serve in the wars against the Welsh.† In the previous year, he had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the clerical order, which, in those days of darkness and superstition, was no light offence.—At the root of this business, it is probable, his wife was chief agent, and to which she was led by his continuance in adultery with Maud de Nerford. The mandate of excommunication was issued by the Bishop of Chichester, for which, we are informed by Stow, that “the sayd earle came to the byshoppe with armed men, and foure, more hasty than the reste, threatened the byshopp, whereupon the byshop’s men fell on them, and took the earle and the rest, and imprisoned them.”‡

To the domestic peace of this earl, this unfortunate affair was a vital stroke. By his wife he had no children; and, whether through that, or some other cause, he conceived a dislike to her, is not known. For some time he had occasionally cohabited with Maud de Nerford, a lady of noble parentage, by whom he had issue, and on which account, it is supposed, the church took cognizance of his offence.—Finding, however, as is observed by his reverend biographer, “that he could not have both a wife and concubine, was determined, if he could, to be without the

* Dugdale's Bar. vol. i. p. 80.

† Rymer's Fed. vol. i. p. 2. p. 693.

‡ Stow's Annals, p. 218.

former ; and therefore, partly on the pretence of a prior contract, made with this Maud de Nerford, and partly because Joan de Barr was too nearly related, he sued for a divorce.* This step, it would seem, was not unpleasant to the countess, and, when fully carried into effect, it stipulated, that the earl should settle on the said Joan, seven hundred and forty marks annually for life.

Matters being thus adjusted between the earl and his countess, he forthwith adopted the requisite means for securing to Maud de Nerford, and her children, a portion of his vast and princely patrimony ; a step which he could not take without special authority. To accomplish this, he first made a grant of such of his possessions as he wished it to affect, to the king and his heirs, with a view of having them re-granted to himself for life. Speedily afterwards, the contemplated grant was made to the earl, but in that deed the manors of Hatfield and Thorne, with their appurtenances, were excepted. In the following year, viz., 10th Edward II., a settlement was made upon Maud de Nerford and her issue, by this earl, when the castles, villas, and manors of Conisbrough and Sandall, and the manors of Thorne, Wakefield, Hatfield, Sowerby, Braithwell, Fishlake, Dewsbury, and Halifax, and all other hamlets, lands, and tenements, appertaining thereto, in the county of York, passed in remainder to his natural children, as will be seen by the following transcript :—“ Et quod post mortem pref. Matilde predict. castra vill. etc. remaneant Johanni de Warennia filio predicte Matilde et her. suis masculis de corpore suo legit. procreat. Habend. etc. (ut supra) per servic. predict. imperpet. Et si idem Johannes fil. Matilde obierit sine herede masculo de corpore suo legit. procreat. tunc post mortem eisdem Johannis fil. Matilde omnia castra vill. etc. remaneant Thome de Warrenna filio ejusd. Matilde et her. suis masculis de corpore suo legit. procreat. tenend, etc. per servic. predict. imperpet. Et si predict. obierit sine herede masculo de corpore suo legit. procreat. tunc post mortem ejusdem Thome omnia castra vill. etc. (ut supra) remaneant heredibus prefati comitis de corpore suo legit. procreat. Habend. etc. per servicia predict. imperpet. Et si idem comes obierit sine herede de corpore suo legit. procreat. tunc omnia predict. castra vill. etc. ad nos et her. nostros integre absque reclamacione aliqua revertantur. Habend. etc. (ut supra) imperpet.

* History of the Warrens, vol. ii. p. 8. In the Writs. of Inquis. ad quod Damnum, 12 Edward III., is the following notice :—“ Will'us de Warennia. Nunc prior de Horton in com' Kanc' est fil Joh' is com' Warrenne et fuit natus in Angl' in Castro de Conesburgh in comitas' Ebor'.” From this extract it would seem, that, in addition to John and Thomas, named in the deed of transfer of the 10th Edward II., he had also a son William, who was born in the castle of Conisbrough, but of whom we know not. Probably his birth was subsequently to the date of the above deed ; and Maud de Nerford might, after the bill of divorce was obtained, reside, occasionally, at this place and give birth to a son.

We also learn, from the abbreviated rolls, that King Edward III., in the fourteenth year of his reign, confirmed a grant, made by this John de Warren, to William, his son, of land in Hatfield. *Vid. the Introduction, p. xc v iii.*

Teste Rege apud Lincoln quarto die Augusti."* The remainder of his vast possessions passed to his sister Alice by grant, through whom they became the inheritance of the Fitz-Allan family.

The unpleasant dispute between this earl and the Earl of Lancaster, is of a nature, if true, but ill calculated to redeem a character, already reputed more than ordinary loose in point of connubial fidelity; but we shall not follow the various accounts which historians have written on the subject, nor stain our pages, by detailing a transaction, which cannot be too soon forgotten.

In the 12 Edward II., De Warren made an exchange with the above Earl of Lancaster, by which the manor and castle of Conisbrough passed to the latter for the life of the former; but whether it affected any other of the Warrens' property in this neighbourhood, the document is silent. At or about this time it was, that the feast, to be hereafter noticed, was made here, by the stewards of the unfortunate and ambitious Lancaster.

In the 15 Edward II., John de Warren and Edmund, Earl of Kent, were required to pursue, and forthwith take the above earl, and his partisans, who, after their defeat, had fled for refuge into the castle of Pontefract, but who were again drawn out and defeated, by the Earl of Carlisle; when the earl and some others were made prisoners. The castle yielding to the king, the earl, and the remainder of the captured revolters, were brought to Pontefract, and the great hall of this important fortress was the place in which Lancaster was arraigned before the King, John, Earl of Warren, and other loyal barons; when it was decreed, that he should be decapitated—which sentence was immediately executed before the walls of the castle.† On this subject we would beg leave to subjoin the following transcript, from Rymer:—

A.D., 1322. 15 Edward ii. *Placita coronæ, coram domino Edwardo Rege filio domini Regis Edwardi, tenta in præsentia ipsius domini Regis, apud Pontem Fractum, die Lunæ proximo ante festum Anunciationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, Anno regni sui quinto decimo.*

* Watson, vol. ii. p. 16.

† In the year 1823, his body is supposed to have been found on a hill, at a little distance from the place of execution, but whether it were the body of the earl, or some other personage, would, we conceive, be difficult to prove. Tradition, however, is in favour of the received opinion. The number that, on various occasions, have found a place of sepulture in the immediate vicinity of this castle, must be great; and when the ravages of time have been suffered to exert its influence on a corpse for five hundred years, identity is out of the question. The hill above adverted to, if we are not mistaken, is called St. Thomas's hill.

Cum Thomas comes *Leucastr'* captus pro prodicionibus, homicidiis, incendiis, depredationibus, et aliis diversis feloniiis ductus esset coram ipso domino Rege.

Præsentibus—Edmundo comite Kanc'
 Johannes ... Richmond'
 Johannes ... Warrenna.
 &c. &c. &c.*

After the martyrdom of the earl, (for he died in the cause of his fellow-men,) his brother, Henry Plantagenet, was found his heir; and, in the 17 Edward II., had livery of the lands, &c., of the the deceased earl.

On doing homage, in the 1 Edward III., the escheator, north of the Trent, had orders not to meddle with the castles and vills of Conisbrough and Sandall, or the manors of Wakefield, Hatfield, Thorne, Sowerby, and Stamford; "to which John, Earl of Warren, laid claim, those being, by consent of both parties, to remain in the hands of the king, to be delivered to the said Henry. Yet, notwithstanding, the Earl of Warren had possession given him of all the manors, &c., which he enjoyed till his death."† Hence it would seem that, although restitution had been made to Henry, brother to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the property, north of the Trent, affected by the deed of exchange, made between John, Earl of Warren, and the late earl, did not, through some cause or other, pass to his successor. After this period, indeed, several acts of ownership were exercised by the Earl of Warren, as will be immediately seen.

In the 20 Edward III., says Dugdale, on the authority of Glover's collections, this Earl John, by indenture, dated the 1st of April, settled on Maud de Nerford, for the term of her life, the castles, towns, and manors of Conisbrough and Sandall, with the manors of Wakefield, Hatfield, Sowerby, Braithwell, Fishlake, Dewsbury, and Halifax; with remainder to John and Thomas, her sons, by the said De Warren, and the heirs male of their bodies, as hath been before noted. This transaction would appear somewhat extraordinary, for we have before seen, that this transfer took place in the 10 Edward II.; and that, in case the said John and Thomas should die without heirs male of their bodies, the said castles, manors, lands, &c., should remain to the king and his heirs, lawfully begotten. This grant,

* *Fœd.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 478. On the 23d of March, 1322, the king issued his precept, dated by him at Pontefract, to the sheriffs of Yorkshire, &c., commanding them to seize on the castles, manors, lands, &c., belonging to the disaffected barons, when *Eodem modo mandatum est Simoni de Wodeham valletto Regis*, de Castro de Konyngsburgh quod fuit predicti comitis, &c. *Fœd.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 480. With the Earl of Lancaster, perished also, the Lord Warren de Lisle, Lord William Tonket, Lord Fitzwilliam, the younger, &c. &c.

† Watson, vol. ii. p. 32. *Abb. Rotu.* 1 Edw. III. Ro. i.

therefore, named by Dugdale, is probably no other than a reciting clause in some antecedent deed.*

Watson, from whose genealogical researches relative to this family we have borrowed much, has proved, pretty clearly, that, not only John and Thomas, sons of Maud de Nerford, by De Warren, were dead before the 20 Edward III., but that Maud also had paid the debt of nature. Hence, it is not improbable, but that the grant, noticed by Dugdale, from the collections of Glover, might, in some measure, be connected with the provisions made in consequence of his marriage with Isabel de Houland, his second wife, as it would appear, that he led this lady to the altar of Hymen sometime about this period.

In a deed, cited by the author of the Baronage, dated the 2d of June, 20 Edward III., it was agreed, that if it should please God to send the earl issue, by Isabel de Houland, his wife, should the heir be male or female, it should be joined in marriage with some one of the royal blood; so that the whole of the inheritance of this noble peer, with his name and arms, should be assumed, and descend to him or her that was so fortunate as to be the object of the king's choice, (for it was left to him to make the match,) if of the blood royal. And if the earl had not issue, by his said wife, then all his castles, manors, lands, and tenements, in Surrey, Sussex, and Wales, should remain to the king; in order that they might be bestowed upon some one of his own sons, providing that the same grantee was willing to assume the name and arms of De Warren. This deed is totally silent relative to the property of the earl north of the Trent, which, of course, passed by virtue of the grant, made in the tenth of the preceding king's reign; which, on the demise of Maud de Nerford, and her two sons, became a part of the possessions of the king and his heirs.† Amongst the religious donations of this earl, which were both numerous and respectable, was one made to the abbot and convent of Roche. Interested by the grandeur of the edifice, and greatly affected by the poverty of the monks, in one of his rambles to that delightful place, he obtained license of the crown, to give by charter, dated 19 Edward III., the advowson of the church of Hatfield, then valued at seven marks per annum, when thirteen honest men, of good literature, were added to that establishment.‡ Concerning this grant, Burton remarks, that, "On 19 Edward III, A.D., 1345, the king granted his license to John, Earl of Warren, to give the advowson of this church, (Hatfield) then valued at seven marks per annum, to Roche Abbey; and the same

* Dug. Bar. vol. ii. p. 154.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 81.

‡ Watson, p. lvi., from Dodsworth's Coll. Bodl. Oxon.

earl got it appropriated to the monks, for the maintenance of thirteen monks, chaplains, to celebrate divine service in their abbey, for the said king and earl Warren, for ever ;”* which, on the 19th May, 1346, was regularly appropriated by William la Zouch, archbishop of York. Some of his concessions, &c., touching his property in this neighbourhood has been noticed in our Introduction. The few which we shall here bring forward to the inspection of the reader, relate more particularly to the place under our review :

5 Edw. III., Rotu. 18.—R. concedit Will'o de Skargil q'd ipse teneat sibi et her' suis sexaginta et quinq' acras t're de vastis in castris et man'iis de Congesbroug, Sandhale, Hatfeld, Wakefeld, Thorn', etc., quas Joh'es de Warena, com' Surr. concesserit, etc., redd'o inde p' xxxiii. Sol.

Ibid, Rotu. 24.—Joh'es de Warena com' Surr' concesserit Mag'ro Rad'o de Conyesebro' duo messuagia et duas bovatas t're cum p'tin' in Friesbie tenend' sibi et heredib' suis redd'o inde xii. sol. iiii den. ob. p' om'i s'vicio et similit concesserit q'd idem Rad' tres acras ter' et dimid' de p'd'cis duab' bovates t're manso ipsius Rad'i contiguas includere, etc., quas R. concedit, etc.

6 Edw. III. Rotu. 17.—Joh'es de Warena, comes Surr' concesserit Mag'ro Rad'o de Conisbro' el'ico centum et viginti acr' t're de vastis ipsius comitis in man'iis suis de Conyngesburgh, Sandale, Hatfeld, Wakefeld, Thorne, et Sourebyshire, q' idem comes tenet, etc., tenend' eidem Rad'o et h'edib' suis redd'o inde p' ann. quadraginta solidos quas R. concedit, etc.

Cens' Fras h'et Hugo de Totehill de centum et viginti acris t're de vastis ipsius comitis in Conyngesbrough h'end', etc.

7 Edw. III. Ibid. No. 20.—R. confirmavit donac'oem quam Joh'es de Warena com. Surr. fecit de Sexdecim acris t're et de vastis ipsius comitatus in Conyngesburgh mag'ro Rad'o de Conesbro' tenend' eidem Rad'o et h'edib' suis redd'o inde p' ann. quinq' solid' et quatuor denar q', etc.

Ibid. No. 20.—R. Lic' dedit Joh'i de Warena comiti de Surr' q'd ipse dare possit et concedere Walt'o fil. Hennei de Clifton duodecim acras vasti de vastis ipsius comitis in haya de Conyngesburgh tenend' eidem Walt'o et h'edib' suis imp'p'm redd'o inde p' ann. quatuor solidos, etc.

10 Edw. III. Gro. Fines, No. 23.—Alanus de Vesey de Conyngesburgh finem fecit p' xxs. p' p'don t'nagr' h'end' adquir, etc. Joh'e de Warena comiti Surr' div' sa ten' cum p'tin' in Conyngesburgh q', etc.

10 Edw. III. No. 30.—R: concessit et confirmavit Alana de Vesey de Conyngesbrough quatuor messuagia unam bovatom et decem et septem acras et medietatem unius rode t're et tres acras vasti cum p'tin' in Conyngesburgh in com. Ebor. q' consanguineus suus Joh'es de Warena comes Surr' qui villam de Co-

* Burton's Mon. Ebor. p. 321.

nyngesburgh cum p'tin', tenet ad vitam suam et q', etc. Concessit, etc. tenend' eidem Alano et heredib' suis p' s'vicium faciendi duos adventus p' ann. ad curiam de Conyngesburgh et redd'o inde sexdecim solidos annuatim imp'p'm, etc.

14 Edw. III. Gro. Fines, No. 26.—R. confirmavit concessionem quam Joh'es de Wareana, com. Surr' fecit valetto suo Rog'o Saleman, viz. totu' vastum vocatu' Hothewaites in villa de Conisburgh tenend' eidem Rog'o et her' suis imp'p' m' redd'o inde p' ann. duos solidos p' om'i s' vicio, etc.

14 Edw. III. Gro. Fines, Ro. 26.—R. confirmavit concessionem quam idem comes fecit Will'o de esey de triginta aer' vasti jac' infra haiam de Conisburgh int' t'ram quondam mag'ri Rad'i de Conisburgh et Holbeckbrok' tenend, eidem Will'o et her' suis redd'o inde p' ann. quatuor dnar, p' qualib' acra p' ann. p' om'i servicio, etc.*

This earl, as well as some of his ancestors, frequently resided at the castle of Conisbrough, but their chief seat would appear to have been at Lewes. His last will and testament was dated at the former place, and, according to Dugdale, is entered in the register book of Archbishop la Zouch, which has since been lost. A grant, affecting the franchises of his tenants of his manor of Wakefield, was dated at the same place, to which were added, as witnesses, John de Nevile, Hugh de Eland, William Fitzwilliam, Roger Fitz-Thomas, and Peter Fitz-Thomas knights; John de Doncaster, John Curson, Peter de Stamford, Thomas de Heton, and Adam de Pontefract. It was dated 5th October, 1 Edward II. To the great council of the nation he had summons, the 13 Edward II., 4 and 17 Edward III.

On his death, which occurred 30th June, 1347,† he is reported, by the escheator, to have held “die quo obiit manerium de Hatefeld, cum membris de Fyshlake, Steneford, Thorne cum aliis membris appert. de rege in capite ut de corona per ser-

* Abbr Rotu. The Vesey's here mentioned, were a numerous and respectable family, but in what manner, or whether at all, related to the Vesey's, of Brampton, &c., we have not yet discovered. To the Warrens, the Allen de Vesey, the grantee, here named, was steward. He was succeeded by John, his son and heir, who, on his demise, in the 36 Edward III., left an heiress; when the king, in the same year, “Concessit Hen. de Gredon, custodiam septem messuagio, quatuor bovates et dimid' et triginta et uni' acr' et medietatis uni rode t're et trium acra. vasti cum p' tin' in Conyngesburgh et Barneburgh q' fuer Joh'is fil' Alani Vesey de Conyngesburgh def. q' etc. h'and' usq' ad legitimam etatem h'edis redd'o R. P. custodia et maritagio duodecim marcas et faciendo, etc.”

This John, as is above observed, left an only daughter and heir, named Emma, who became the wife of Robert, son and heir of Arthur, son and heir of Anthony, son and heir of Thomas, son and heir of Robert, fifth son of Peter Bosville, of Erdealey, in the county of York, by Beatrix de Furnival, from whom the Boswells, of Conisbrough. In the 8 Richard II. was levied a fine between Robert Bosvile, of Conisbrough, and Emma, his wife, of lands, in Conisbrough, Hooton-Roberts, and Ravenfield. Harl. MSS. No. 801. Plut. According to an inquisition, taken 36 Edward III., preserved in the MSS. here cited, it would seem that Emma, daughter of John Bosvile, was then of the age of twelve years. (Here vide Watson, Halifax, p. 81 and 96.)

† Some say that he died at his castle of Conisbrough—Topographer, vol. i. p. 3, and when we take into account the date of his will, the circumstance is not improbable.

viciū unius feodi militis. Castrum et manerium de Sandale cum manerio de Wakefeld una cum castro et manerio de Conyngesburgh de rege in capite ut de corona per servicium duorum feodorum militis in com. Ebor."* with a great number of others in various parts of the country.

On the occurrence of this event, and the previous demise of John and Thomas, his two natural sons, by Maud de Nerford, without issue, the provisions of the deed, executed in the tenth of the preceding king's reign, now became operative on the part of his successor, King Edward III., which carried to him and his heirs, the whole of the De Warrens' property, north of the Trent, which, in the same year of the earl's death, was settled on his fifth son,

EDMUND PLANTAGENET,

surnamed De Langley, who was then aged only six years. During the minority of this noble owner of Conisbrough, &c., the profits arising from this vast extension of property, were given to his mother, Queen Philippa, with a view of educating him and her other children. In the 33 Edward III., the annual income of this prince was further augmented, by a grant to himself and heirs, "*legitime procreatis omnia maneria terras et tenementa quæ fuerunt Johannæ de Bares, comitissæ Warennæ de dote comitis nuper viri sui.*"† Here we would observe, that the seven hundred and forty marks, assigned to the first wife of John, Earl of Warren, on her divorce, would seem to be only a part of the property which she enjoyed, subsequently to that event, belonging to the De Warrens.

In the 36th of the same reign, he was created Earl of Cambridge; and in the 9 Richard II., Duke of York,‡ when it was ordered, that he and his heirs should be empowered to receive, out of the exchequer, £1,000 annually, until the king should provide for him intail, lands to the same value.¶ In this king's reign it would seem, that some obliquity had been charged on the character of this duke, for in A.D., 1398, the king in parliament, proclaimed as innocent, the Duke of York, the Bishop of Worcester, and Sir Richard Scrope, then living; William, late archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander, late archbishop of York, Thomas, late Bishop of Exeter, and Michael, late abbot of Waltham, then dead; "of the execution and intent of the commission made in anno tenth, as being assured of their loyalties, and therefore by parliament restoreth them to their good name."§ He was

* Dug. vol. i. p. 82.

† Pat. Rotu. Pars Prim. 33 Edward III. m. 1.

‡ Wilhelmi Worcester Ann. Rerum Anglic. sub. ann. 1385; also Lelandi Coll. tom. iii. p. 381.

¶ Colton's abridg. of the Town Records, by Prynne, p. 369.

§ Ibid. p. 369.

also one of the ten appellants in the case of Alice Peeres, and in the 1 Henry IV., in company of the Earl of Northumberland, and others of the "blood of the archbishop of Canterbury," he beseeched the king that the said archbishop might have recovery against Roger Walden, for various wastes and spoils done by the said Roger in the archbishopric aforesaid, to which the king acceded. Banks says, "he was a person of much valour and conduct in the field, and of great honour in the cabinet." He endeavoured strenuously to support King Richard's crown against Henry of Lancaster, yet, when Henry had attained to the throne, he abandoned the court for a solitary retirement, and died at his manor of Langley; where he was interred in the priory, anno 1402.* He had summons to parliament from the 10 Richard II. to the 3 Henry IV.

This earl married two wives, first, Isabel, daughter and co-heir of Peter, king of Castile and Leon, and secondly, Joan, daughter of Thomas, and sister and co-heir to Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent. By his first wife he had a daughter named Constance, who became the wife of Thomas Spencer, Earl of Gloucester; and two sons, Edward and Richard, the latter of whom was born in the castle of this place, and hence acquired the appellation of Richard of Conisbrough.† Edmund Plantagenet was succeeded by his son

EDWARD PLANTAGENET,

the second duke of York, who petitioned the king touching the grant of £1,000, made to his father, when he had conceded to him £4,000 out of the customs of Kingston-upon-Hull, and £289, 6s. 8d. out of the customs of London, as part of the above £1,000, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten. He had also granted to him the lands of Glamorgan, in Wales, which were formerly held by Constance le Dispenser, paying yearly £300, which rent the said Duke purchased of the crown.‡ In this year also was instituted an enquiry relative to the castle of Dunster, &c. between the Duke of York and Philippa his wife, Elizabeth, Countess of Sarum, and Richard, Lord Strange, of one part, and Sir Hugh Lutterell, knight, of the other, when none were to be impanneled that could not spend forty pounds a-year.

In 1416, 3 Henry V., on the foundation of the college of Fotheringhay, this

* Brookes names 1400, which is obviously an error.

† Fuller, is unquestionably in an error, when he calls Richard de Conisbrough, Duke of York; for it is manifest that he never attained to that dignity, being only Earl of Cambridge. In the conspiracy formed against his sovereign, King Henry V., he was found to be one of the chief abettors, and was therefore beheaded at Southampton, before the decease of his elder brother Edward.

‡ Cotton's Abridgment of the Tower Records, by Prynne, p. 369.

duke obtained license to bestow on that establishment, the castle, manor, and town of Fotheringhay; the castle, manor, and town of Stamford; the town and soke of Grantham, in the county of Lincoln; the castle and manors of Conisbrough, Braithwell, Clifton, Hatfield, Fishlake, and Thorne, in the county of York, with all their appurtenances, held of the king *in capite*, in trust, to Henry, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, bishop of Durham, Sir William Hungerford, Roger Flore, of Oakham, Peter de Mavan, our liegeman of Gascony, John Laurens, John Russel, of Herefordshire, Henry Bracy, of Fotheringhay, and John Wilkes, "Habendum et tenendum præfatis episcopo, Waltero, etc. hæredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum de nobis et hæredibus nostris per servicia inde debita et consueta imperpetuum, etc. ita quod præfatus consanguineus noster per feoffamentum, prædictum chevanciam suam necessariam facere possit in complementum propositi, voluntatis, et intentionis suorum prædictorum; eo quod castra, maneria, villæ, hundredum, soca, et avocationes prædicta cum suis pertinentiis præfato consanguineo nostro, ut filio et hæredi Edmundi nuper Ducis Ebor', decederunt; et pro defectu hæredis masculi præfati Edmundi nobis revertibilia existunt, non obstante. In cujus," etc.*

In addition to the title of Duke of York, he was also created Earl of Rutland and of Cork; and in the 20 Richard II. he was made Duke of Albemarle, and Constable of England, Lord of Tyndale, &c. He was a man of martial glory, but had the misfortune to be slain in the unequal fight at Agincourt, in 1418. By his arm fell the brave Duke of Alencon, a noble peer of the blood royal of France. His body was transported to England, and interred in the collegiate church at Fotheringhay, on the 1st December following. For his wife he took Philippa, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord Mohun, of Dunster, but having no issue, on his demise his titles and estates devolved on Richard Plantagenet, son of Richard de Conisbrough, Earl of Cambridge, who became one of the most important and ambitious characters in the kingdom. He was chief of the faction of the white rose, by which England was deluged with the blood of her inhabitants, and many who would otherwise have added dignity and power to the commonweal, became victims to the insatiable scourge of civil war. He contended for the British diadem at Wakefield, in 1460, and after proving himself a gallant and enterprising commander, fell in that bloody affray. His valour on this occasion is thus characterised by the inimitable dramatic bard, Shakspeare:—

All thought he bore him in the thickest troop,
As doth a lion in a herd of neat;

* Dug. Mon. Ang. vol. iii. part ii. p. 162. In consequence of this settlement, his widow became entitled to a third part thereof as her dower, in the possession of which she died in the 10 Henry VI. *Reck. 10. Henry VII. No. 46.*

† Brooke's Catalogue, p. 377.

Or as a bear, encompass'd round with dogs ;
 Who, having pinched a few, and made them cry,
 The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him.

When describing the funeral obsequies of this Richard, Sandford, on the authority of a MS. in the College of Arms, observes, " they parted from Pontefract, and rested that night at Doncaster, where they were received by the convent of Cordeliers, in grey habits. From thence, by easy journies, they proceeded to Blyth, to Tuxford-in-the-Clay, to Newark, to Grantham, to Stamford, and from thence, on the 29th July, to Fotheringhay, where they arrived between two and three o'clock in the afternoon."

What length of time the issues of the manor of Conisbrough, with its dependencies, continued to be appropriated towards the maintenance of the collegiate establishment at Fotheringhay, we have not been able to ascertain ; and whether it became vested in the crown through the medium of Edward IV., son of Richard, Duke of York, son of Richard de Conisbrough, brother of Edward, son of Edmund de Langley, the grantee, or on some subsequent occasion, we know not ; but it is more than probable that the latter was the case. Certain it is, that the manorial court was held in the king's name long before the grant of the 1 Elizabeth, when it finally ceased to contribute to the royal coffers. Here we are obliged to leave a blank in the history of the lords of this place. In the grant of Queen Elizabeth, executed in the first year of her reign, in favour of Sir Henry Carey, knt. Baron of Hunsdon, it is described as parcel of the possessions of the dissolved monastery of Tickhill, in the same county, and parcel of the patrimony of the duchy of York ; but when or by whom given to that institution, or how far their interest here extended, we are alike uninformed.

On the elevation of the above

SIR HENRY CAREY

to the title and dignity of a baron, he had conceded to him and his heirs male, amongst other honours and lands, the castle and manor of Conisbrough, to be held, *in capite*, of the queen and her successors, by the 40th part of a knight's fee, with a view of enabling him to support his newly acquired preferment.

This nobleman, who died in 1596, was son of William Carey, Esq. by Mary, sister to Ann, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and one of the unfortunate queens of Henry VIII. The proximity of blood between this manorial proprietor of Conisbrough, &c. and Queen Elizabeth, was one great

cause of his dignified elevation. On the projected Spanish invasion in 1588, he accompanied her majesty to the camp at Tilbury, and had, on that memorable occasion, the command of the army destined to combat with the enemy, had they effected a landing on our coast. Highly, however, as he was esteemed by his kinswoman, he died ere he rose to the acme of his ambitious views—the earldom of Wiltshire. Fuller remarks, that, “when he lay on his death-bed, the queen gave him a gracious visit; causing a patent for the said earldom to be drawn, his robes to be made, and both to be laid on his bed; but this lord (who could not dissemble neither well nor sick) replied, ‘Madam, seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.’” On the death of the Earl of Sussex, both himself and his son took the place of lord chamberlain; he was accounted a steady and staunch friend to the queen, free from dissimulation, and brave in the field. On the ratification of peace between France and England, in 1564, Sir Henry, accompanied by the Lord Strange, and divers knights and gentlemen went over to the city of Lyons as bearer to that monarch of the noble order of the Garter, and in A.D. 1569, he was sent with the Earl of Rutland, Sir Ralph Sadler, Lord Evers, &c. against the rebels in the north, on which occasion he was made general of the horse. On the honourable and noble descent of this baron it is observed :

*Cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Reginæ genitrix Henrici nobilis uxor.*

For his wife he took Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan, knt. by whom he had three daughters and four sons: Catharine was wife of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Philadelphia, to Thomas Lord Scroop; and Margaret, to Sir Edward Hoby. George, of whom more immediately; John, Edmund, and Robert.

GEORGE CAREY,

second Lord Hunsdon, succeeded his father in his honours and estates. From a boy he had been brought up in the service of the public, and for his valour in Scotland in 1571, he received the honour of knighthood. In a quarrel which took place between the governor of Dumbreton Castle and Sir William Drury, Sir George espoused the cause of the latter gentleman, and challenged the former to fight, “where, when, or how he dared,” concluding it in these words, “Otherwise I will baffle your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels upward, and bear it in despite of yourself. In the mean time I attend your answer. From Glasgow, 22d Maie, 1570.” This bravado received the attention it deserved. Lord Fleming never answered it. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp, knt. by whom he had an only daughter and heir, who

became the wife of Henry Lord Berkeley. But as the castle and manor of Conisbrough, with much other property, were confined in their descent to heirs male, they, with the titles expressed in the patent of creation, descended to his brother

JOHN CAREY,

the third Lord Hunsdon, who, before the death of his brother, had been made warden of the east marches; marshal of Berwick, and captain of Norham. For his wife he espoused Mary, daughter of Leonard Hyde, of Throgkyn, in the county of Hertford, Esq., by whom he left two sons and two daughters, viz. Ann, wife of Sir Francis Lovell, of East Harlyng, in the county of Norfolk, knt. and Blanch, wife of Sir Thomas Woodhouse, in Kymberley, in the same county, Henry his successor, and Charles.

HENRY CAREY,

the fourth Lord Hunsdon, was created, on the 6th of June, 1621, Viscount Rochford, and on the 8th of May, 1627, his honours were further augmented by the title of Earl of Dover. He married Judith, daughter of Sir Thomas Pelham, of Laughton, in the county of Sussex, baronet, and had issue three sons and three daughters, viz., John, (of whom more hereafter,) Pelham, and George. The latter died without issue; Mary, wife of Sir Thomas Wharton, K.B.; Judith died unmarried; and Philadelphia, who expired in 1668.

During the ownership of this Lord Hunsdon, there was a grant, dated 22d of May, 18 Charles I., made to him and to his heirs, touching the manor and castle of Conisbrough. By indenture, between Henry, Earl of Dover, of the first part; John Viscount Rochford, his son and heir apparent, on the second part; and Oliver Botelot, and John Ward, gentlemen, of the third part. In consideration of a marriage then-to-fore had, between the said Viscount Rochford, and the lady Abigail, Viscountess Rochford, his wife, and other considerations, it was agreed, that the said Henry, Earl of Dover, should, before the end of Trinity term, then next ensuing, levy a fine ———, &c., of the said castle and manor of Conisbrough, and all other his lands in the county of York, which is thereby declared shall be and endure to the use of the said John Viscount Rochford and the lady Abigail Viscountess Rochford, his wife, and the heirs of the said Viscountess for ever. Provided, that the said Henry, Earl of Dover and the Viscount Rochford, do, during the life of the Viscountess, settle upon her, in jointure for her life, land in Hertfordshire, or Northamptonshire, of the yearly rent of £1,000, then the use of the said

fine to be to the use of the said viscount and his heirs. In Trinity term, 13 Charles I., a fine was accordingly levied.

At what particular time this nobleman died we have not been able to learn. He was succeeded by his son and heir,

JOHN CAREY,

fifth Lord Hunsdon, and second Earl of Dover. He was twice married: first to Dorothy, daughter of Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke, by whom he had no issue; and secondly, to Abigail, daughter of Sir William Cokayne, knight, alderman of London, by whom he had one daughter, Mary, who became the wife of William Heveningham, of Heveningham, in the county of Sussex, Esq.

According to articles of agreement, made 20th April, 1655, between Abigail, Lady Viscountess Rochford, wife of Lord John Rochford, of the one part; and Wm. Heveningham, Esq., of the other part; it was stipulated, that in consideration of a marriage to be had between the said William and Mary Carey, only daughter and heir apparent of the said viscountess, reciting, that the said manor of Conisbrough, &c., are settled, after the death of the said viscountess and viscount, upon the said Mary Carey and her heirs, under the provisor and agreements contained in one indenture, dated 22d May, 13 Charles I., the said viscountess being disabled during her coverture with the said viscount, she doth thereby promise, upon her honour, to settle the said manor on the said Mary and the heirs of her body by the said William Heveningham, &c.

On the 26th of October, 1685, the above Abigail, Countess of Dover, made her will, and did thereby give, devise, and bequeath, to her only daughter and heir apparent, dame Mary Heveningham, and her heirs, all her lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and all her estate, both real and personal, and of her will made the same Mary sole executrix.

On the 7th of July, 1691, the said dame Mary Heveningham made her will, and thereby gave the manor and castle of Conisbrough, &c., to her granddaughter, Carey Newton, and the heirs of her body. Remainder to her granddaughter, Abigail Heveningham, and the heirs of her body. Remainder to her own right heirs. This manor, &c., therefore, became the property of

EDWARD COOKE, OR COKE,

of Longford, in the county of Derby, Esq., second son of Edward Coke, son of

Robert, son of Richard, son of Henry, fifth son of Sir Edward Coke, knight, a lawyer of great fame, who flourished in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and her successor, King James I., by Bridget, daughter and co-heir of John Parton, of Huntingfield Hall, Esq., in right of his wife, Carey, daughter of Sir John Newton, bart., by Abigail, daughter of Lady Mary Carey, by William Heveningham, of Heveningham, Esq.; daughter of John, fifth Lord Hunsdon; son of Henry, son of John, brother of George, eldest son and heir of the original grantee, by Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan.

By Indenture, of lease and release, executed on the 18th and 19th of June, 1704, between Edward Cooke, Esq., and Carey, his wife, for barring all estates tail remaining, the said manor and castle, &c., were conveyed to James Groundman and Robert Green, and their heirs, to the use of them and their heirs, and covenanted to levy a fine to them and their heirs; to the intent to make them tenants of the freehold, that a recovery thereof may be suffered, wherein Robert Bertie, Esq. and Sir John Newton, Bart. to be demandants, the said Groundman and Green, tenants, who shall vouch to warranty the said Edward Cooke, and Carey, his wife, which said fines and recovery to be and endure to the use of the said Edward Cooke, for his life; remainder to the said Carey Cooke, for her life; remainder to Edward Cooke, their son, for life, and after to his first and other sons successively, in tail male with remainder over. In Easter term following, fine and recovery were suffered according to the above said indenture.

By will, dated 4th of July, 1707, the said Carey, wife of Edward Cooke, her late husband, pursuant to the power lodged in her, by virtue of an indenture of the 18th and 19th June, 1704, being the last indenture, and of any other power whatsoever in her reposed, did revoke and make void, all and every the uses, estates and trusts, in or by the same indenture, limited or declared of the said manor and castle of Conisbrough, and other the premises in the county of York; and did thereby, by virtue of the said power, or any other power in her limit declare and appoint; that the said manor and premises should be and endure to the uses following, viz., John, father of Sir John Newton, Baronet, for two thousand years, upon the trusts following:—

Remainder to her second son, Edward Cooke, and the heirs of his body; remainder to her third son, Robert Cooke, and the heirs of his body; remainder to her eldest son, Thomas Cooke, and the heirs of his body; remainder to her own right heirs. The trust for two thousand years, was for raising money for the payment of £1,000 and interest, to Edward Cooke Stratford, Esq., on the Maldon Hall estate, in the county of Suffolk, secured to him by mortgage, and all such debts as

she then owed, or should owe, at her death; and also to pay to her son, Robert Cooke, Esq., £2,000 at his age of twenty-one years; and to her daughters, Carey and Ann, £1,000 between them, to be paid to them at their respective ages of eighteen years. After the said trusts performed, the said two thousand years' term to be void and of none effect. Of this her will, she constituted her father, Sir John Newton, executor.

June 14, 1723, by indenture, enrolled in chancery July 17, after the said Edward Cooke, the son, for barring all estates tail and remainders, and for five shillings, did grant, bargain, and sell, the said castle and manor of Conisbrough, and other the premises in the counties of York and Suffolk, and in the Strand, in Westminster, unto Robt. Harper, gentleman, and his heirs, to the use of him and his heirs; to the intent to make him tenant to the freehold; and three recoveries may be had of the premises in the counties of York, Suffolk, and Middlesex, wherein Thomas Cooke, Esq. shall be demandant; the said Robert Harper, tenant, who shall vouch to warranty the said Edward Cooke, who shall vouch the common voucher, the uses of which said recoveries are hereby declared, shall be to the said Edward Cooke, and his heirs, and to no other uses whatsoever. In Trinity term, 1723, recovery was suffered pursuant to this indenture.

By indenture 11 and 12 April, 1726, of lease and release, Sir Thomas Cooke (now Lord Lovell) eldest son of the said Carey Cooke, did, for extinguishing all his right, estate and claim, and for five shillings, grant, release, and convey, the said castle and manor of Conisbrough, and all other the premises before mentioned unto the said Sir John Newton and his executors, for and during the residue of the said term of 2,000 years, limited by the said will, and subject thereto; to the use of the said Edward Cooke and his heirs.

By indenture of four parts, dated 27th April, 1726, made between the said Edward Cooke, second son of Edward Cooke, and Carey his wife, of the first part; the said Robert Cooke, their third son, of the second part; the said Sir John Newton, of the third part, and John Tufon, Esq. of the fourth part. Reciting the will of Carey Cooke, and the term of 2,000 years thereby created for payment of the said £1,000 and interest, to Edward Stratford; the said £2,000 to Robert Cooke, and the said £1,000 between the said Carey and Ann, her daughters. And that the said Carey, the mother, died in August, 1707, and that after her death, Sir John Newton, executor of the said will, had by rent and profits, paid off £1,000 and interest to Edward Stratford, the debts of Carey Cooke; and the said £1,000 devised for the benefit of the said Carey and Ann, the daughters. And that of the incumbrances on the premises by the said will, there then only remained unsatisfied the £2,000 to Robert Cooke, and all

interest thereon to the date of this deed ; and also reciting the indenture of the 14th June, 1723, and the recovery suffered in pursuance thereof ; by virtue whereof the premises became vested in fee in the said Edward Cooke, subject to the 2,000 years' term. In consideration of £2,000 to Robert Cooke, paid by John Tufton, by direction of Edward the son, in full of the £2,000 directed to be paid to him by the said will. And of £2,000 to the said Edward Cooke, paid by John Tufton, making together £4,000, and of five shillings to Sir John Newton. Sir John, by direction of Edward Cooke, the son, and with the consent of Robert Cooke, did assign Edward Cooke did demise and confirm to Sir John Tufton, the said premises. To hold unto the said John Tufton, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for the residue of the said 2,000 years, subject to redemption by Edward Cooke, on payment of £4,000 and interest to Sir John Tufton.

By an entry on the back of the last said indenture, in consideration of a further sum of £3,000 paid to Edward Cooke by Sir John Tufton, the said Edward Cooke, covenanted with Sir John Tufton, that the said £3,000 should stand charged on the said premises.

Sir John Tufton died intestate, and administration of his effects was granted to Wilbraham Tufton, Esq. his brother, whereby the said 2,000 years' term became vested in the said Wilbraham.

By indenture, dated 31st July, 1728, between the said Edward Cooke, or as frequently called Coke, of the one part, and Matthew Lamb, Esq. of the other part ; the said Edward Cooke, in consideration of £3,000, did demise to the said Matthew Lamb, the said castle and manor of Conisbrough, and other premises, to hold to the said Matthew Lamb, and his executors for 2,800 years, subject to redemption on payment of £3,000 and interest thereon, by Edward Cooke, his heirs, &c.

By indorsement of the last indenture, dated 31st October, 1730, the said Matthew Lamb, in consideration of ten shillings, did assign, &c. to Hutton Pyrkyns, Esq. the said premises ; to hold to the said Hutton Pyrkyns, his executors, &c. for the residue of the 2,800 years' term in trust for Mr. Lamb, his executors, &c.

By indenture of lease and release, dated 27th and 28th September, 1731, between the said Edward Cooke, of the first part, and Margaret Tufton, spinster, on the second part. The said Edward Cooke did grant and release the manor of Conisbrough, and other the premises, unto and to the use of the said Margaret Tufton, her heirs and assignees, subject to redemption on the payment of £2,000 and interest.

By will, dated 11th September, 1732, Edward Cooke, Esq. gives and devises all his real estate unto Peniston Lamb, and Matthew Lamb, Esquires, their heirs and assigns, to the use of them, their heirs and assigns, in trust, to sell the same and pay the incumbrances charged thereon, and his debts and legacies, and the residue thereof he gives to his brother Robert Cooke, Esq. and makes Peniston Lamb and Matthew Lamb his executors.

By indenture of bargain and sale in four parts, dated 16th June, 1737, enrolled in Chancery, and by lease and release, between the said Matthew Lamb, the only acting executor and surviving devisee of the said Edward Cooke, of the first part; Margaret Tufton of the second part; Thomas Lord Lovell, eldest brother and heir of the said Edward Cooke, and Robert Cooke, Esq. the elder brother of the said Edward Cooke, of the third part, and Thomas Duke of Leeds, of the fourth part. In consideration of £22,500 paid by the duke as therein is mentioned, the said Matthew Lamb, with the consent and approbation of the said Thomas Lord Lovell, and Robert Cooke, and also the said Margaret Tufton, Thomas Lord Lovell, and Robert Cooke, and every of them, did bargain and sell and release to the said Thomas, Duke of Leeds, and his heirs, the castle and manor of Conisbrough, and other the premises, to hold unto and to the use of the said Thomas, Duke of Leeds, his heirs and assigns, subject to the said term of 2,000 years, then vested in the said Wilbraham Tufton, for securing the said £7,000, and subject to 2,800 years by deed of the 31st July, 1728, granted as aforesaid. This contract was legally executed by the parties pursuant to agreement.

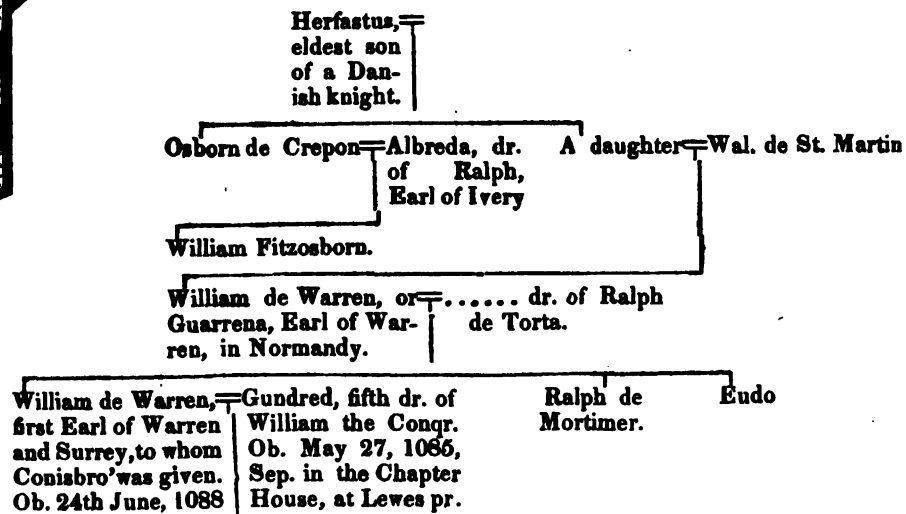
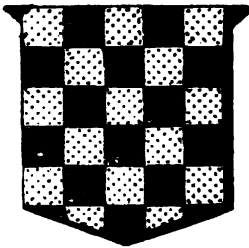
By a further indenture of four parts, dated 24th June, 1737, between the said Duke of Leeds, of the first part, the said Wilbraham Tufton, of the second part, the said Hutton Perkyne, of the third part, and Matthew Lamb, of the fourth part. *Inter alia*, reciting the indenture of the 27th April, 1726, and the endorsement thereon, of the 28th November, 1726; the death of John Tufton, and the administration granted to his brother Wilbraham; and the indenture of the 31st July, 1728, and the endorsement of 31st October, 1730, and the bargain and sale to the Duke of Leeds, and the will of Edward Cooke; and that Mr. Lamb had agreed to pay the £7,000 to Mr. Tufton, and to lend the duke £2,500, which, with the £3,000 secured to Mr. Perkyns in trust for Mr. Lamb, made £12,500. For £7,000 to the said Mr. Tufton, paid by Mr. Lamb, by direction of the duke, Mr. Tufton did assign the premises to Mr. Lamb, his executors, &c. for the residue of the 2,000 years' term, vested in him, and on the payment of five shillings to Mr. Perkyns, he, by the duke's direction, also assigned the premises to Mr. Lamb, and his executors, and for the residue of the said 2,800 years' term, &c. in consideration of the said £7,000 paid to Mr. Tufton, and of £3,000 before

owing to Mr. Lamb as aforesaid, and the £2,500 paid to the duke by Mr. Lamb, the duke did assign, grant, and confirm, the premises to Mr. Lamb, his executors, &c. for the residue of 2,000 and 2,800 years' term, subject to redemption by the duke, his heirs, and assigns, on payment of the said £12,500 with interest.

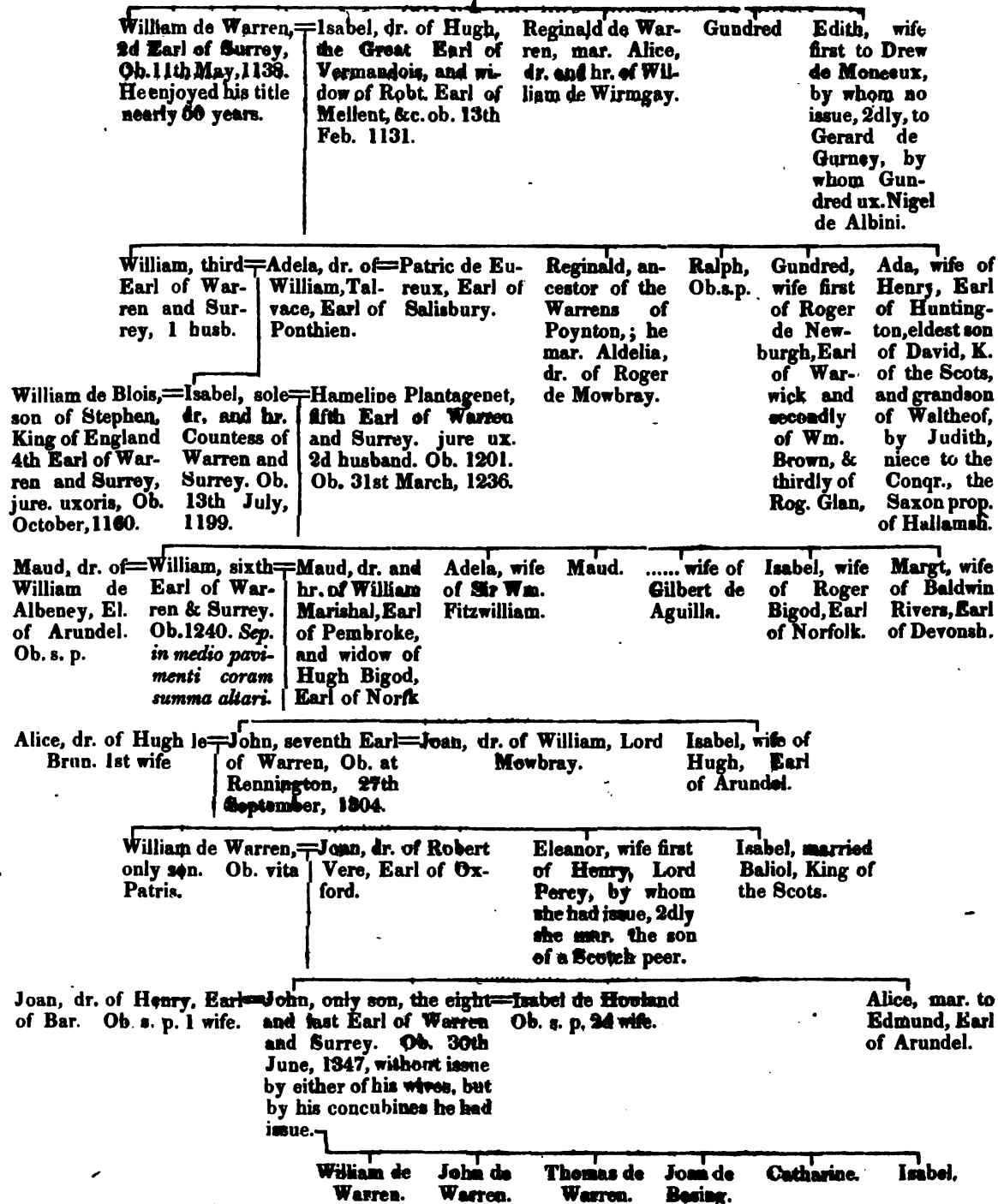
In A.D. 1740, on the marriage of his grace, this fine estate was brought into settlement.*

PEDIGREES OF THE LORDS OF CONISBROUGH.

THE DE WARREN PEDIGREE.



* For these particulars we are indebted to an abstract of title deeds, remaining amongst the court rolls of the manor of Conisbrough, kindly laid open to our inspection by the present steward, J. Wheatley, Esq. of Rotherham,



PEDIGREE OF THE CAREY FAMILY,

ARMS.—Arg. on a bend sa. three roses of the field barbed and seeded proper, a crescent for difference.

Sir John Carey, baron of the Exchequer, = Marg. d. and h. of William Holwell,
10 Rich. II. Ob. 6 Hen. IV, 1404. of Holwell, Co. Devon, 2d wife.

Sir Robert Carey, knt. = Margaret, dr. of Sir Philip Courtney, John Carey, bishop of Exeter, 1419.
of Powderham, Co. Devon. Godwyn calls him James.

Philip Carey, of Cockington, Esq. = Christiana, dr. of Richard Orchard, Esq.

Anne, dr. of Sir William Poulett, 1st wife. = Sir Wm. Carey, of Cockington, = Alice, dr. of Sir Baldwin Ful-
knt. vix. temp. Hen. VI. ford, 2d wife.

Thomas Carey, Esq. = Marg. 2d dr. and co-h. of Sir John or Robert Spencer.

John Carey, Esq. 1st son; ancestor to the Lord Viscount Falkland, of Scotland. Wm. Carey, 2d son, vix temp. Hen. VIII. = Mary, 2d dr. and co-h. of
Tho. Bulleyn, Earl of Ormond
and Wiltshire, and sister to
Queen Anne, consort of Hen.
VIII.

Henry Carey, created Baron Hunsdon, 13th Jan. 1558. = Ann, dr. of Sir Thos. Catherine, ux. of Sir F.
Ob. 23d July, 1596, æt. 71. He was the grantee of the manor, &c. of Conisbrough. Morgan. Knolles, K.G.

Geo. Carey, = Eliz. dr. of John Carey, 2d = Mary, dr. of Sir Edward. Cath. = Ch. Howard, E. Effingham.
2d baron. Sir John son, 3d Lord Leon. Hyde, Robert. Philad. = Tho. L. Scroop.
Ob. 1603. Spencer, of Hunsdon. Ob. of Throg- Mary = Edward Hoby.
Althorpe, kyn, Esq.
knt. 1617.

Eliz. Carey, ux. Thomas, son and hr. of
Hen. L. Berkeley, Ob. 1635, æt. 59.

Henry Carey, 4th Lord Hunsdon, = Judith, dr. of Sir Thos. Charles. Ann, wife of Sir Blanch, wife of Sir
created, June 6, 1621, Viscount Pelham, of Laughton, F. Lovell. Tho. Woodhouse.
Rochford; and on May 8, 1627, Com. Sussex, baronet.

Dorothy, dr. of Oliver = John Carey, 5th = Abigail, dr. of Sir Pelham. Mary. = Sir Tho. Wharton, K.B.
St. John, E. of Boling- L. Hunsdon, & Wm. Cockayne, George, Judith. Ob. æt. 60.
broke. 2d E. Dover. knt. Alderman of Ob. s. p. Philadelphia. Ob. 1628.
London.

Mary Carey, only dr. and hr. vix. 1691 = William Heveningham, of Heveningham, Esq.

Sir William Heveningham.

Abigail, second in remainder of the will
of her great grandmother Abigail.

Abigail Carey = John, son and heir of Sir John Newton,
of Burrow's Court, Bart.

Carey Newton. Ob. 1707; = Edward Cook or Coke, of Long-
first in rem. of the will of ford, Co. Derby, Esq. and des-
her great grandmother cendant from Sir Edw. Coke,
Abigail. Lord Chief Justice, temp. Queen
Eliz. & Jac. I., vix 1704, but
ob. before 1707.

Sir Tho. Coke created Lord Lovell in 1728, and Visc. Coke, of Holkham, Co. Norfolk, and Earl of Leicester, 1744.	=Marg. Tufton, dr. and co-hr. of Tho. E. of Thanet.	Edw. Coke. Ob. 1733. He devised the castle & manor of Conisbrough to trustees who, by virtue of his will, sold them to Thomas Duke of Leeds in A. D. 1733.	Robert Coke mar. Jane, sister and co-h. of Philip, Duke of Wharton.	Carey wife of Sir Marma- duke Wyvill, Bart.	Ann, wife of P. Roberts, Esq.
--	---	--	---	---	-------------------------------

At what period of time the manors of Hatfield, &c., discontinued to do suit and service, at the paramount court of Conisbrough, or whether they were, ever since the Saxon era, so far in vasalage is a question not easily decided. No part of the court rolls of the manor of Conisbrough recognises suit and service done by the tenants of several places, said to be in the soke of this place.

In a rental roll in the time of Elizabeth, the towns and villages doing homage here, correspond in number and name with those of a like document, dated A.D., 1733, the year of Edward Cooke's demise. It is entitled—

“ A particular, of the castle, and mannor, and lordshipp of Conegsburgh, in the county of York ; the freehold of which is in Edward Cooke, late of Longford, in the county of Derby, Esq., deceased, situate four miles from Doncaster, and the like distance from Rotherham, two market townes, in the county of York, and adjacent to that part of the river called Dun, which, by a late Act of Parliament, is made navigable from Sheffield, a considerable trading town in this county, to Hull, a sea port. Together, with a particular account of the several tenants, annual farm rents, as also of the free and copyhold rents, and of the towns that owe suit and service to the said castle and mannor of Conegsburgh. Made by George Appleyard, gent., steward to the said Edward Cooke, Esq., deceased.”

The towns and hamlets owing suit and service were then as follows :—

Barnbrough, in which were about	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	suitors
Braithwell	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	...
Bramley	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...
Conisbrough	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	...
Clifton	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...
Cusworth	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
Dalton	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...
Dinnington	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...
Greasebrooke	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	...
Harthill cum Woodhall	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...
Hyland	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...

Sandall, Trestrupt, Trumfleet, and Stanford.	...	...	...	...	20 suitors.
Morthen	...	...	...	...	11
Ranfield	...	...	...	...	4
Warnsworth...	...	...	...	...	15

making a total of eighteen towns and hamlets, in which were three hundred and forty-two which did suit and service at this court twice in every year, a great number of which were copyhold tenants, and therefore paid fines (which are certain) upon every descent and alienation, as did the freeholders a relief upon the death of every free tenant. Also, all waifs, estrays, and deodands, which happened in the same lordship, and elsewhere, within the precincts of these courts, belonging to the lord of the manor of Conisbrough.

To this lordship belonged also the following large commons, viz :—

Bramley Common, containing about	...	...	...	...	200 acres
Braithwell	...	...	...	...	150
Clifton	...	...	...	...	80
Trestrupt, Trumfleet cum Stainforth	...	...	...	...	200
Nave Cliff Common, in Conyesbryh	...	...	...	...	50

all of which belonged to the lord of the manor, but on which the tenants had *stray*.

The names of those who paid castle-guard rent, together with the amount, were as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
The Marquis of Carmarthen, for late Duke of Leeds	...	0	2 0
Mr. Mason, late Mr. Waterhouse	...	1	6 0
Sir Thomas Saunderson, late L. Castleton	...	0	10 0
The heirs of Thomas Bosvil, clerk	...	0	7 0
Mr. Mason, late Gilling-house	...	0	3 4
Mr. ——— Staniforth, for Lands in Morthen	...	1	15 0
The heirs of John Battie, Esq.	...	0	12 0
Thomas Oldam, Jun.	...	0	8 0
George Westby, Esq., late Thomas Westby, Esq.	...	0	6 0
The heirs of Jerv. Bosvil	...	0	4 6
Thomas Hurst, late Mr. Baxter	...	0	16 8
Thomas Hurst, Jun.	...	0	5 0
William Spencer, gentleman, late Henry Eyre's gentleman	...	0	2 0
Mr. Cowley	...	0	2 0
Widow Clark, late Mr. Jackson's lands, in Dalton	...	0	3 4

	£	s.	d.
The heirs of Thomas Brownell	0	1	8
Ditto, for Earl's land	0	1	0
Robert Mirfin, for Mr. Foljambe's lands	0	1	7½
George Marshall, late Mr. Shepley's	0	2	0
William Wrightson, Esq., late Thomas Wrightson, Esq.	0	1	8
Thomas Aldam, for Mr. Nightingale's land	0	1	2
Mr. Rookesby	0	6	8
Mr. Robert Mason, for Gamble's land	0	3	4
Widow Newbald's lands, late Jos. Tagg's	0	6	0
Joseph Giltthorp	0	2	0
Captain Brown, late Henry Cooke's, Esq.	0	3	4
John Arthur, late Edward Mallison's	0	3	4
Thomas Vincent, Esq.	0	0	1
John Jackson, Greasebrook, late Thomas Jackson	0	2	0
Thomas Emmerson, late Mr. Statefield's	0	0	1½
Robert Howard	0	0	6

These rents were commuted services, (*Castelgardum* or *Castelwardum*,) and were laid upon such persons as held land subject to the maintenance of such as watched and warded the castle. The great charter of King Henry III. ordered, that 'no constable shall distrain any knight for to give money for keeping of his castle, if he himself will do it in his proper person, or cause it to be done by another sufficient man, if he may not do it himself, for a reasonable cause. And if we do lead or send him in an army, he shall be free from castleward, for the time that he shall be with us in fee in our host, for the which he hath done service in our wars.' Lands were frequently let out to tenants, on condition that the grantee did castleward when called upon, or be amerced in a certain sum; and in the list, which we have just given, we find the heirs of Thomas Brownell paying "for earls land one shilling." This, it is more than probable, refers to land granted by some one of the Earls of Warren to his tenants in an especial manner.

The whole of the rental of the castle and manor of Conisbrough, taking into account the perquisites appurtenant thereto, four years previously to the ownership of the Duke of Leeds; would seem to have been about £728 10s. 1½d., which, at thirty years purchase, was worth something more than £20,000.

During the period that the manor of Conisbrough, &c., were in the hands of the crown, they were generally under the care and superintendence of some neighbouring or other gentleman; thus, in the 1 Henry VIII. we find the custody, or

supervisorship, conferred by that king on Thomas Lord D'Arcy.* In the same year and month, he also constituted William Lee, his receiver-general of the rents, &c., arising from this and other portions of crown-lands in this neighbourhood.†

Thomas Lord D'Arcy, however, did not hold the situation of supervisor long, for, in the second of the same king's reign, the same office was given to Thomas Burgh, "armig'o p' corp'e n'ro," as in the former case, this function was conferred upon him for his life. Through death, however, or some other cause, this gentleman would seem to have held it only for the term of about eleven years, when, on the 23d day of January, 1522, the same keepership was granted to Thomas Bonehalt, otherwise called "Clarenceux Regi Armo;"‡ and five years previously, the office of receiver-general had also changed its owner, for William Pawne and George Lawson, who were ordained receivers the 23d of July, 9 Henry VIII.|| Other instances might be recorded, but as they are all of similar character, it would be deemed tedious to enumerate them.

THE TOWN.



The foundation of the town of Conisbrough, as we have already seen, may be carried to a very remote date; indeed, we have no hesitation in giving to it an original coeval with the dynasty of our British potentates.

The etymology of the names which it has borne in the different periods of its history, has engaged our attention in a former part of this article, all of which have reference to an important, if not to a royal institution. Its British appellation, together with the vestiges of an old road pointing directly to it, decidedly of the formation of that people, would seem to give to it a claim more than ordinary strong, and induce us to ascribe its first formation to the aborigines of the island.

That the road in question approached our *Caer-Conan*, is very probable, although no remnants of such a work have reached our day. The low, soft, and marshy ground, north of the river, and its liability to constant flooding, by the waters of the Don, would tend to speedily bury it in the silt, &c., which is annually accumulating in that neighbourhood. As far as we have been able to trace that grand and imposing vestige, between the camp at Wincobank and Mexbrough, it would appear to lead directly to this place, and it may have forded the Don at Strafford sands.—From a document, sometime in the possession of the late John Jervice, of this place, it would seem, that some short time previously to the inclosure of Mexbrough-ings,

* Original. 1 Henry VIII. No. 6,363.

† *ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

document, and has been long before the public; but our readers would hardly pardon its omission on this occasion. Several events, connected with the life of this unfortunate nobleman, have reference to this place and neighbourhood, as may be seen in Rymer, &c. :—

Expens' dnor' Rad'i de Beston et Simon de Balderston, apud Connysb' die lun. in crastino exaltac' s'ce crucis, anno R.E. fil R.E xiiiimo.*

In pane empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	xviid.
In iiii lag' vini empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	üs.
In xii lag' cervis' empt' ap'd Donnecast'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	xviid.
In xvi lag' cervis' empt' in Conysb'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	xvid.
In Carnibz. gross. empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	üs.
In viii pull' empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	xiiid.
In ii Auc' empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiid.
In Ovis empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiid.
In ii li'. Candal empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiid. ob'.
In stipend unius mulier. p. cervis querend.	...	...	...	...	...	...	id.
In p'vend. equor. empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	xvd.
Die Mart. sequent.							
In pane empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiid.
In i lag' vini empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	vid.
In iiii lag' cervis. empt' in Donnecast.	...	...	...	...	...	...	vid.
In Carnibz gross. empt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiid.
In ii Auc empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	viiid.
In i pull' empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	id. ob.
In x colub. empt'.	...	...	...	...	...	...	iiid.

S'm. Argent xva. iiid.

A copy of this rare document is now framed and hung up in the house of Mr. Bickers, inn-keeper, at this place, which seldom fails to attract the notice of every inquisitive traveller. It is in the hand-writing of Mr. Beckwith, late of Masbrough, who has added the following English version :—

							S. D.
In bread bought	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 6
In four gallons of wine bought	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0
In twelve gallons of ale bought at Doncaster*	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 6

* Ralph de Beston and Simon de Balderston were stewards to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and had the care of his property here, Hatfield, &c.

* 'Lag' is here rendered gallon on the authority of Statute 51 Henry III. *Lagena* primarily importeth, a flaggon, a flask, a store bottle, and that too of no certain contents, "Quasi tu lagenam dicas, vinumurbi solet Chium

	s.	d.
In sixteen gallons of ale bought at Conisbro'	1	4
In shambles meat bought†	2	0
In eight fowls bought	1	0
In two geese bought‡	0	8
In eggs bought	0	3
In two pounds of candles bought	0	3½
In a woman's wages for fetching the ale	0	1
In provender for the horses bought	1	3
Tuesday following.		
In bread bought	0	8
In one gallon of wine bought	0	6
In four gallons of ale bought at Doncaster	0	6
In shambles meat bought	0	8
In two geese bought	0	8
In one fowl bought	0	1½
In ten pigeons bought	0	4
Total sum in silver, 15s. 4d.		

This feast would appear to have been held on the 14th September, A.D. 1321, the 14 of King Edward II., and following day.

From the time at which it ceased to be in the occupation of the De Warrens and the Dukes of York, it was no longer considered attractive, and therefore soon lost its influence with its owners. On the imposition of the ninth and fifteenth in the reign of Edward III., Conisbrough answered as follows:—

Tax' Lxij m'r' d'j.—Cuj' p'och'i v' Alan' de Vescy Joh's de Vescy Rob'tus de Fyniglay Nich's Cody Will's fil' Petri Will's atte Tounehend Rob'tus fil' Walt'i Rob'tus de Crokewell Alex' de Clifton Joh's de Butterbusk Will's le Milner de Ravenfeld & Ric's atte Welle de Conyngesburgh and hoc jur' p' sacr'm suu' p'sentant p' indentur'int' se & Priorem & soc' suos confect' & alt'natim sigillat' q'd nona garba' velle' & agno' de tota d'ca p'och' valet hoc anno xxxij^u vj^o viij^a et non plus

esse." Vid. Ainsworth, v. *Lagena*; hence it will be seen, that the '*Lag*' of the above bill is of no settled measure. A flaggon is generally esteemed to hold about two quarts.

† In rendering the word '*Carnibus Gross*,' shambles or coarse meat, Mr. Beckwith is certainly correct. It was used anciently as a term to designate the flesh of large animals. *Grossæ arbores* has been translated large trees; and *Grossæ naves*, large ships.

‡ *Ano* or *Anoa* is here rendered a goose, but it is uncertain whether this contracted word was intended to denote a goose or a quail, *Ancella*. In bills of that date, quails much oftener occur than geese. We should therefore certainly adopt the former reading, viz. *Ancella*.

q' p'vent' ecce' existit in dec'is seni oblat' mortuar' et alijs minut' dec'is q' vale't p' annu' xiiij m'r' d'j. It' p'sentant q'd no' est ibi aliquis m'cator infra d'cam p'ochiam nec vivens nisi de ag'cultura.

CHARITABLE DONATION.

The hand of charity has not been very liberal to the parish of Conisbrough. The first donation which we shall record, according to the return made to parliament in 1686 or 8, was made by Richard Maxwell in 1612, who, by will, left a rent charge of 20s., then vested in the hands of the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor. In 1641, Henry Howson, by will, left to the poor of Conisbrough land, which, in 1686, left a net produce of £1 6s. This donation was then vested in the overseers of the parishes of Conisbrough, Ravenfield, and Arksey. By will, dated in 1694, Henry Saxton, of Buttersbusk, left a rent charge of £5 per annum for twenty poor people of the parish of Conisbrough. It was then vested in the property of John Wood-year and William Wrightson, Esqrs. In 1597, Thomas Cartwright, a name which we shall often find occasion to mention under this head, left a small annual donation of 13s. 4d. to the poor of this place; and in 1612, by way of augmentation of this bounty, Philip Waterhouse added per annum, £1 10s., which, at the period of the return, was vested in the hands of James Flower.

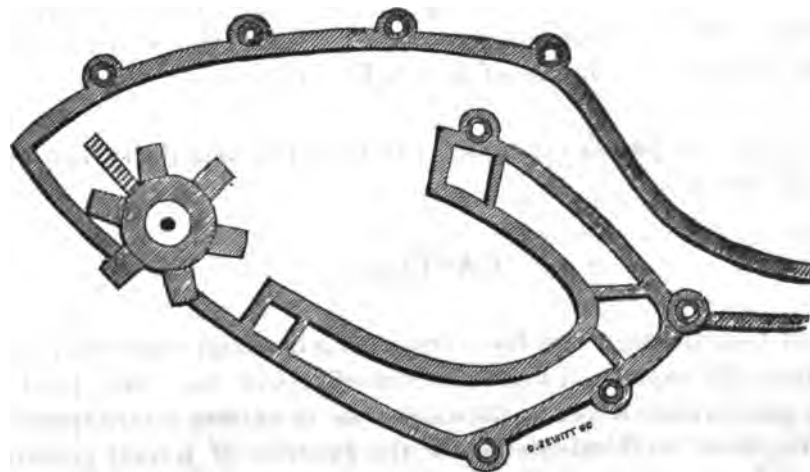
In the year 1821 this parish contained two hundred and thirty-three houses, inhabited by 1,142 souls.

CASTLE.

The castle of Conisbrough is a fine remain of a baronial residence, and, although the havoc of time, the caprice of man, and the effects of war, have jointly conspired to maim its fair proportion, it yet so far exists, as to exhibit a rare specimen of early art, and a strong-hold well calculated for the exercise of feudal tyranny, and efficiency of defence in the infancy of war.

The extent of the structure was at all times much circumscribed, and extremely ill adapted to resist the effects of a protracted and vigorous siege, a circumstance which tends powerfully to throw its foundation into a very remote era. Before the art of military tactics had arrived at its present proficiency, and when the feeble efforts of early offence only, were directed against such masses of stone as were here piled together, this gigantic structure might defy the engines of hostility, and with success brave the energies of ambition, the lust of power, and the stimulus of revenge.

Its local situation, too, is well adapted for a secure asylum. On three parts of the apex on which it is reared, is an encircling foss, at the foot of a steep bank forty feet in height, which must be climbed before the walls could be assailed. The chief entrance was at that part facing the town, and nearly opposite to the acute angle at which the keep is placed. This egress was flanked by a tower of immense strength, exteriorly to which was the draw-bridge. From this entrance the interior of the fortification was gained, by way of a narrow pass, strongly fenced with a stone wall on each side. The exterior wall was extended to the keep, and strengthened by four round buttresses, expanding at the bottom. The inner wall, after running about thirty feet terminated, and thereby afforded admission into the castle-yard. This passage was covered in at the top, and undoubtedly served as lodgings for the inmates of the castle, &c. as well as means for the defence of the chief way into the interior. Parallel with this interior wall, another of less strength encircled the yard, and abruptly ended near the N.W. of the keep, and was designed probably as a support for the timber, &c. which formed the upper offices or chambers, as is seen in the ground plan here given.



The outer wall, in the immediate neighbourhood of the keep, is nine feet thick, in which are passages leading to loop-holes, through which the assailants might be seriously annoyed, or an enemy reconnoitred. The masonry of the walls encircling the whole apex, and that of the keep, are evidently the work of different ages and different architects. With the former the latter is in no wise incorporated, but would appear to have been broken down to make room for the citadel. In the preparation of the materials of the surrounding walls, excepting some of the obtuse angles, the chisel would seem to have never been employed. In that part, however,

west of the keep, some squared stones present themselves, and would indicate a repair, subsequently to the original erection of that part of the fortification. The cement, likewise, in this part of the building, appears more firm and better tempered than that in the eastern. In the composition of both much charcoal and powdered shells have been used; but the greater part of the eastern wall has, by the hand of time, been precipitated into the moat. The most important part of the place, however, remains yet to be examined.

At the N.E. portion of the enclosure, as is shown in the accompanying ichnographical plan, is situate the keep or principal strong hold of the fortress, which, considering its age and neglected condition, is in a fine state of preservation. The entrance into this last retreat of the garrison is extremely novel and unusually interesting. Unlike the generality of keeps, our approach to the interior is gained by a flight of thirty steps, comparatively of modern formation.* The wall here, which is about eight yards from the earth, is fifteen feet thick, and is perforated by a doorway with a circular arch, leading into the interior of the keep. The room thus entered, before the light of day found access to it through a demolition of the roof and floors above, must have been a cheerless and dismal apartment, unfit for the residence of any human being. In the centre of this floor, is the mouth of a dreadful dungeon, partially closed by an hemispherical arch. To what depth this terrific and horrifying shaft descended we have not been able to learn. It is now nearly filled up by the rubbish, &c., that have fallen from the dilapidated structure. Report, ever busy in the fabrication of tales of mystery and amazement, has assigned to this dungeon, the entrance into a subterraneous way, which afforded the inmates of the castle a means of escape at the bottom of the hill. Improbable as this opinion may seem, and erroneous as it undoubtedly is, it partakes less of the marvellous and incredible than many other popular creeds, and is attended by circumstances less

* Mr. Browne, whose account of this castle is given by Miller, names thirty-two. Pennant supposes that the present means of approach, is of a modern date, and that formerly it was fenced by a drawbridge. Browne, however, thinks the contrary, and says, that if the masonry of the steps, &c., be of modern date, so also is that of the walls surrounding the fastness. In this particular, however, we must beg leave to differ with Browne, for most certainly no affinity whatever exists between the masonry of the outer walls, and that of the flight of steps alluded to. That the wall facing the steps, is at too great a distance from the door leading into the keep to admit of such a communication, we are willing to believe, and we can hardly think that the ingress to a place of such decided importance, would be left dependent for its security upon an exterior wall. If access to the citadel was ever defended by a drawbridge, which we are disposed to believe was the case, bearers and means of ascent to it would, we are persuaded, be wholly independent of the south-west confines. That no masonry, or the foundation of such supports, have been met with, as is asserted by Mr. Browne, is not borne out by facts, for such vestiges are in existence immediately under the surface, and in the direct line too, where we should be led to expect to find them. Respecting holes, &c., in the face of the keep, certainly none are visible; but that end of the bridge might also be supported by an erection entirely independent of the masonry of the keep, when none in that case would be necessary.

insulting to good sense, than many theories of this kind, so generally prevalent amongst the unthinking part of mankind.

Our ascent to the next story, the second from the entrance, is effected by a flight of twenty-five steps, each rising from eight to nine inches. This staircase is four feet ten inches wide, and is lighted by a loop-hole two feet seven inches wide in the interior, which gradually decreases until it reaches the exterior, where it is contracted to about four inches. This passage, like every other connecting the stories, is within the circular wall of the tower. On the right of the door-way, leading to the first floor, is a small square recess in the wall, wherein is a dish with a hole in the bottom, through which water might pass to the exterior of the edifice; and on the left is a small aperture, leading to a place of easement. Here the wall is thirteen feet six inches thick.



TWO FIRE-PLACES IN THE CASTLE.

The fire-place in this magnificent hall, the chief apartment of its noble owners is a fine specimen of architectural skill. It is ornamented by a low triple or clustered pillar on each side, with capitals of a corresponding character, highly finish-

ed ; the mantle-piece is twelve feet long. Opposite to the fire-place is a spacious recess, in which is a large square window, looking to the south-west. It is divided into two lights by an uncommonly heavy mullion sixteen inches thick. Each light is twenty-two inches wide, and proportionably high. On each side, as well as under the window, are stone seats.

Immediately opposite to the entrance into this room, is a door leading to another staircase, by which we ascend to the next story. This flight consists of thirty-four steps, from six to seven inches in height each. It is lighted by two loop-holes, three feet nine inches in the interior, and five in the outwardly extreme. On the right of the entrance into this room, and nearly facing the fire-place, which is much less spacious and elegant than the one just noticed, is an opening into the interior of one of the buttresses, leading to a fine room elegantly ornamented in the gothic style. The architectural decorations of this neat little chapel, are of a kind superior to any other about the edifice. It is hexagonal in its formation ; thirteen feet long, six at each end, seven feet four inches in the middle, and thirteen in elevation. The vaulting is borne by orbicular arches, crossed by ribs extremely bold and interesting. The key stones are not uniformly decorated, but in the Saxon style, are variously ornamented. Between each intersecting arch is a bold zigzag rib, borne by pillars, or rather pilasters, round and plain, with capitals neatly adorned with various devices. The moulding, encircling the loop-hole to the east, (which is in height six feet, breadth in the interior two feet six inches, and in the exterior about six inches,) is after the chevron manner, borne by short pillars, similar to the others just described. On each side of the buttress is a quatrefoil aperture, highly ornamented at the exterior, and tolerably spacious. In the inner part they measure about thirty inches in diameter, and decrease to twenty on the outside. In this apartment are also two niches, somewhat but differently decorated, but for what intended we know not.—They would seem to have never had any cavity, yet there are holes in the bottom seemingly intended to convey water through the wall.* On the left of our entrance into this “soul bestiring” apartment, is a small door-way, leading into a cavity in the wall, six feet square and seven feet high, in which is a plain nich. This room is also illumed by a narrow loop-hole, similar to those already named.

Like the former, the next chamber or story is gained by ascending twenty-six steps, less accommodating than any we have yet here met with. In this passage is a way leading to a place of ease. In three of the six buttresses are oven-like recesses; and in a fourth the commencement of another staircase. For what purpose these recesses were designed we are at a loss to say. Mr. Watson would seem dis-

* Mr. Watson says, that they are lined with iron pipes. Hist. Warrens, vol. i. p. xxxviii.

posed to think they were intended for watch houses; in some of them, however, no apertures for that end ever existed, and such as have holes are very ineligible for that purpose. In a fifth buttress is an alcove, somewhat sunk, it would appear, below the floor, if the projecting stone bearers were intended for the support of such an appendage. The wall here is from ten to eleven feet thick, and the buttresses have greatly decreased in magnitude and weight. The height of the present summit is about thirty yards. The structure is circular and fenced by six buttresses, which project from the walls nine feet. Both the walls and the buttresses diverge at the bottom, and give to the edifice an appearance of great strength. Each buttress is about seventeen feet asunder, measuring from the circular wall. Such is the present state of this fine remain.

By whom or when this singular fortress was erected, has alike puzzled the conjectures of all our best antiquaries, but most suppose that it had a Saxon original. That the keep and walls, which surround it, are attributable to different ages, no impartial and competent judge will dispute, but which of the two is antecedent is not so easily made apparent. Mr. King, an industrious but fanciful antiquary, would throw its foundation into the first ages of the Heptarchy, and remarks, that "whoever considers in this building the rude but diligent imitation of Roman architecture, the staircase running *straight* through the walls, without any turnings or windings, exactly like those in a northern *dun*—the whole inside differing so little from that of a *dun*—and only having smoother and better finished walls and arches, and floors contrived to hold more people, and to exclude the weather better, but still leaving a circular area from top to bottom, open in the middle, and the unlikeness of the whole to any Norman structure, and adds to these considerations the appearance of the niches, will, I think, have little scruple to allow, that nothing can more strongly proclaim an age of Pagan barbarity and ignorance, struggling amidst the disadvantages it laboured under, and striving to emerge from its wretched state to a degree of civilization and refinement.* However near the formation of this celebrated edifice may approximate to the northern *dun*, is beyond our power to say; but the architectural skill exhibited in the workmanship, would, most certainly, argue a proficiency in that sublime science, too chaste for the gross conceptions of the early Saxons, who, it is to be lamented, were rather destroyers than renovators of the arts.

That a strong-hold of considerable importance, was in existence here in the Saxon eras is very probable, but that the present remain is wholly of that age is extremely questionable. The beauty and proportion displayed in the embellish-

* King's observations on ancient castles, ed. 1782. Mr. Deyes hesitates not to give it a Roman origin.

ments of the chapel and fire-place, would infer no little experience in the science of architecture, and would induce us to conclude, that if we felt ourselves at liberty to ascribe the erection of the keep to Saxon artists, the event did not take place long before the advent of the conqueror. Every portion of the present keep is faced by stones well dressed and squared, and the mortar or cement, is of a quality greatly exceeding in goodness any that was used in the masonry of the outer walls, excepting a portion of that of the northern barrier, before noticed; and indeed by the Saxons generally.

The outer wall, in the immediate neighbourhood of the keep, is of an extraordinary strength, a circumstance which would induce a supposition, that the latter was of anterior formation, although, as we have before observed, it exhibits an appearance of being broken down to make way for the former. Much less care, however, has been exercised, both in the construction of the wall and in the choice of materials, than in those which constitute the keep.

The generally received opinion, that Hengist was slain before the walls of this castle, has been before examined, and no documents, we presume, are now extant to prove that such an edifice here was then in being.

In the Winchester Rolls no allusion whatever is made, either to a castle or its appurtenances; but if that antiquated record fails to solve our doubts on this head, it gives us a highly exalted picture of its influence and extent in the Saxon era, attributable only to the dignity of the place and importance of its early owners; and the works of the chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, assure us, that Egbert took shelter here from the fury of the Danes; but no evidence sufficiently authentic, goes to fix infallibly on this fortress the stamp of a Saxon original.

Buttresses are not considered as a portion of Saxon architecture, but in structures decidedly referable to that age, such appendages are known to exist. Such, for instance, is the case with those of Curfe and Sturminster; and to others they were added subsequently to their original erection, as was the case at Berkeley; but those supporting the keep here, were unquestionably run up with the wall whereto they are attached.* Neither can its Saxon original be safely inferred from the mode of ingress into the keep. One of the proofs of a Norman fortress, according to Mr. King, is, indeed, grounded on this circumstance; and the second story of Rochester Castle, a building known to be Norman, was entered by the same means. Leland,

* Fosbroke, vol. i. p. 63.

when describing Bolton Castle, remarks, "One thinge I mucche notyd in the haulte of Bolton, how chimeneys were conveyed by tunnells made on the syds of the walls betwixt the lights in the hawl; and by this means, and by no covers, is the smoke of the harthe hawle wonder strangely conveyed." The inference deducible from this extract is, that although Leland visited the major part of the castellated and monastic buildings in England, chimnies formed like those of Bolton were of rare occurrence. The chimnies in the castle of Conisbrough were of this kind, and, according to his ideas, would depose in favour of a later origin than most are willing to give to this singularly formed structure.

The silence of Doomsday Book relative to any strong hold here, is strongly presumptive evidence that none existed. The lordly residence of a Harold or a De Warren, could not fail to attract the attention of the commissioners of the Conqueror, and the privileges appendent, would hardly have escaped their notice. The halls of Edwin and Waltheof at Laughton and Hallam were deemed objects of recordance, and the castle of York is frequently mentioned in the pages of that venerable record, but as to any noted residence here, not the slightest hint is given. These facts, however, depose only against the existence of the present ruin, and will not so powerfully militate against the being of a strong hold of less consequence, and of more early foundation.

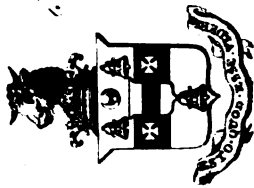
Reduced as this structure is now in height, the prospect which its summit yet commands is of no ordinary character. On the north and north-east, the eye is bounded only by its imbecility, but the south and south-west prospect is hidden by the hill on which the town stands; and the high ground eastwardly contracts our vision to narrow bounds. Circumscribed, however, as are our prospects over the country south-west of the castle, it is from that direction and somewhat more northwardly, that the mind of an admirer of the beauty of nature and art, derives the greatest portion of delight. At the extremity of our view are seen the extensive woods of Wentworth House and Wentworth Castle, broken occasionally by shreds and patches of pasturable and arable land, while the fore-ground of the canvas is enlivened also by an alternate series of wood and lawn, with faint but pleasing glimpses of the river Don, meandering down its serpentine bed, in the stillness of an "eternal night of death."

Below the castle, as the Don in silvery evolutions runs its devious course, the hand of art has been less busy than in any other portion of this delightful district. On the southern side of the channel, high and precipitous rocks protrude their bold fronts from a bosom of varied green, and, tainted by the lapse of time, with a great variety of colours, present a foreground of no ordinary interest. If any part



SOUTH WEST VIEW OF THE REMAINS OF WOMBEWELL-HALL

W. EDW. DIXLEY of BRISTOL. M.D. thus (Plate
of the many communications received from him.
humble S. Chadwick Esq.



is inserted as a small, but grateful acknowledgment
touching the history of Wombwell. &c. by his
the Author.

of the country, in the immediate vicinity of this strong-hold, have any claim to picturesque beauty, it is most certainly this, under our view ; but it is rarely that the works of man add anything to the charms of nature, and here, though but sparingly, are his deformities seen.

Extending our views to the limits of vision, a vast flat of tame country spreads its dingy carpet, scarcely leaving an impression on the mind worthy of remembrance. On the intermediate part of the canvas, however, some lovely traits in nature enliven the picture, and add beauty to the whole landscape.

To the admirers of the picturesque, however, a view from the summit of this castle does not afford a highly relished treat. Whatever it may have done in the age of the Warrens, it now presents no depopulated palaces ; the cormorant and the bittern do not "flutter their wings" in its vicinity, and the raven has ceased to dwell here. It is not a habitation for dragons, nor a court for owls ; the satyr is not heard to cry to his fellow, and the screech-owl has long deserted its majestic battlements for places more retired and gloomy ; while

"Hydras, gorgons, and chimeras dire,"

have been chased away by the "march of mind."

The general history of this edifice, like its foundation is much obscured by the night of time. No well authenticated transactions of note are recorded to have taken place here, and highly amusing as is the *Ivanhoe* of the immortal "author of *Waverley*," the characters and circumstances said to have resided and happened here, are chiefly, if not wholly, the ideal personages and things of his prolific brain, chosen for the purpose of illustrating the ideas and manners then prevalent. At what period of time the upper portion of the keep fell in, is not known, and whether the mandate of the second Charles and his council rendered it untenable we know not. From Leland, who visited this place in the time of Henry VIII., we are enabled to infer, that in his time it was in a mutilated condition.

"From Tikhil to Cunesborow a 4 miles by stony way and enclosid ground. Wher I saw no notable thing but the Castel standing on a rokhet of stone and diked. The waulles of it bath be strong and full of toures. *Damus flu. alluit villam.*"*

* Leland, vol. i. fol. 39.

Laconic as this description is, we learn from it, that three hundred years ago, this noble structure was in a decayed condition. "The waulles of it *hath be (en)* strong and full of toures." After it ceased to be eligible for a residence, and deserted by its noble proprietors, it would soon begin to crumble away. Wood, however strong, if fully exposed to the alternate effects of drought and wet, soon falls a victim to their fatal energy, and cannot long resist the encroachments of such subtle foes.

Within the confines of this edifice was a chapel well endowed. This circumstance was in accordance with general usage; few foundations of similar note and importance, were without appendages of this character. When or by whom it was founded, is alike, however, wholly unknown, or at least no such information has yet reached our knowledge. That it was of very early institution is, however, rendered manifest by the charter of Hameline, the fifth Earl of Warren and Surrey, dated 17 John, by which he and his countess, Isabel, with the favour and assent of William de Warren, their son and heir, gave, in pure and perpetual alms, to God and to St. Mary, mother of our Lord, and to the holy Apostles Philip and James, and to the chapel of the same Apostles, which is seated in the castle of Conisbrough, 50s. yearly, in the town of Conisbrough, to be received of the mills, &c. of the manor of the same town.

This gift was made for the love of God, and for the health of their souls, and for the health of King Henry, his lord and brother. Its fate would in all likelihood follow that of the institution to which it was attached.

FIRSBY

is a fine estate in this parish, belonging formerly to the Vincents, a minor branch of the family of the same name, resident at Braithwell; Richard, who died 17th April, 1593, son of John Vincent, by Margaret, daughter of Page, of Bunney, in the county of Nottingham, and great grandson of John Vincent, of Braithwell, in the soke of Conisbrough, married Alice, daughter of Thomas Allen, of Rowley, near Wetherby, in the county of York, widow of Robert Lepton, of this place, by whom, it is probable, he acquired this property. She died in the same year as that of her husband, and with him was interred at Conisbrough.

To Richard, succeeded his son Richard, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rokeby, of Hotham, in the county of York. He died in A.D. 1617, leaving behind him several children, of whom more will be said in a future article.*

* Dugdale's Visitation. Vide our articles Braithwell and Barmbrough.

Amongst the MS. collections of Nalson, deposited in the library of the dean and chapter of York, is a letter from King Edward VI., addressed to the prior of Lewes, which proves, not only that the Vincents had considerable property in the manor of Conisbrough, before the age of Queen Elizabeth, but also, in what a tone of submission the potentates of the earth often applied to those ecclesiastical dignitaries. From this letter it would seem, that according to the custom of the age, John Vincent, of Braithwell, who held certain lands, &c. in Conisbrough, of the prior of Lewes, paying for them an annual consideration, which were afterwards conveyed to him by grant, previously to his active espousal of the cause of his master, deposited his writings, &c. in the hands of the said prior and convent, and afterwards having the misfortune to fall in the battle of Wakefield, the prior and convent refused to deliver them up into the possession of his son and heir, Bryan Vincent, the petitioner, when the king wrote in the following manner to that holy brotherhood :—

Deare and welbeloved in God, we grete you well ; and wher we been informed yat many yeres past, by your letters indentyd, under your Conuent Seale granted to owr trusty and welbeloved servant, John Vincent, Escuyr, fader to owr right welbeloved seruant Bryan Vincent, certain of yowr londs and rentes, within yowr Lordshyppe of Conesburgh, to haue to the sayd John and to hys heyres, beryng therfor a certain yerly rente specified in yowr seyde endenters, and afterwards the seyde John and Bryan his son, hadd of yowr gravnt, the same londes and tenements, wyth othyr, by yowr othyr endentures, yerupon made betwex yow and tham, whych indentures wer seald by yow, and the seyde John inthabsens of his seyde son, delyuered and left in yowr keping of trust, and soon after fortunéd him to be sleyné, at the lamentable conflyct of Wakfeld, in the seruice of the rigkte noble and famous Prynce owr fader whom God rest. And now, as we hear, ye labour and intend to put owr seyde seruent, hys son from the seyde londes and tenements, contrary to yowr fyrst and latyr graunte, asfor expressed, and agenst ryght, and good consyence, yf hit be as ys surmysed : We therfore exhort, and desyr yow to suffre owr seyde seruent to haue and enjoy the seyde londes and tenements accordyng to yowr forseyde covenants and graunts, and to delyuer unto hym the seyde later indentures concernyng the same, as hys fader so left of truste in yowr kepyng. And besyde that to shew to owr seyde seruant in any othyr matter lawfull and reasonable, that he shall a have adoo with yow, yowr benevolences and harty favors ; and the rathyr, and mor especyally at owr instance and contemplacyon of theys owr letters wheryn ye shall not only doe us a syngular plasur, but caus us, for the sam, to have yow, and yowr plas, in the mor herty fauor and recomendacyone

of our good grace. Yeven vnder our sygnet at our palas of Westminster, the xix day Jun.—A copy of this may also be seen amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 6,078, fol. 237 b.

What effect this humble remonstrance had with the monks of Lewes does not appear, but it is probable, that the Vincents became reseised of the lands, &c. which that holy fraternity felt disposed to withhold. Firsby, however, would appear before the year 1705 to have passed to the Westbys of Ravenfield, in which year a settlement touching that portion of his property was made. This document is now deposited amongst the court rolls of his grace the Duke of Leeds.

WOODLATHES,

a place situated also in this parish, and long the patrimonial inheritance of the Adams', one of whom, viz., Sherland, rector of Treeton and Eyam, took an active and undue interest in the contentions of the seventeenth century. At this inauspicious era, however, the clerical gown was neither a bulwark of defence, nor a robe of innocence. The part which he took in the general scramble for power, popularity, and property, is already before the public, and being only one of the many party squabbles so generally and disgracefully prevalent about the middle of the above century, we shall refrain from giving the subject any further notice.

CLIFTON,

or, as spelt in the Doomsday record, *Cliftune*, is also an hamlet in this parish. The orthography of this name may be derived from the Saxon *Clyf*, or the Belgic *KLIF*, *rupes*, *clivus*, rocks, or steep declivities; and *tun*, *villa*, town. This name would be aptly suggested by its locality, being placed, as it were, on the summit of a mighty rock.

Its elevated and commanding situation affords a very extended prospect. From Beacon Hill, a site so well adapted for an observatory post, that we find on its apex a watch tower, or beacon, before the year 1626. Amongst the items in the accounts of the constables of Sheffield, for the above year, is the following entry:—“And for and towards the repaire and watch of the beacon att Clifton, 7s. 6d.”—From this exalted summit may be distinctly seen the high moors of Derbyshire and Yorkshire, which, at this distance, seem to loose themselves in the clouds of heaven. Indeed, in the twilight of the morning, or a murky November's day, one is scarcely distinguishable from the other. From hence may also be seen the towns of Sheffield and Rotherham, completely enveloped in a mass of sooty exhalations, with several

places in their vicinity. Here was found a horde of Roman coins, consisting of about two gallons, most of which fell into the hands of Robert Molesworth, of Edlington, Esq. Some of them were sent to the members of the royal society, amongst whose works an account of them may be seen.*

THE CHURCH

is a venerable edifice, and, with the castle, forms a highly interesting feature in the scenery of this delightful neighbourhood.

At what time the present building was first reared is not easily ascertainable, but we are not fearful in giving to it a Norman origin. That a church graced this village anteriorly to the Norman era, is made manifest by the pages of the Winchester rolls, but some doubt may probably exist as to the identification of any part of the structure now in being, with that remote period.

The pillars, supporting the north side of the nave, are round, and betray evident marks of an early Norman, if not a Saxon, formation. The capitals more especially bear the badge of Saxon workmanship, and the mouldings of the arches partake also of that stile of building. The pillars that sustain the southern part of the nave, bear great similarity to those of the northern, but the arches springing from them are of the pointed order.

The porch, like most other entrances into the ecclesiastical structures in the deanery of Doncaster, would seem to be of a date coeval, if not anterior, to that of any other part of the edifice. We are only justified in this assertion, however, by the archway, leading from the interior of the porch, to that of the south aisle of the church. The porch itself is of more recent construction, and might be reared at a time when the pointed was superseding the semi-circular order. The consistency of these remarks, we presume, is established by the Saxo-Norman mode of decoration displayed in the mouldings of the arch.

The entrance, which gives admission from the narthax into the interior, is one of the most interesting specimens of ancient art belonging to this church. It is composed of four round pillars, with capitals rudely devised, from which spring a circular arch, tastily ornamented in the Saxon stile.

* Miller, p. 251.

The eastern window is divided into five compartments, and was formerly embellished with painted glass, some few remnants whereof yet remain. In 1621, the celebrated Yorkshire collector, Dodsworth, visited this church, and found depicted in this window, the effigies of a man in a posture of supplication, holding in his hand a crosier; behind him were two others, with shaven crowns, attired in blue habiliments; and underneath them—*Tempora longa valens, &c.*—and Arms, quarterly, argent and azure. The southern window in the choir was also ornamented with the armorial ensigns of the Fitzwilliams, &c., some of whom, as we shall soon learn, lie interred in its immediate vicinity. In the next window, per pale, Fitzwilliam, a mullet pierced sa., with three flaming brands, or.

In the western window of this part of the church, were, per pale, Fitzwilliam, and sa., three brands or.; with this inscription—*Pray for the souls of Edmund Fitzwilliam and Catherine his wife.*

*Vixit et eterna fructurus pace suorum
Æthereas petit post pia fata domos.*

*Geo. Maples, 84 yeares of age, A.D., MDCXXII.
At the costs of Thomas Maples, of Huntingdon,
Esq., his son.*

In 1621, Thomas Maples was sheriff of Cambridgeshire, and lived at Long-Slow, near Huntingdon.

*Fain hope and happ. adieu, all wordly joys are pain,
Death hath me rid of you with Christ to libe again.*

Isabell, the wife of George Maples.

Sanctius ut possis bibere desce mori, A.D., MDCXXII.

*Vita mihi coelebs fuit et contractior etas,
Corpus terra animam virgine natus habet.*

*Richard, the son of George Maples, died A.D., MDCX.
In me behold thy mortal state, such one was I as thou,
And thou, O man, in tyme shall bee even dust as I am now.
Geo. Maples dyed A.D., MDCXII.*

In the south high window, near which many of the family of the Bosvills lie

interred, were painted—Arg. five fusils in fess gu.; in chief three heads erased sa.; a man and his wife, with their eight sons and one daughter.

Pray for the souls of Thomas Bosbill, and Joan his wife, and their sons.

Pray for the souls of Richard Bosbill, and Alice his wife, and for the souls of their sons and daughters: and of the master of Thomas Bosbill, who caused this window to be made.

The next supplicatory transcript, made by Dodsworth, is—**Pray for the souls of Hugh Picolson, and Joan his wife, and of their sons, who caused this window to be made, A.D., M.DCCC.,** placed immediately below the two just named; but, it is probable, that it ought to be referred to some other window.

The tower is divided into three parts, by embossed stone work. The uppermost is pierced on each side with double or twin windows. On the western face of the next partition is a window having a pointed arch, divided into three compartments, by slender mullions, with ramified heads. Round the arched part of this window runs a canopy, which has for corbels the human head. On its apex is also a canopied recess, now empty. It is flanked by light buttresses, and mounts eight pinnacles.

THE FONT

is an old and curious piece of furniture, borne by four pillars united. It is of the octagonal make—on six of its faces are uncharged escutcheons in quartrefoil pannels. The two others contain rudely carved figures. The interior is very capacious.

The stone now lying in a corner of this church, of which Miller has given a draught, is a curious example of early inhumation, and may have been the work of Saxon artists. The characters yet legible bear evident marks of pagan origin. Interment in coffins of stone is of very ancient date, and notwithstanding that no such remains were found underneath it, but little doubt remains with us, but that it covered the ashes of some eminent character.

Mr. Johnson, whose little work on the mode of early burial is entitled to much commendation, says, that the most early lids were of the prismatic order; and that at first, instead of being placed immediately upon the coffin, as at present, they were placed on the surface, and might probably give rise to our table monuments.

Round the Waterhouse closet is this inscription : " This closet with 3 bookes here inchayned," viz. a book of Homilies, Peter Martyr's Common Places, and Bullinger's Sermons, were of the gift and charge of John Waterhouse, of Halifax, Esquyre deceased, 1610." A portion of these books remain yet fastened to the stall by the old chains and locks, and were, a few years ago, clad in their original costume.

THE MONUMENTS

within the walls of this edifice were formerly both numerous and respectable ; but the earliest testamentary interment recorded by Torr, is that of the Rev. William Winstanley, vicar of this church, who died intestate in A.D. 1471, when administration was granted to Robert Wombwell, vicar of Braithwell. In 1474, Thomas Bosvill, of this place, directed by his will, proved 3d May in the same year, that his body should be buried in the same church of St. Peter here. Three years subsequently, Catherine, widow of Edmund Fitzwilliam, Esq. by her will, proved 30th May, 1477, directed that her body should be buried before the image of St. Mary. In 1484, Richard Bosvill ; in 1502, Alice Bosvill his wife ; in 1504, Catherine Bosvill, all of Conisbrough, were buried here ; and in 1521, Nicholas Bosvill, of Denaby, by will proved 4th July, 1523, gave his soul to God Almighty, St. Mary, and all saints, and his body to be buried in the church of St. Peter, at Conisbrough, before the altar of our Lady ; and bequeathed forty shillings, " to order a through stone to lay over his grave, with sculpture of Laton of the same." In 1571, Tristram Tayler, vicar of this church, by will proved the same year, ordered his body to be interred herein. In 1596, Thomas Bosvill, of Warmsworth, gent. ; and in 1621, Gervase Bosvill, of the same place, severally directed that their ashes should repose in this church.

In the most northwardly corner of the chancel is an old tombstone commemorating the life and death of Mr. William Amias. The epitaph is now nearly illegible.

Here lyeth the body of William Amias, gent. late deputy-steward of the honour of Tyckhill and Conisbrough, who departed this transitory life, the tenth day of October, in the xxx year and reign of King Henry VIII. On whose soul God have mercy.

This inscription, in Latin and the old English character, is round the border ; and in the middle of the same stone,

Gertruda Saxton, vidua Gulielmi Clark generosi. Et Johannes Saxton frater ejus abdormiunt hic in Domino.

In the middle of the chancel, on a recumbent stone,

**Hic jacent Ricard. Antonius et Edmundus filii Thomae Fitz-
william milit. Et D'ne Lucie ux' ej. Au' antib. prop. Deus.**

In the middle of the same stone :—

Eliza. Saxton Studui Laus Deo.

Adjoining to it is the following memorial :—

Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth, wife of Michael Woodhouse, of Stubbs-Walden, who died in the 35th year of her age, and was buried July 22d, 1698.

In the same apartment, round the border of a stone :—

Hic Jacet corpus Robert. Lees, filii Samuelis Lees, clerici, qui obiit decimo octav. die Martii, sepultus est autem vicessimo Anno Domini, 1676.

On a brass plate in the south-east corner is the following :—

In memoriam Reverendissimi Henrici Saxton, clerici inclyti nominis propter pietatem doctrinam temperantiam et curam paternam, obiit xxi die Aprilis, MDCLXV, anno ætatis sue lxxxvi. quinq. habuit filias et tres filios, Thomam, Gulielmum, et Henricum, duos tantum postremos superstites.

On a stone attached to the wall :—

Here lyeth Thomas Saxton de Butterbusk, et Elizabeth, uxoris ejus, et Gertruda nepus eorum anno D'ni, 1617.

Vive Deo vera nitere ad Astra fide.

In the eastern end of the north aisle is a canopied recess, terminated by a finial, and on a brass plate as follows :—

Hic jacet Nicholas Bousebill qui istam cantoriam instituit. qui quidam Nicholaus in fata decessit anno D'ni millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio, cujus animæ propri'cie Deus.*

In the window above this monument are the shattered relics of the following arms ; gu. on a bend ar. three escallops, az. and the following inscription :—

Pray for the soul of Thomas Wentworth, who caused this window to be made.

* So far as respects the date, Miller's translation is erroneous, viz. 1533 instead of 1523.

On one of the pillars supporting the southern side of the nave is as follows : —

Prope hanc columnan (nunc cineres) jacent multi de familia Boseviliane quorum non, nullos
subscripti lapides indignant.

Columna resurgendi fides. Renov'm 1793.

Miller remarks, that some of the interments alluded to by the above, were inscribed on a stone near the pillar, now much erased. These died, viz.

Thomas Bosville, temp. Edward IV.*

Thomas, his son, temp. Henry VII.

John, his son, temp. Henry VIII.

Thomas, of Warmsworth, 1528.

Gervas his son, and Susan his wife ; afterwards wife of Vincent.

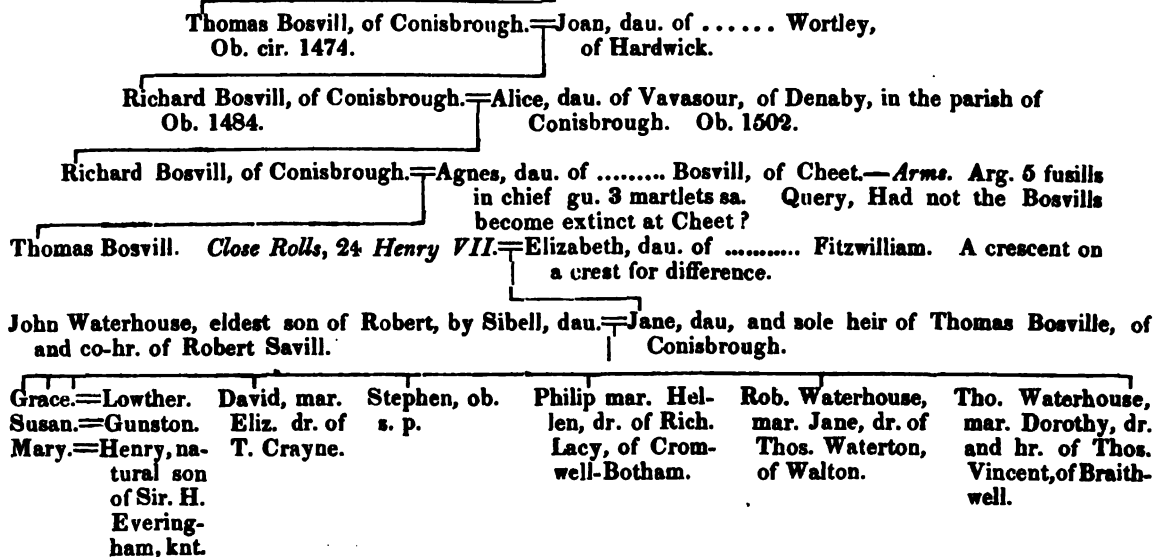
Thomas Bosville, of Edlington, 1655.

Godfrey, second son, 164.

Gervas, son of Thomas Bosville, *æt* 15, *superste* 1655.†

* This gentleman would seem from Torr. to have died about the 13 Edward IV.

† The transcripts from the stone here given are on the authority of Miller. The first connection of the Bosvills with this village was, as we have already seen, *vid. p. 90, ante*, through the medium of Emma, daughter and heir of John Vesey, whose family had been long resident here. Emma, it would appear, who was living in the 8 Richard II., had two husbands, viz. Robert, son of Arthur Bosvill, and Barbour, of Doncaster, by both of whom she had issue, Robert, the eldest by her first husband = dau. of Serlby, of Serlby, Com. Nott.



Although, by the failure of male issue in the person of Thos. Bosville by his wife Elizabeth, a great portion of the patrimonial inheritance passed to the Waterhouses, the younger branches still continued to exist in this village until a very recent date, and have ever maintained a highly respectable character.

In the north aisle, on a recumbent stone :—

Here lyeth William Bosville, of Clifton ; he departed 9th April, 1707, aged 80. Also Richard Bosville, of Clifton, gentleman, who died September 21, 1778, in the 67th year of his age.

In the most eastwardly part of the north aisle is an an old stone curiously carved, bearing an aged inscription, but the seating that now covers it prevents it being read. Adjoining to it :—

Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth, ye wife of John Bayliffe, of Firsby, who departed this life the 18th day of Jan. 1726, aged 64 yrs.

In the centre of the nave, on a brass plate :—

Hic placide obdormit (quicquid fuit mortale) Mariæ Tofeld, nuper de Conisbrough. Quæ diem obiit supremum Feb. 28vo anno ætatis 61 salvtis vero 1755.

Immediately above it :—

Here lyeth the body of Hannah, relict of John Tofield, late of Wilsic, in the parish of Tickhill, gent. who died March 10th, 1736, aged 62 years.

Near to the reading desk :—

M. S.

Here lies interred the body of George Woodyer, gent. late of Crookhill, who died, aged 54 years, Nov. 11, A.D. 1710.

On the dissolution of chantries, there was found only one endowed institution of that character within the walls of this edifice. It was under the patronage of our Lady, and was founded by Nicholas Bosvill, of Denaby, sometime before the year 1523. The founder was buried before the image of the patroness, under the east window of the north aisle, and the event is commemorated by an inscription on a brass plate fastened to the wall. On the suppression of that species of property its revenues were found to be worth £4 18s. per annum.

The advowson of this establishment, like the majority of similar institutions, belonged originally to the founder of the church. Speedily after the conquest, however, it, with the tithes, &c. was bestowed upon the Cluniac priory at Lewes by the manorial proprietor William de Warren. The deed by which this valuable ecclesiastical property passed to that newly-established priory may be seen in the Monasticon ; part of which we will here copy : *Sciunt præsentes et futuri quod ego*

Willielmus comes de Warennā dedi, &c. Deo et Sancto Pancratio et monachis de Lewes ibidem Deo serventibus ecclesiam de Cuningeburgh cum pertinentiis, ecclesiam de Hertille, cum pertinentiis; ecclesiam de Fislac cum pertinentiis; ecclesiam de Hetfeld cum capella de Torne et omnibus pert.; ecclesiam de Parva Sandale cum capella de Harnoldesthorp cum omnibus pert.; ecclesiam etiam de Wakefeld cum capella de Horbirie, cum omnibus pert. suis; ecclesiam de Halifax cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; ecclesiam de Dewsbury cum capella de Herteshaved et omnibus pert. suis ecclesiam de Burton cum omnibus suis; ecclesiam de Majori Sandale cum omnibus pert. suis, &c. Hiis testibus, &c.*

Ever importunate in pecuniary affairs, the monks of Lewes, it is probable, cramped in some measure the avarice or wants of the vicar, and induced M. Orlandus to apply to the see of York for redress. This application was not fruitless. On the 17th Cal. of August, 1253, at his palace of Scrooby, Archbishop Grey, in consideration of the burthens incumbent on the vicar, ordained and taxed the vicarage as follows, viz. :—

That the prior and convent of St. Pancras, having all the tithes of garb and demesne lands of the church, and the rents and tenements belonging thereto, should suffer the vicar to reap all the small tithes, with the tithe hay, and all obvention† made to the church, by reason of the altarge with two tofts to be enclosed, and that he should bear all ordinary burthens due and accustomed, and incumbent on the church, and cause it to be served by ministers fit and honest.‡ What alterations, or whether any have been made, in the vicar's stipend, since that period, we know not.

In 1532, an alienation was effected, which transferred, from the priory of St. Pancras for ever, the rich endowments of this valuable establishment. This event, however, was not anticipated by the parties, but was caused by the general dissolution of monastic property. On the 7th day of May, in the above year, Robert,

* Dug. Mon. Ang. tom. 1mo. p. 617. Watson, on the authority of the Lewes chartulary, p. 10, gives a document somewhat more enlarged, but it is to the same effect. The witnesses to the charter were Radulpho de Waren, Hugone de Petropont, Radulpho de Playz, Rob. de Frivle, Reginaldo de Waren, Adam de Poning, Gwyd de Mencecourt, Willielmo de Drosai, et multis aliis. Watson, vol. i. p. 91.

† Obventions, oblations, and offerings, are of one and the same import. They consisted of "Oblationes Altaris" which the priests had for saying mass, "Oblationes Defunctorum," money given to the priests by wills, &c. "Oblationes Mortuorum," money given at funerals, "Oblationes Pœnitentium," which were given by persons penitent. Indeed, they consisted in every thing bearing the character of an offering, and are thus defined in the canon law.—Oblationes dicuntur, quæcumq. a piis fidelibusque Christianis offeruntur deo et ecclesie, sive res soli. sive mobiles sint. Nec refert an legentur testamento, an aliter donentur.—Vid. Spelman, Con. tom. p. i. 399.

‡ Torr's MSS. Archdeaconry of York, p. 835.

the then prior, and the convent of Lewes, granted to Robt. Waterhouse, of Halifax, Esq., his heirs and assigns, the right of advowson of this church, together with all manner of tythes of corn, grain, and hay, coming from all the lands, tenements, meadows, fields, closes and crofts, being and lying of and in all the towns, and townships, of Halifax, " Skyrccote, Northowram, Sheff, Hyperom, Southowram, Ovynden, Brighthouse, Fekysbye, Towithill, Sourby, Ayringden, Langfeld, Maskynhoyles, Soland, Rischwith, Norland, Borsland, Stanland, Eyland, Greteland, Conysborowe, Warnsworth, Boterboske, Thersbye, Ransfeld, Woodlathes, Cliftone, Crookayll, Braywell, and Meckelbryneke, with all their members and appurtenances within the county of York, or the rents paid, or to be paid, for the same tithes by the inhabitants of the said townships; and two tythe barns, called the tythe barns of Conysburgh and Braywell, with one chamber, and a bakehouse under the same chamber, at the west end of their capital messuage in Braywell aforesaid, near a house, called a dove-cote, with half an acre of land, laying about the said barns and chamber, with free ingress and egress, with horses, oxen, and all manner of carriages to the said barns, chamber, and bakehouse, at all times of the year;" for the term of ninety-nine years, paying annually for the same, the sum of £58 6s. 8d. They also further engaged, that their successors should at the reasonable request of the heirs and assigns of the said Robert Waterhouse, grant a renewal of the said term of ninety-nine years, so often as the same shall expire, paying, therefore, a fine of 40s., and for the common seal 23s. 4d.

Long previously, however, to the expiration of the first term, the dreadful mania, so destructively prevalent in the reign of Henry VIII., swept, from the face of a British soil, every institution of a monastic character, when the Waterhouses became tenants to the crown, which carried into effect the conditions stipulated by the act of the chapter of St. Pancras. Since that time various deeds and indentures have been executed, touching this property, and new leases granted, the last of which will terminate in 1831.

In 1753, the tythes were purchased jointly by Theos. Jas. Buckley Wilsford, Esq., who married Sarah Waterhouse, one of the descendants of the original lessee, and Ralph Phillips, Esq. Mr. Phillips survived, and by will, dated on or about the 7th of November, 1769, bequeathed to his two daughters, Sarah Phillips, spinster, and Mary Wilson, the remainder of the term, then unexpired, of and in a renewed lease, all his moiety of the tithes of Conisbrough, equally to be divided.— Sarah Phillips died, and by her will left her sister, Mary Wilson, sole executrix. whose son, Mr. Wiltshire Wilson, by virtue of his mother's will, dated the 9th day of April, 1801, succeeded in the ownership of this rectorial property; and in 1809 sold it to John Kendersley Tudor, Esq., for the sum of £3,180. In this purchase

a fourth part of the tithe of Conisbrough park was included, together with a reserved rent of £6 6s. per annum, purchased in 1822 of the crown. Since this period, some minor charges have taken place, but we shall forbear noticing them.

Through what cause, or on what consideration we know not, but it would appear by Torr, that before the lapse of the first term, Nicholas, Archbishop of York, obtained in the 5 and 6 of Philip and Mary, a grant from the crown, of the advowson of this church to him and to his successors for ever, who first presented Hen. Saxton, clerk, in 1615.* In the patronage of the see of York it still continues.

This church is an ancient vicarage, dedicated to St. Peter; and on Pope Nicholas's, taxation, the "Ecclesia de Conyngesburgh," was deemed worth £36 13s. 4d., and the vicarage £5 per annum. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, it was estimated worth £110, but how valued, or on what occasion, we know not. It is a living discharged, and the clear yearly value in the king's books, is 28 5 9 syn. and prox. 9s. 6d.

A CATALOGUE OF THE VICARS OF CONISBROUGH.

<i>Temp. Instit.</i>	<i>Vicarii Eccle.</i>	<i>Patroni.</i>	<i>Vacat.</i>
		Pr. et Con'tus. de Lewes.	
124—	M. Orlandus		
10 July 1275	Joh' de Connesby, p'br		
9 Kal. Jan. 1287	Joh' de Schireburn, p'br	Idem	
3 Kal. Apr. 1312	Ric. de Mydelton, p'br	Idem	p. Mort.
4 Non. Oct. 1341	Will. de Walden, cap	Idem	p. Mort.
30 Aug. 1349	Joseph de Crockwell, cap	Idem	p. Mort.
11 Jun. 1350	Tho. Coks de Malteby, cap	Idem	p. Resig. pro eccla de Hoton Rob.
20 Dec. 1362	Joh' Wynteworth, cap	Idem	p. Resig. pro. vic de Aldburgh.
19 Nov. 1372	Tho. de Escryk's	Idem	
	Tho. Rawlynson	Idem	p. Mort.
9 Dec. 1442	Will. Wynstanley, cap	Idem	p. Mort.
4 Nov. 1471	Ric. Symmes, cl.	Idem	p. Resig.
18 July, 1489	Robt. Wolthwaite, cap	Idem	p. Mort.
30 Oct. 1506	Tho. Gledeshill, p'br	Idem	p. Resig.
27 Oct. 1521	Will. Dyke, p'br. vel. Will. Dybbes, p'br.	Idem	p. Resig.

* Torr's MSS. Archdeaconry of York, p. 836.

24 Dec. 1534	.....Will. Ermysted STB, Clericus,	Idem	p. Resig.
	Cancellarii d'ns, Regis.		
12 Feb. 1537	.....Will. Stansfeld	Idem	
17 May 1540	.....Ric. Shippen, p'br.....	Robertus Waterhous	p. Privat.
4 Oct. 1554	.....Tho. Wright, cl,.....	Assignatus Robert	p. Resig.
		Waterhous ar.	
4 May 1555	.....Pet. Silles, cl,.....	Robertus Waterhous	
	Tristram Taylor		p. Mort.
16 Aug. 1571	.....Robert Barber, cl,	Joh's Waterhous, cl,	p. Mort.
8 Aug. 1590	.... Thomas Bentley, cl,	Philipus Waterhous, p.	Mort.
		gent.	
9 March 1590	.....Thomas Bolland, cl,.....	Idem	
1 May 1611	.....Henry Duchet, cl, M.A.	Idem.....	p. Cession.
2 Aug. 1615	.....Henry Saxton, cl, M.A.	A'epus Ebor	p. Mort.
Ult. Jan. 1666	.....Thomas Ward, cl, B.A.	Idem	p. Cession.
3 Oct. 1673	.....Samuel Leedes, cl,.....	Idem*	

• Torr's Archdeaconry, p. 835.

FINIS.



